THE CENTURY HISTORICAL SERIES

A HISTORY OF THE HEBREW PEOPLE

GEORGE A. BARTON

A HISTORY OF THE HEBREW PEOPLE

The Century Historical Series

A HISTORY OF THE HEBREW PEOPLE

from the Earliest Times to the Year 70 A.D.
Largely in the Language of Bible

PREPARED BY

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EVANGELICAL
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

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To

THE REVEREND PROFESSOR

JAMES ALAN MONTGOMERY, PH.D., S.T.D.,

Scholar, Colleague, Friend, Comrade

UNITED THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
FEB 21 1957

EVANGELICAL
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PREFACE

This book has been written at the request of Professor Dana C. Munro of Princeton, the editor of the series in which it appears. It was his idea to have as much of the history as possible told by quotations from the Bible. It is hoped that, when these Biblical excerpts are read in their historical connections and with such historical illustration as modern knowledge affords, they will be so well understood as to awaken in the reader a new interest.

In such a book as this it has been necessary to insert as few footnotes and references to other books as possible. On many points, however, it seemed desirable to point the student to volumes where fuller information might be found. Perhaps it will seem to some that there are too many references to a book entitled *Archæology and the Bible,* but it has seemed better to refer to one compendious volume which the student could afford to possess, if he desired, rather than to scatter the references among many books which a young student would never think of consulting.

The Biblical text quoted from the canonical books of the Old Testament is that of the Revised Version of 1885: the text of *1 Maccabees* is that of the Revised Version of 1894.

The writer's experience in preparing the book leads him to think that many readers will be surprised to discover how much more life-like is the historical picture presented by many Biblical writers than any which are found in modern descriptions of the same events. He only regrets that there are some gaps in the Biblical story, which compelled him to draw material from other sources and to reproduce it in his own words.

George A. Barton

July, 1930.

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A HISTORY OF THE HEBREW PEOPLE

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CHAPTER I

THE ASIATIC BACKGROUND

OF all the peoples of antiquity, the Israelites or Hebrews are best known, for the Jews were their descendants, and the Jews wrote the Bible, and the Bible is the best known book in the world. Modern historical research has thrown so much light both on the Bible and on the history of the Hebrew people as to put that people in an entirely new perspective, and make the Bible a literature which throbs with human interest. In order to understand this new point of view, it is necessary to know a little of the history of western Asia before the emergence of the Hebrews, for though they were destined to play such a part in the world's religious history, many centuries of civilized life had passed over Asia before they were born.

As everybody knows, the Hebrews lived in Palestine, a small country about the size of Vermont or New Hampshire, which, together with Syria which lies just to the north of it, forms a bridge of fertility between the Arabian Desert and the Mediterranean Sea, connecting the two rich river valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates. Although the Nile is in Africa, in the early times of which we must speak, North Africa was so closely associated with western Asia that the two must be considered together.

In late geologic time, during what is called the glacial epoch, when much of the northern hemisphere was covered with ice, men of rude culture lived in Palestine and Egypt. The only implements they had were rude stones. These stones were scarcely shaped by them at all. Generally they took stones that already resembled a hammer, an ax, or whatever they might wish to use the tool for and shaped them a little. The men of this time are called the men of the Old Stone Age, or paleolithic men, to distinguish them from later men who could make better stone tools. At the end of the glacial epoch there were great floods, and the population of the earth was greatly reduced. What is now the Delta of the Nile (or Lower Egypt) was at that time covered by water. The same was true of what was afterward Babylonia and the coastal plain of Palestine, afterward called Philistia. The Jordan Valley was also at that time a great lake or an arm of the Red Sea. After the lapse of many centuries, these waters subsided, the climate changed and parts of the land became exceedingly dry. The Sahara Desert, in which there had been great lakes, and through which at least two or three rivers besides the Nile had run, became entirely arid except for a few oases where there were springs; the same thing occurred in the great peninsula of Arabia. Gradually the descendants of men who had survived during the great floods at the end of the glacial epoch by taking refuge in high mountains, multiplied and spread again over these countries. This apparently occurred only after the lapse of many, many centuries. By this time these men had learned to chip knives from cones of flint and to make of stone much better tools; they are therefore called men of the New Stone Age, or neolithic men. These neolithic men seem to have spread from different centers. One group of them spread from North Africa. Their ancestors had probably taken refuge, during the great post-glacial floods, in the Atlas Mountains. They appear to have lived in what is now the Sahara Desert and the region north of it when that desert was well watered, and, as it dried up, they pushed eastward and southward from it. They became the Hamites of history. The ancient Egyptians were largely composed of Hamites; the Berbers of North Africa, and many of the tribes of Abyssinia and Somaliland—countries into which they were then driven—are Hamites to this day. They speak languages akin to that of ancient Egypt.

At a very early time, long before the beginning of written history, some of these Hamites pushed across the strait of Bab-el-Mandeb into Arabia, over which their descendants gradually spread. Separated from their kinsmen in Africa they underwent, through thousands of years, an independent development and became the Semites of history—the ancestors of Babylonians, Assyrians, Amorites, Canaanites, Phenicians, Arameans, Israelites, Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, etc.

Meantime another wave of people, whose ancestors had survived the post-glacial floods elsewhere, perhaps in the Caucasus Mountains, had spread along the mountain ranges southward as far as Elam, and westward into Asia Minor. This people differed in shape of head, in language, and in craftsmanship from the Hamites and Semites. One of the earliest civilizations we can trace in western Asia was established by them at Susa on a stream at the foot of the mountains of Bakthyaris and Luristan in ancient Elam. Excavations there have brought to light some of their skeletons and specimens of their pottery. Pottery—cups, jars, and pitchers—is for the archæologist an important source of information for the history of culture. We do not think of broken teacups, saucers, and pitchers as historical documents, but they really are. They are also very trustworthy documents, for they are too worthless for any one to forge or tamper with. This earliest civilization at Susa appears to belong entirely to the paleolithic period. For some reason it died out, and another settlement was made there by men who used neolithic implements and made a different type of pottery. They also invented a script which has not yet been deciphered. Men of this race—at least men who had the same culture—settled in southern Babylonia, at Eridu, Ur, and El Obeid, about five miles from Ur; possibly also at other points. Gradually settlements were also made at points along the Euphrates at Erech, Surippak, and Nippur; also at Adab, and along the Shatt-el-Hai, the great canal which joins the Euphrates and Tigris rivers. Settlements were also made on the Tigris at Opis (Ctesiphon) and at Kish. These two towns were situated well to the north, where the Tigris and Euphrates approach most nearly to one another. At that period the southern Tigris seems to have been too marshy to be a site for cities.

This settlement in Babylonia was gradual. Canals had to be dug and the marshlands drained. It began, perhaps, as early as 5000 B.C.; at all events it must have been well advanced by 4000 B.C. The tribes from Elam and the east were not long left in peaceful possession of the fertile Babylonian plain. Another race, the Sumerians, invaded it, coming perhaps from the south, up the shores of the Persian Gulf, and by 3500 B.C. established themselves in the southern part of the country. Eridu, Ur, Erech, Nippur, Adab, Lagash, and Umma all fell under their sway. The Sumerians made a different kind of pottery from that made by the earlier population, and soon developed a system of picture writing, independent of that of ancient Elam, which soon degenerated into the wedge-shaped or cuneiform writing, because they wrote on clay and it was not easy to make good pictures.

Meantime Babylonia had been invaded by a third people—Semites from Arabia, whom we call Akkadians. Geographically Mesopotamia is a part of Arabia. It is the fertile eastern border of the great Arabian desert. Where tempting date-palms grow, thither the half-starved inhabitants of Arabia have always wandered. Perhaps they were in the Babylonian marshes before either of the peoples from the eastern mountains or the Sumerians entered the country. They knew no arts of civilization, however, and it was not until about 3000 B.C. that they became a political and cultural influence in the country. By that time they had seized the city of Kish in the north, and about two hundred years later built the city of Agade. Out of the mixture of these three races the great Babylonian civilization was developed—one of the civilizations which were destined profoundly to influence the Hebrews.

From the dawn of history to about 2100 B.C. Babylonia contained a number of city-states which were often at war with one another. Sometimes one would for a time gain the upper hand and establish an empire, sometimes another; but usually these empires disintegrated after a few decades and the country broke up again into its original units. During this period the Sumerians held the cities of the south up to and including Nippur, while the Semites dominated the northern portion. After the building of Agade the north came to be called, from its capital-city, Akkad; the south was called Sumer. Here Babylonian religion, myths, literature, laws, and all which made up its civilization, were developed.

About 2100 B.C. the great king Hammurabi of the city of Babylon gained control of all the country. Babylon had played no part in the early history of the country, but from this time onward it was the leading city. The dynasty to which Hammurabi belonged was Semitic. A new wave of Arabs called Amorites had swept into the country. Gradually, before different layers of these Amorites, the Sumerian civilization of the south went down and Semites dominated the country.

Meantime a new nation was springing up on the Tigris farther to the north. Into this region, long inhabited by the Hurri, a branch of the race which had established the second civilization of Susa and the first of southern Babylonia, Akkadian Semites had penetrated. They captured the site of Ashur, where some Sumerians had in ancient times established themselves, and intermarrying with the Hurri, became the Assyrian people. They spoke a Semitic language, but the Hurri strain in their ancestry gave them aquiline noses, which were not characteristic of the Akkadians. Gradually the city of Ashur extended its sway and built up the Assyrian empire, which consisted of the extension of the rule of the city of Ashur just as the Roman empire later was the extension of the rule of the city of Rome. Assyria had a long history, extending from about 2100 B.C. down to the destruction of Nineveh, its later capital, in the year 610 B.C. The Assyrians were more warlike and brutal than the Babylonians: their civilization was, on the whole, more crude. Babylonia and Assyria were often at war. Babylonia, always attractive on account of its fertility to the inhabitants of less fertile lands, was invaded by Kossæans, a people from the east, about 1800 B.C., and by Chaldeans, another tribe from Arabia, about 1000 B.C., but kept its Semitic character to the end. It was finallly merged into the Persian empire, when Cyrus the Great conquered Babylon in 538 B.C.

During the long centuries that Babylonia and Assyria were enacting their histories another great civilization was running its course in the valley of the Nile. Into that valley a negroid race from central Africa had, perhaps, made its way as the floods, which swept the world at the end of the glacial epoch, subsided. As early, probably, as 5000 B.C. Hamites from the eastern Sahara also settled in the valley, gradually absorbing what weaker negroids may have been there. After these Hamites had developed there for several centuries, they were in turn invaded by Semites from southern Arabia, who appear to have entered upper Egypt through one of the valleys which extend from the Nile to the Red Sea. The result of this fusion was the Egyptians of history. At first Egypt was inhabited by forty-two different tribes, whose habitats were, down to the Mohammedan conquest of the country in 640 A.D., called "nomes," and were as distinct as the different counties of England. By about 4200 B.C. these had, by conquest, been merged into two kingdoms, Upper Egypt—which extended from the first cataract at Assuan to a point a few miles south of modern Cairo—and Lower Egypt, which consisted mainly of the land watered by the Nile Delta.

These kingdoms existed side by side for about eight hundred years, when they were united under Mena (the Greek Menes), the first king of the first dynasty. The civilization of Egypt gradually developed through the next four hundred years, and shortly after the year 3000 B.C., it blossomed into the brilliant era of the "Old Kingdom." This was the period when the great pyramids were built, and some of Egypt's finest art was produced. After flourishing about five hundred years, the Old Kingdom broke up into petty states, which constantly fought with one another; and, in the midst of arms, civilization languished. About 2100 B.C. a strong dynasty arose which united Egypt again and another period of high civilization began which endured for three hundred years. This is known as the "Middle Kingdom." Once more the strong government failed, and soon after 1800 B.C. Egypt broke up into petty states and was devastated by the contentions of petty princelings, each of whom ruled a fraction of the country. Another period of confusion and darkness followed which lasted about two hundred years. To add to the confusion of this period the Delta, as Lower Egypt is called, was invaded by hordes from Asia, who established a dynasty known as the "Hyksos."

About 1580 B.C. a strong monarch arose at Thebes in Upper Egypt, who expelled the invaders and followed them into Asia. Egypt was once more united, and under the successors of Ahmose I (whom the Greeks called Amosis) conquered Palestine and Syria as far as the Euphrates River. Thus began the "Empire" period of Egypt's history, which lasted for some six hundred years, although during the last two hundred years of the period it was an empire only in name. About 945 B.C. there began a period of three hundred years during which Egypt was subject to foreign dynasties: first Libyans from the west; then Nubians from the south. Finally, about 650 B.C. a native dynasty once more arose, which ruled Egypt for a hundred and twenty-five years. Under its sway Egypt's ancient past was venerated and her ancient arts revived. Then in 525 B.C. came the Persian conquest, and Egypt's history merged into that of the Persian empire. Egypt, like Babylon, was a great mother of the arts, and at various periods influenced Israel.

Meantime on the island of Crete, which is nearer to Egypt than any of the other islands of the Mediterranean, there had grown up before

3000 B.C. an advanced stone-age civilization independent of that in Egypt. Between 3000 and 2800 B.C. the use of bronze was introduced into Crete, and from that time until about 1200 B.C., her civilization ran a brilliant course. Arts of all sorts were brought to a high degree of perfection; three-story houses were built, and women wore fitted dresses of the style that was made in Paris a generation ago. When the Philistines came into Palestine, they brought this Cretan civilization with them.

If, now, we turn to the north still other peoples come into view, who, in their turn, exerted a profound influence upon the Hebrews. In the dim past, perhaps as early as 4000 B.C., there moved from northern Asia, probably from the Caucasus Mountains or the region east of the Caspian Sea, a mass of people that overran what was later Armenia, and Asia Minor. They traveled along the mountains east of the Tigris and reached ancient Elam. They made settlements in what was afterward Assyria, and spread over the region between the Tigris and Euphrates River, which was afterward called Mesopotamia. These tribes may have been related to the Elamites, but they were not related either to the Semites (as scholars call the nations whom the Bible calls the descendants of Shem), or to the Egyptians. One of these tribes which pushed into northern Asia Minor, called itself the "Silver tribe," or, in its own language, "Hittites." Some centuries later a branch of the Indo-European race (the great race to which we belong), came into Asia Minor from Europe, entering around the west end of the Black Sea, conquered these Hittites, imposed on them its language, and, taking their name, became the Hittites of history. About 1400 B.C. they established an empire which controlled a large part of Asia Minor, extended its sway to the lands east of the Euphrates, and pushed its conquests down through Syria into the northern parts of Palestine. Its capital was Hittite-city, the modern Boghaz Koi in Asia Minor.

One of these peoples, which had in the earlier time settled on both sides of the Tigris River and had extended themselves across Mesopotamia, was the Hurri. They occupied the country around Haran, where Abraham was said to have lived for a time. Among the Hurri there had come some Indo-Europeans of the Aryan branch of that race (the ancient Persians and Sanskrit-speaking peoples of India were Aryans). These Aryans had brought with them some of their gods (Indra, Mitra, and Varuna), but did not succeed in imposing their language on the Hurri among whom they settled. Out of this combination, however, arose a kingdom called Mitanni, which held sway for a time on both sides of the Euphrates. This kingdom was established about a hundred years earlier than that at Hittite-city, *i.e.,* about 1500 B.C. or earlier. With the kings of Mitanni Egyptian monarchs had fought and formed leagues of friendship, when, about 1375 B.C., Mitanni was subjugated by the Hittite kings, and its monarchy gradually fades from our view.

Biblical writers called all these peoples—the Hurri, Mitanni, and Hittites—Hittites. When the Hyksos went into Egypt groups of these peoples had surged southward as far as Hebron in Palestine (they are mentioned in the book of *Genesis,* chapter 23), and perhaps they went into Egypt also.

Meantime out of the great Arabian desert, the original home of all the Semites—a land that could support only a limited population—there had come some five different waves of Semites. The first, emerging from Arabia's wastes on the eastern border of the desert, had settled in northern Babylonia before 3000 B.C. and became the Akkadians, already mentioned. The next wave—the Amorites—emerged from the desert both on its eastern and on its western border. Establishing themselves at Babylon about 2300–2200 B.C., they founded its first dynasty of kings, of whom the great Hammurabi, famous for his code of laws, was one. For two or three centuries more, however, uncivilized hordes of Amorites continued to come from Arabia and struggle with the settled population of that country for its possession. Meantime they had wandered into the region of Upper Mesopotamia and penetrated the land of the Hurri. At the same time other Amorites were finding their way directly from Arabia into the peninsula of Sinai, and probably also into Palestine. Some centuries later (1800–1700 B.C.), a people called Kassites, from the mountains east of the Tigris, pushed into Babylonia and conquered it. This influx into that already heavily populated country caused a movement of peoples westward through all the lands as far as the Mediterranean. It was this general movement that took the Hyksos into Egypt. With it there came into Palestine some tribes closely related to the Amorites, who called themselves Canaanites. A part of them settled between the Lebanon Mountains and the Mediterranean, and became the Phenicians of history.

Again, about 1400 B.C., another wave of Semites came from the Arabian desert by way of Mesopotamia and the land of the Hurri. These were the Arameans. Doubtless they had intermarried to a considerable extent with the Hurri. They tried, as others had done, to gain a foothold in Palestine, and thus contributed their share to its mixed population.

About 1000 B.C., still another group of Semites emerged from the desert and settled in the marshes of southern Babylonia. They were the Kaldu. Gradually they extended their power northward, and a king of theirs sat on the throne of Babylon itself about 700 B.C. The Kaldu never extended their wanderings to Palestine, but they did give to Babylonia its name Chaldea.

In the latter half of the eighth century before Christ a new power arose in the great table-land of Iran, the elevated plain which extends from the valley of the Tigris to the valley of the Indus, and forms modern Persia, Afghanistan, and Baluchistan. This was the kingdom of Media, which began to exercise considerable power about 740 B.C., under a dynasty which lasted until 553 B.C. The dominant element in the population was now Aryan, the people that we call Persians having penetrated the country 1000 B.C. or earlier. Iran was at the time divided into a number of countries. With Elam we are already acquainted: but there was also besides Media, Persia, Anshan, Bactria, Parthia, Hyrcania, Sogdiana, the land of the Massagetæ, and others. How much of this table-land Media conquered, we do not know; we do know that its king was strong enough in 610 B.C. to join in the overthrow of Assyria.

In 553 B.C. the Median empire was overthrown by Cyrus of Anshan, king of Persia, who founded the Achæmenian dynasty that built up the great Persian empire. Cyrus set the example for his successors, conquering much of Iran, overthrowing the kingdom of Lydia in Asia Minor in 546 and extending his sway to the Ægean Sea. In 538 he overthrew the last Babylonian king and gained control of Palestine also. His son Cambyses conquered Egypt, while the next great king, Darius I, conquered part of India and two provinces, Thrace and Macedonia, in Europe. This empire, the greatest the world had known up to that time, tended to break down national barriers and to bring widely diverse peoples into more or less friendly relations.

This Persian empire was overthrown in 331 B.C. by Alexander the Great, who had succeeded to the throne of Macedonia in the year 336 B.C. During his career Alexander subdued all lands between Greece and the Punjab in India, as well as Egypt in Africa. He was planning to make Babylon his capital-city, and then to extend his conquests to the Atlantic on both sides of the Mediterranean, when he suddenly died in 323 B.C. Into the details of the confused years immediately following Alexander's death, we cannot go here. It is sufficient to say that by 301 B.C. two monarchies had emerged, each ruled by one of Alexander's generals, with each of which the student of Jewish history should be acquainted. These were Egypt, over which Ptolemy son of Lagus ruled, and Syria, the king of which was Seleucus son of Antiochus. Ptolemy secured Palestine in addition to Egypt, but, after a hundred years, his successors lost it to the Seleucidæ. Seleucus obtained an empire which extended from Asia Minor and the Mediterranean to India. He built the city of Antioch on the Orontes as its capital.

Under the successors of Seleucus his empire gradually dwindled. Parthia became independent in 256 B.C. and Bactria in 253. Each for a time maintained a vigorous monarchy, but in the second century before Christ Parthia absorbed Bactria and became mistress of all of Iran. She also conquered all of Babylonia. By the year 70 B.C. the successors of Seleucus ruled only a small region in Syria, and in 65 B.C. the Romans deposed the last of them and made Syria a Roman province. Egypt did not maintain its independence much longer, for in 31 B.C., Cleopatra VII, the last scion of the Ptolemies, was overthrown, and Egypt too became a province of Rome. It thus happened that, during the time of Christ and the Apostles, that part of the East in which this book is interested was divided between Rome and Parthia.

CHAPTER II

HOW TO UNDERSTAND THE EARLY TRADITIONS OF THE BIBLE

IT is easy to trace the beginnings of a nation like the United States of America. The discovery of the country, its settlement by various European peoples, the growth of the colonies, its war of independence, and its remarkable expansion since, all occurred after people had learned to write and become accustomed to it. Documents can accordingly be found that make it possible to trace every step. Quite other conditions face the student of Israelitish history, or the history of any other ancient nation, whether the Babylonians, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Chinese, Japanese, or any other. Although in time all these nations learned to write, and composed chronicles, they did this only after their national life was organized and advanced to a considerable degree; and all were ignorant of their real beginnings or had but the vaguest notions of them. Some kernels of tribal knowledge are treasured in the traditions of every nation, and, in its account of its own origin, these kernels are imaginatively expanded and overlaid with suppositions until they become works of the imagination that cannot be regarded as real history. The same is true of the ancient Hebrews.

The application of modern historical methods of investigation to the books of the Bible has convinced scholars that ancient Hebrew literature, of which the Bible has preserved all that survived, developed in the same way that the literatures of other ancient nations did. It did not begin until they were conquering Palestine, and then it consisted of poems that were sung and handed on for a long time from mouth to mouth. In the time of King David, after the establishment of the monarchy, chronicles began to be written, but few, if any, of these have survived.

The Hebrew method of writing history was the same as that of other ancient nations. After a story had been written that gained some circulation, those who came after would, if they did not agree with its religious point of view, write another covering the same ground, but giving a different religious coloring; if they had no objection to its narrative, they would copy its account verbatim. If one wished to write of things long passed, and found three or four varying narratives of them, he would weave them all together. All the so-called historical and legal books of the Old Testament were composed in this way. The oldest document woven into the Pentateuch and early historical books was written between 900 and 800 B.C., in the kingdom of Judah, probably in the reign of King Jehoshaphat. We do not know the name of the author. Scholars call it the J Document, because it preferred the name "Jehovah" (Hebrew, *Yahweh*) for God. Another, written about 750 B.C. in the kingdom of Israel, probably in the reign of Jeroboam II, is called the E Document, because it employs the word "God" (Hebrew *Elohim*), for the deity. Another writer, who rewrote and expanded the laws of the E Document, and the major part of whose work is found in the book of *Deuteronomy,* is called D, after the first letter of *Deuteronomy*. This document was written about 650 B.C., in the reign of King Manasseh. Still another body of material in the Pentateuch and the book of *Joshua* is designated by the symbol P, the first letter of the word "priestly," because its writers' interest was in ritual and in priestly institutions. There are three strata to the priestly material, one written about 500, another about 450, and still another about 400 B.C. These dates refer only to the writing; many of the ritual customs described are much older.

It is clear from what has been said that the Pentateuch was not fully compiled until about 400 B.C. The same is true of the book of *Joshua,* which tells of the conquest of Palestine. In other words, in these books which tell of the beginnings of the Israelitish nation, we have only traditions which were written down from five hundred to a thousand years after the events which they describe. How, then, are we to understand these documents? Can we take any of their statements as real history?

An analysis of the traditions, by means of the background reflected in each one and the application of such other tests as ancient literature now makes available, reveals the fact that the traditions are of four kinds: those developed in the desert and brought into Palestine; those borrowed from Babylonia and Egypt; those borrowed from the Canaanites, and those developed by the Israelites themselves in Palestine. Most of these traditions can be shown to have a historical content, but the historical kernel is usually not that which it was supposed to be before the rise of historical methods of study.

Most of these traditions will be touched upon in the appropriate place. At the moment we are interested in gaining an understanding of those which will throw light on the origin of the Israelitish nation. The key to the understanding of these traditions is obtained from a study of the table of the nations in the tenth chapter of the book of *Genesis*. From such a study, we learn that the Hebrew chroniclers personified nations as men, and then, in cases where there was a recognition of kinship of some kind, or some political union had existed between peoples, they formed genealogies, as modern Arabs have sometimes done, to explain the connection by making it appear that the peoples so related were descended from a common ancestor. Thus in *Genesis* 10:6 we read that the "sons of Ham were Cush, and Misraim, and Put, and Canaan." "Cush" is the

Egyptian *Kesh,* the name of Nubia; "Misraim" is the Hebrew word for the "two Egypts," *i.e.,* Upper and Lower Egypt, which, as was pointed out in the previous chapter, were separate kingdoms so long that the memory of the fact persisted in official nomenclature until the latest times. "Put" is the *Punt* of the Egyptian inscriptions. It is the name they gave to the country in South Arabia and East Africa on both sides of the strait of Bab-el-Mandeb, which was to them the land of treasure, of ebony, ivory, incense, and precious woods—in a word, the land of the gods. "Canaan" is the Phœnicia of history. Its people were not Hamites, but, in the time of its Empire, Egypt had dominated it for a hundred and fifty years; hence the Hebrew writer inferred that its people were akin to the Egyptians. It thus appears that by the supposition of descent from a common ancestor the Israelitish chronicler accounted for relations of various sorts, remote kinship as between the Egyptians and the people of Somaliland, and political relations, as between the Nubians and the Egyptians. The Nubians were originally not related by blood to the Egyptians at all.

The most important fact, however, is that here we have nations or lands personified as men. Egypt was never a man; much less the "two Egypts." We now know Egypt's history pretty well, and its beginnings were not from one man, but from the welding together of forty-two distinct tribes. The farther back we go, the greater diversity—not unity—do we find. The same is true of other ancient nations in less degree. No nation has absolutely pure racial blood; each nation, even in ancient times, was the result of the fusion of different elements. This the Biblical writers did not know as we know it. They honestly did the best they could in the light of such knowledge as they had.

The same personification of nations or countries as men runs through the other genealogies in the chapter. In *Genesis* 10:22 the sons of Shem are said to be "Elam, and Asshur, and Arpachshad, and Lud, and Aram." Elam and Asshur are countries already described in Chapter I. Arpachshad is the Arrapkha of the Assyrian inscriptions, a region around the modern Kirkuk, southeast of Mosul. Aram is the country of the Arameans, which stretched from Damascus northeastward across the Euphrates.

If one turns to the descendants of Japheth in *Genesis* 10:2, the same is true. The sons of Japheth are said to have been "Gomer, and Magog, and Madai, and Javan, and Tubal, and Meshech, and Tiras." The names in this list that can be identified with certainty are as follows: "Gomer" is the Cimmerians of the ancient Greeks, the Kummukh of the Assyrians. They lived in eastern Asia Minor, west of the Euphrates. "Madai" are the Medes, already mentioned in the previous chapter. "Javan" is the Hebrew form of the Greek *Ionia,* on the east coast of the Ægean Sea. "Tubal" is the Assyrian *Tabali;* and "Meshech," the *Mushki*—wild tribes that lived in eastern Asia Minor. "Tiras" is, perhaps, *Troas*, though this is not so certain.

Enough has been said to show that wherever we dip into this chapter we find nations and countries personified as individuals, and we also discover that kinship or political alliance, or association of any sort, is explained by the theory of common descent. This need not surprise us, since, among people of a certain grade of development in many parts of the world, a bond of so-called blood-brotherhood is still the only way known of making a binding alliance. We are, then, on safe ground, if we assume that the Hebrew traditions contain in part tribal history narrated as the experiences of individual men.

By applying the principle of interpretation just established to the account of the sons of Jacob in *Genesis* 29: 31—30: 24 and 35: 16–20, we may learn something of importance concerning the history of the formation of the Israelitish nation. Each of these sons, it must be remembered, is said to have become the father of a tribe; that means that here we have tribes personified. These tribes were finally allied and later welded into a nation. This account of their birth gives us a sort of history of the growth of the alliance. Six of the tribes are said to have been sons of one mother, Leah, and to have been born before the others. They were Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, and Zebulum. Of these Levi is said to have met with early disaster and to have been scattered, but the other five formed a component part of the Hebrew people. The narrative means that these tribes first formed an alliance of blood-brotherhood; they were the first Israelites. Dan and Naphtali, Gad and Asher are said to be sons of slave-women; the inference is that they entered the Hebrew federation later and were, for some reason, not regarded as of as good birth as the sons of free mothers. Joseph, who became the father of the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh, is said to have been born after the ten already mentioned. This apparently means that the Joseph tribes entered the Hebrew federation after all the others mentioned were in the brotherhood—a conclusion which we shall later find other reasons for accepting. Lastly the traditions tell us that, a long time after the birth of Joseph, Benjamin was born, and that, when he was born, Jacob was already in Palestine. There is reason to believe that this is the Hebrew recollection of the historical fact that the Benjaminites split off from the tribe of Ephraim after the settlement in Palestine. The name Benjamin means "sons of the south" or "southerners," and they were the southerners of the tribe of Ephraim.

We have, then, in this genealogy the Hebrew recollection of the steps by which their nation was formed. It is at points hazy, but in broad outline we shall find it confirmed. As will appear later, a group of five or six tribes formed an alliance and called themselves "sons of Israel." In gaining a foothold in Palestine, they made an alliance with tribes already there. They looked down upon them, but found it better to make allies of men whom they could not conquer. That is how Dan. Naphtali, Gad, and Asher became a part of the nation. We can trace the Asherites about 1360 B.C. in some documents found at Tel-el-Amarna in Egypt forty years ago. They were, when those documents were written, living just where they lived later, in northwestern Galilee, but were then called Amorites. Later the great Joseph tribes, who had been in Egypt and had been led out of that land by Moses, forced their way into central Palestine and formed an alliance with the Israelites on equal terms. Still later the Benjaminites split off and were recognized as a separate tribe. Many considerations make this outline of the history probable. Jacob's journey westward from Paddan-aram (*Gen.* 31:18) or Haran (*Gen.* 29:4) represents the historical fact that the first Hebrew tribes came from the Aramean or Hurri country, and came, apparently with the westward migration of the Arameans described in the previous chapter.

These genealogical records of Jacob's family, when interpreted by a method learned from the Bible itself, reveal various strata in the Israelitish nation, some of which, as we learn from other sources, joined the Hebrew federation in Palestine itself. This is not, however, the whole story. In several passages in the Biblical accounts of the conquest of Palestine we read: "The children of Benjamin [or whatever the name of the tribe] did not drive out the Jebusites that inhabited Jerusalem [or some other people that inhabited some other place], but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem unto this day (*Jud.* 1:21; see also verses 29, 30, and 31–36 of the same chapter). This means that, after the Hebrew conquest of Palestine, many of its previous inhabitants, that had not been driven out or exterminated, continued to live there and were ultimately absorbed. Sometimes this absorption went on rapidly by means of alliances. A record of a number of such alliances, by which a large amount of Canaanitish or other blood entered the tribe of Judah, is given us in *Genesis* 38, which describes the marriages of the sons of Judah. This chapter, interpreted as we have interpreted the story of Jacob's sons, describes the incorporation into the tribe of Judah of a number of clans that were not originally of Hebrew stock. It can be shown that one of these clans was of Hurri or Hittite stock. We thus learn from the Hebrew traditions that the Israelitish nation was, like our own, formed from the fusion of peoples in a melting pot. The main element of the Hebrew people was Semitic, just as the main element in the settlement of the American colonies was English, but, in the final make-up of the nation, many other elements were absorbed, just as in the case of the people of the United States.

In these pages we have employed "Israel" and "Jacob" as names of the same man or personified group of people, and "Israelites" and "Hebrews" as regular names of the same people. It is time to say a word as to what is now known of the antiquity of these names, and why they appear to have been adopted by the nation which gave us the Old Testament. "Israel" is a very old name. It was borne by an Akkadian or an Amorite who lived in Mesopotamia between 2800 and 2600 B.C., whose seal has been found bearing the inscription "Israel, son of Rishzuni." [1] Of course the owner of this seal had nothing to do with our Israelites—he lived at least twelve hundred years before they were heard of; but the seal shows that the name was an old and honorable one. Men who had no standing did not possess such seals. For some reason—just why, we do not know—the first confederation of Hebrew tribes called themselves "sons of Israel." Perhaps they had had a chieftain of that name; of that we have no knowledge.

This supposed ancestor of the Hebrews was also called Jacob. Indeed, in their traditions, Jacob is regarded as his earlier name, and a story is told to explain why his name was changed to Israel (*Gen.* 32:24–28). "Jacob," like "Israel," is an old Amorite name. It appears in several legal documents written in Babylonia between 2200 and 2100 B.C. in which Amorites were participants. Its original form there was *Yakub-ilu,* or Jacobel, though it is sometimes shortened to *Yakub,* or Jacob. As Amorites traveled westward to Palestine, one of their leaders was named Jacobel. They founded a city somewhere in Palestine which was named after this leader Jacobel-city. When Thothmes III, king of Egypt, overran Palestine between 1470 and 1450 B.C., he captured this city and recorded its name with those of other conquered cities on the walls of a temple at Thebes, where it may still be read.[2] The name of this city kept alive the memory of this Amoritish chieftain of earlier time, and, after the Hebrews settled in Palestine and occupied the country where his city had stood, they naturally identified him with their supposed ancestor, Israel.

As to "Hebrew," scholars now regard it as the survival of the name "Habiri," which we find in a group of letters written from Palestine to Amenophis IV, king of Egypt, between 1375 and 1350 B.C. It also figures in Hittite and Mitannian documents of the same period. The name may mean "allies," but one of the ways in which it is written, which may mean "hunter," is defined in Assyrian texts as "plunderer" or "robber." Whether the name meant "allies" or "robbers" or "hunters," we now know from sources outside the Bible that the Habiri existed in large numbers in the region of Haran in Mesopotamia, and that a portion of them moved westward and were struggling successfully for a foothold in Palestine between 1375 and 1350 B.C. These Habiri were artificial brotherhoods, composed of men of Aramaic and Hurri stock, formed for purposes of adventure, plunder, and conquest, and it is probable that the first group of the "sons of Israel," the tribes said to be descended from

[1] See G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible,* 5th ed., Philadelphia, 1927, p. 326, and Fig. 302.

[2] See Barton, *Archæology and the Bible,* 5th ed., pp. 325 and 126, 127. Josephel was the name of a city, named after a similar Amorite chief, as we learn from the same inscription. After settling in the country where this city stood, the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh took him as their ancestor.

Leah, were a part of the very people described as Habiri in the letters to Amenophis IV found at El-Amarna. The name clung to the nation. In later time they themselves forgot its origin. Other clans of Habiri remained in Mesopotamia and are personified in *Genesis* as Eber and the children of Eber (*Gen.* 10: 24, 25 and 11 : 16 ff.).

If thus we find a thread of history, that is confirmed by outside documents, running through the narratives of Jacob and his sons, what can be said of the stories concerning Abraham? In Hebrew tradition Abraham, who is made Jacob's grandfather, is a greater and much more important figure than Jacob. If Israel and Jacob were names by the use of which the Hebrews of later time expressed their sense of national solidarity, is there any room left for the embodiment of a historical kernel in Abraham?

In answering this question it should first be noted that, while there is not a complete system of chronology in the Old Testament, it is stated several times that Abraham lived four hundred or four hundred and thirty years before the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt (*Gen.* 15: 13; *Ex.* 12:40; *Gal.* 3: 17). If we date the exodus with some modern scholars about 1220 B.C., we should place Abraham about 1650 B.C.; if, with other scholars, we date the exodus about 1400 B.C., we gain a date for Abraham about 1800 or earlier. In either case the date of Abraham would coincide with the Canaanite migration described in the first chapter.

We should next recall that in the fourteenth chapter of *Genesis* Abraham is said to have fought with four kings, Amraphel king of Shinar, Arioch king of Elassar, Chedorlaomer king of Elam, and Tidal king of Goiim.[3] Many scholars have identified Amraphel king of Shinar with Hammurabi king of Babylon (understanding Shinar to be Sumer), and so have placed Abraham about 2050 or 2100 B.C., in the time of the Amorites. More recently it is proposed to identify Amraphel with a king of Singara in northern Mesopotamia about 1800–1600 B.C.[4] This last identification would enable us to date Abraham about where the Bible dates him.

Another fact of importance is that Abraham was a good Amorite name. Just a little later than the time of Hammurabi, but during the reign of the same dynasty in Babylonia, there lived in that country an Abraham, several of whose business documents have come down to us on clay tablets. He leased a farm, paid his rent, and hired an ox, so these documents tell us.[5] In the westward migrations of Amorites, or of their near kinsmen the Canaanites, it is not at all improbable that another and greater Abraham went to Palestine, just as the Jacobel who gave his name to a city there, and became famous in the land of his adoption. The memory of many such chieftains has survived among the descendants of their followers for a long time.

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[3] For information concerning theories of these kings, see Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., pp. 322, 323, and 557.

[4] See *Archæology and the Bible*, p. 557.

[5] See *Archæology and the Bible*, pp. 316, 317.

It has already been pointed out that descendants of Canaanites and Amorites were absorbed ultimately by the Hebrew people. When a people is so absorbed, many of its traditions are taken over. In particular the Israelites, as will be noted later, took over many sanctuaries of the former inhabitants of the country. A considerable number of the traditions concerning Abraham represent him as building altars; in other words, as founding sanctuaries. Is it too much to suppose that a number of the Hebrew traditions concerning him were taken over with the sanctuaries?

In any event, the Biblical traditions of Abraham represent the coming of the Amorite and Canaanite strain in the ancestry of the Hebrews, just as the traditions concerning Jacob represent the coming of the Aramean strain. Abraham is said to have started from Ur in southern Babylonia, to have sojourned for a time at Haran, and then to have crossed to Palestine. We have abundant evidence from Babylonian sources that that is just the route followed by waves of Amorite migration. The Amorite element in the Hebrew nation was very real and was long remembered (see *Ezek.* 16: 3). The Hebrew traditions of Abraham are their historical testimony to the coming of Amorites and Canaanites into the country, to the fact that they were in part their descendants, and also to the fact that in occupying the country of Palestine they had entered into an inheritance prepared in part by the people of whom Abraham was to their minds the symbol.

In addition to all this, archæology is showing us that the Abrahamic traditions depict accurately, in general outline, Palestinian conditions as they existed in the Amorite and Canaanite periods.[6]

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[6] On this point see G. A. Barton in the *American Historical Review,* Vol. XXXIII (July, 1928), pp. 767–771.

CHAPTER III

BIBLICAL TRADITIONS OF ABRAHAM IN CANAAN

IN the light of the knowledge we have now secured, it is interesting and helpful to read anew the traditions of Abraham and the inhabitants of the land of Canaan. We begin with the story of his coming to Palestine.

THE COMING OF ABRAHAM, *Gen.* 12: 1–9

Gen. 12. Now the Lord said unto
Abram, Get thee out of thy country,
and from thy kindred, and from thy
father's house, unto the land that I will
2] shew thee: and I will make of thee a
great nation, and I will bless thee, and
make thy name great; and be thou a
3] blessing: and I will bless them that
bless thee, and him that curseth thee
will I curse and in thee shall all the
4] families of the earth be blessed. So
Abram went, as the Lord had spoken
unto him; and Lot went with him: and
Abram was seventy and five years old
5] when he departed out of Haran. And
Abram took Sarai his wife, and Lot
his brother's son, and all their substance
that they had gathered, and the souls
that they had gotten in Haran; and they
went forth to go into the land of Cannan;
and into the land of Canaan they came.
6] And Abram passed through the land
unto the place of Shechem, unto the
[1] oak of Moreh. And the Canaanite was
7] then in the land. And the Lord appeared
unto Abram, and said, Unto
thy seed will I give this land: and there
builded he an altar unto the Lord, who
8] appeared unto him. And he removed
from thence unto the mountain on the
east of Beth-el, and pitched his tent,
having Beth-el on the west, and Ai on
the east: and there he builded an altar
unto the Lord, and called upon the name
9] of the Lord. And Abram journeyed,
going on still toward the [2] South.

ABRAHAM IN TROUBLE

The next episode, the experience of Abraham and Sarah with the king of Gerar, is one that might happen in any ancient Oriental city. There are two accounts of it in the book of *Genesis,* one from the J Document in chapter 12: 10–20, which represents it as happening to Abraham in Egypt; the other in chapter 20: 1–18 from the E Document. Since the details of stories and the localities in which they are supposed to have happened are often changed in oral transmission, so that two sources of transmission may make them seem like different stories, it is believed that these two accounts are two versions of the same incident. Both are given here in parallel columns.

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[1] Or, *terebinth.*

[2] Heb. *Negeb,* the southern tract of Judah.

J'S ACCOUNT, *Gen.* 12:10–20

10] **Gen. 12.** And there was a famine
in the land: and Abram went down into
Egypt to sojourn there; for the famine
11] was sore in the land. And it came to
pass, when he was come near to enter
into Egypt, that he said unto Sarai his
wife, Behold now, I know that thou art
12] a fair woman to look upon: and it
shall come to pass, when the Egyptians
shall see thee, that they shall say, This
is his wife: and they will kill me, but
13] they will save thee alive. Say, I pray
thee, thou art my sister: that it may be
well with me for thy sake, and that my
14] soul may live because of thee. And
it came to pass, that, when Abram was
come into Egypt, the Egyptians beheld
the woman that she was very fair.
15] And the princes of Pharaoh saw her,
and praised her to Pharaoh: and the
woman was taken into Pharaoh's house.
16] And he entreated Abram well for her
sake: and he had sheep, and oxen, and
he-asses, and menservants, and maidservants, and she-asses, and camels.
17] And the LORD plagued Pharaoh and
his house with great plagues because of
18] Sarai Abram's wife. And Pharaoh
called Abram, and said, What is this that
thou hast done unto me? why didst thou
not tell me that she was thy wife?
19] Why saidst thou, She is my sister?
so that I took her to be my wife: now
therefore behold thy wife, take her, and
20] go thy way. And Pharaoh gave men
charge concerning him: and they brought
him on the way, and his wife, and all
that he had.

E'S ACCOUNT *Gen.* 20:1–18

Gen. 20. And Abraham journeyed
from thence toward the land of the
South, and dwelt between Kadesh and
2] Shur; and he sojourned in Gerar. And
Abraham said of Sarah his wife, She is
my sister: and Abimelech king of Gerar
3] sent, and took Sarah. But God came
to Abimelech in a dream of the night,
and said to him, Behold, thou art but a
dead man, because of the woman which
thou hast taken; for she is a man's wife.
4] Now Abimelech had not come near
her: and he said, LORD, wilt thou slay
5] even a righteous nation? Said he not
himself unto me, She is my sister? and
she, even she herself said, He is my
brother: in the integrity of my heart
and the innocency of my hands have I
6] done this. And God said unto him in
the dream, Yea, I know that in the integrity of thy heart thou hast done this,
and I also withheld thee from sinning
against me: therefore suffered I thee
7] not to touch her. Now therefore restore the man's wife; for he is a prophet,
and he shall pray for thee, and thou
shalt live: and if thou restore her not,
know thou that thou shalt surely die,
8] thou, and all that are thine. And
Abimelech rose early in the morning, and
called all his servants, and told all these
things in their ears: and the men were
9] sore afraid. Then Abimelech called
Abraham, and said unto him, What
hast thou done unto us? and wherein
have I sinned against thee, that thou
hast brought on me and on my kingdom
a great sin? thou hast done deeds unto
10] me that ought not to be done.
And Abimelech said unto Abraham,
What sawest thou, that thou hast done
11] this thing? And Abraham said, Because I thought, Surely the fear of God
is not in this place; and they will slay
12] me for my wife's sake. And moreover she is indeed my sister, the daughter
of my father, but not the daughter of
my mother; and she became my wife:
13] and it came to pass, when God
caused me to wander from my father's
house, that I said unto her, This is thy
kindness which thou shalt shew unto

me; at every place whither we shall
come, say of me, He is my brother.
14] And Abimelech took sheep and
oxen, and men-servants and women-
servants, and gave them unto Abraham,
15] and restored him Sarah his wife. And
Abimelech said, Behold, my land is
before thee: dwell where it pleaseth
16] thee. And unto Sarah he said, Be-
hold, I have given thy brother a thou-
sand pieces of silver: behold, [3] it is for
thee a covering of the eyes to all that are
with thee; and [4] in respect of all thou
17] art righted. And Abraham prayed
unto God: and God healed Abimelech,
and his wife, and his maidservants; and
18] they bare children. For the LORD
had fast closed up all the wombs of
the house of Abimelech, because of
Sarah Abraham's wife.

ABRAHAM RETURNS TO BETHEL, *Gen.* 13:1–4

Gen. 13. And Abram went up out of
Egypt, he, and his wife, and all that he
had, and Lot with him, into the South.
2] And Abram was very rich in cattle,
3] in silver, and in gold. And he went on
his journeys from the South even to
Beth-el, unto the place where his tent
had been at the beginning, between
4] Beth-el and Ai; unto the place of the
altar, which he had made there at the
first: and there Abram called on the
name of the LORD.

The rest of the thirteenth chapter of *Genesis* is one of the narratives in which, at least in part, a country is personified as a man. East of the river Jordan and the Dead Sea there dwelt two peoples, the Ammonites and Moabites. During the centuries when the Hebrews were independent and had their own kings, they were frequently at war with these peoples; nevertheless they were conscious that the Moabites and Ammonites were their kindred—descended from the same stock as themselves. The country in which the Moabites and Ammonites lived had, in earlier times, been called "Lotan" or "Lotannu." We find the name in Egyptian inscriptions of about 1900 B.C. and earlier as "Ruten" or "Rutennu." The Egyptians had no letter *l,* but employed *r* instead. Lotan, though the name of a land, was personified as a person (see *Gen.* 36:22), and then shortened to "Lot." "Lot," then, is the name which the country east of the Jordan had borne for centuries. In the following passage Lot is personified and made the nephew of Abraham. It was in this way that the Hebrews expressed their sense of kinship to the Moabites and Ammonites.

ABRAHAM AND LOT, *Gen.* 13:5–18

Gen. 13:5. And Lot also, which went
with Abram, had flocks, and herds, and
6] tents. And the land was not able to
bear them, that they might dwell to-
gether: for their substance was great,
so that they could not dwell together.
7] And there was a strife between the
herdmen of Abram's cattle and the herd-
men of Lot's cattle: and the Canaanite
and the Perizzite dwelled then in the
8] land. And Abram said unto Lot, Let
there be no strife, I pray thee, between
me and thee, and between my herdmen
and thy herdmen; for we are brethren.
9] Is not the whole land before thee?
separate thyself, I pray thee, from me:
if *thou wilt take* the left hand, then I will
go to the right; or if *thou take* the right

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[3] Or, *he.*

[4] Or, *before all* men.

10] hand, then I will go to the left. And
Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the
[5] Plain of Jordan, that it was well watered
every where, before the LORD destroyed
Sodom and Gomorrah, like the
garden of the LORD, like the land of
11] Egypt, as thou goest unto Zoar. So
Lot chose him all the Plain of Jordan;
and Lot journeyed east: and they separated
themselves the one from the other.
12] Abram dwelled in the land of Canaan,
and Lot dwelled in the cities of the
Plain, and moved his tent as far as
13] Sodom. Now the men of Sodom
were wicked and sinners against the
14] LORD exceedingly. And the LORD said
unto Abram, after that Lot was separated
from him, Lift up now thine
eyes, and look from the place where
thou art, northward and southward and
15] eastward and westward: for all the
land which thou seest, to thee will I give
16] it, and to thy seed for ever. And I
will make thy seed as the dust of the
earth: so that if a man can number the
dust of the earth, then shall thy seed also
17] be numbered. Arise, walk through
the land in the length of it and in the
breadth of it; for unto thee will I give
18] it. And Abram moved his tent, and
came and dwelt by the [6] oaks of Mamre,
which are in Hebron, and built there an
altar unto the LORD.

ABRAHAM IN WAR, *Gen.* 14:1–24

Gen. 14. And it came to pass in the
days of Amraphel king of Shinar, Arioch
king of Ellasar, Chedorlaomer king of
2] Elam, and Tidal king of [7] Goiim, that
they made war with Bera king of Sodom,
and with Birsha king of Gomorrah,
Shinab king of Admah, and Shemeber
king of Zeboiim, and the king of Bela
3] (the same is Zoar). All these [8] joined
together in the vale of Siddim (the same
4] is the Salt Sea). Twelve years they
served Chedorlaomer, and in the thirteenth
5] year they rebelled. And in the
fourteenth year came Chedorlaomer, and
the kings that were with him, and smote
the Rephaim in Ashteroth-karnaim, and
the Zuzim in Ham, and the Emim in
6] [9] Shaveh-kiriathaim, and the Horites
in their mount Seir, unto El-paran, which
7] is by the wilderness. And they returned,
and came to En-mishpat (the
same is Kadesh), and smote all the
[10] country of the Amalekites, and also
the Amorites, that dwelt in Hazazon-
8] tamar. And there went out the king of
Sodom, and the king of Gomorrah, and
the king of Admah, and the king of Zeboiim,
and the king of Bela (the same
is Zoar); and they set the battle in array
against them in the vale of Siddim;
9] against Chedorlaomer king of Elam,
and Tidal king of Goiim, and Amraphel
king of Shinar, and Arioch king of Ellasar;
10] four kings against the five. Now
the vale of Siddim was full of [11] slime
pits; and the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah
fled, and they fell there, and
they that remained fled to the mountain.
11] And they took all the goods of Sodom
and Gomorrah, and all their victuals,
12] and went their way. And they took
Lot, Abram's brother's son, who dwelt
in Sodom, and his goods, and departed.
13] And there came one that had escaped,
and told Abram the Hebrew: now he
dwelt by the [6] oaks of Mamre the Amorite,
brother of Eshcol, and brother of
Aner; and these were confederate with
14] Abram. And when Abram heard that
his brother was taken captive, he led
forth his trained men, born in his house,
three hundred and eighteen, and pursued
15] as far as Dan. And he divided
himself against them by night, he and
his servants, and smote them, and pursued
them unto Hobah, which is on the
16] [12] left hand of Damascus. And he
brought back all the goods, and also
brought again his brother Lot, and his
goods, and the women also, and the peo-

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[5] Or, *Circle.*
[6] Or, *terebinths.*
[7] Or, *nations.*
[8] Or, *joined themselves together against.*
[9] Or, *the plain of Kiriathaim.*
[10] Heb. *field.*
[11] That is, *bitumen pits.*
[12] Or, *north.*

17] ple. And the king of Sodom went
out to meet him, after his return from
the slaughter of Chedorlaomer and the
kings that were with him, at the vale of
Shaveh (the same is the King's Vale).
18] And Melchizedek king of Salem
brought forth bread and wine: and he
19] was priest of [13] God Most High. And
he blessed him, and said, Blessed be
Abram of [13] God Most High, [14] posses-
20] sor of heaven and earth: and blessed
be [13] God Most High, which hath de-
livered thine enemies into thy hand. And
21] he gave him a tenth of all. And the
king of Sodom said unto Abram, Give
me the persons, and take the goods to
22] thyself. And Abram said to the king
of Sodom, I have lifted up mine hand
unto the Lord, [13] God Most High, [14] pos-
23] sessor of heaven and earth, that I
will not take a thread nor a shoe-latchet
nor aught that is thine, lest thou should-
24] est say, I have made Abram rich:
[15] save only that which the young men
have eaten, and the portion of the men
which went with me; Aner, Eshcol, and
Mamre, let them take their portion.

The fourteenth chapter of *Genesis,* just quoted, relates how Abraham fought and conquered four kings in order to rescue his nephew Lot, whom they had taken captive. On his way back from the battle, it is said he stopped at Salem (Jerusalem), where Melchizedek was king and also a priest, and gave to Melchizedek a tithe (tenth) of all the booty he had captured. This last feature of the narrative has been illuminated by recent excavations. The city of Jerusalem is situated on the southern spur of two hills, which are separated from the surrounding country and from one another by deep valleys on all sides except the north. Until the time of King Solomon the city was confined to the southern end of the eastern hill. On all sides except the north it was protected by the deep valleys, and, in the period 1800-1600 B.C., a valley on the north, which has since been filled up, partially protected it there also. This valley Macalister and Duncan uncovered in 1924; they found that it had been extended at its eastern end by a rock-cut moat, which extended the defense clear across the hill. That people might easily cross this moat to enter and leave the city, elevated causeways of rock were left at either end of it. Each of these causeways had rock-cut steps at each end of it, by which one crossing it could descend to it and go up from it. By the city gate at the end of the easternmost causeway a rock-cut altar was found. Apparently every one entering the city was expected to sacrifice to its god. This Abraham did, the narrative tells us, in a generous manner. The source of this narrative is something outside either of the four sources of the Pentateuch described above. The spade of the excavator has shown that the division of spoil with Melchizedek is in accordance with the customs of the period to which the Bible assigns Abraham.

THE DESTRUCTION OF SODOM AND GOMORRAH, *Gen.* 18:1—19:29

Gen. 18. And the Lord appeared unto
him by the [16] oaks of Mamre, as he sat
in the tent door in the heat of the day;
2] and he lifted up his eyes and looked,

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[13] Heb. *El Elyon.*
[14] Or, *maker.*

[15] Or, let there be *nothing for me; only that &c.*
[16] Or, *terebinths.*

and, lo, three men stood over against
him: and when he saw them, he ran to
meet them from the tent door, and bowed
3] himself to the earth, and said, [17] My
lord, if now I have found favour in thy
sight, pass not away, I pray thee, from
4] thy servant: let now a little water be
fetched, and wash your feet, and rest
5] yourselves under the tree: and I will
fetch a morsel of bread, and comfort ye
your heart; after that ye shall pass on:
[18] forasmuch as ye are come to your
servant. And they said, So do, as thou
6] hast said. And Abraham hastened into
the tent unto Sarah, and said, Make
ready quickly three measures of fine
7] meal, knead it, and make cakes. And
Abraham ran unto the herd, and fetched
a calf tender and good, and gave it unto
the servant; and he hasted to dress it.
8] And he took butter, and milk, and the
calf which he had dressed, and set it before
them; and he stood by them under
9] the tree, and they did eat. And they
said unto him, Where is Sarah thy wife?
10] And he said, Behold, in the tent. And
he said, I will certainly return unto thee
when the season [19] cometh round; and,
lo, Sarah thy wife shall have a son. And
Sarah heard in the tent door, which was
11] behind him. Now Abraham and
Sarah were old, *and* well stricken in
age; it had ceased to be with Sarah after
12] the manner of women. And Sarah
laughed within herself, saying, After I
am waxed old shall I have pleasure, my
13] lord being old also? And the LORD
said unto Abraham, Wherefore did
Sarah laugh, saying, Shall I of a surety
14] bear a child, which am old? Is any
thing too [20] hard for the LORD? At the
set time I will return unto thee, when
the season [21] cometh round, and Sarah
15] shall have a son. Then Sarah denied,
saying, I laughed not; for she was
afraid. And he said, Nay; but thou didst
laugh.
16] And the men rose up from thence,
and looked toward Sodom: and Abraham
went with them to bring them on
17] the way. And the LORD said, Shall I
hide from Abraham that which I do;
18] seeing that Abraham shall surely become
a great and mighty nation, and all
the nations of the earth shall be blessed in
19] him? For I have [22] known him to
the end that he may command his children
and his household after him, that
they may keep the way of the LORD to do
justice and judgment; to the end that
the LORD may bring upon Abraham that
20] which he hath spoken of him. And
the LORD said, [23] Because the cry of Sodom
and Gomorrah is great, and [23] because
21] their sin is very grievous; I will go
down now, and see whether they have
done altogether according to the cry
of it, which is come unto me; and if
22] not, I will know. And the men
turned from thence, and went toward
Sodom: but Abraham stood yet before
23] the LORD. And Abraham drew near,
and said, Wilt thou consume the righteous
24] with the wicked? Peradventure
there be fifty righteous within the
city: wilt thou consume and not spare
the place for the fifty righteous that are
25] therein? That be far from thee to
do after this manner, to slay the righteous
with the wicked, that so the righteous
should be as the wicked; that be
far from thee: shall not the Judge of all
26] the earth do right? And the LORD
said, If I find in Sodom fifty righteous
within the city, then I will spare all the
27] place for their sake. And Abraham
answered and said, Behold now, I have
taken upon me to speak unto the LORD,
28] which am but dust and ashes: peradventure
there shall lack five of the fifty
righteous: wilt thou destroy all the city
for lack of five? And he said, I will not
destroy it, if I find there forty and five.
29] And he spake unto him yet again,
and said, Peradventure there shall be
forty found there. And he said, I will
30] not do it for the forty's sake. And
he said, Oh let not the LORD be angry,
and I will speak: peradventure there
shall thirty be found there. And he said,
I will not do it, if I find thirty there.
31] And he said, Behold now, I have

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[17] Or, *O Lord.*
[18] Or, *for therefore.*
[19] Heb. *liveth,* or, *reviveth.*
[20] Or, *wonderful.*
[21] Heb. *liveth,* or *reviveth.*
[22] See *Amos* 3: 2.
[23] Or, *Verily.*

taken upon me to speak unto the LORD:
peradventure there shall be twenty found
there. And he said, I will not destroy it
32] for the twenty's sake. And he said,
Oh let not the LORD be angry, and I will
speak yet but this once: peradventure
ten shall be found there. And he said, I
will not destroy it for the ten's sake.
33] And the LORD went his way, as soon
as he had left communing with Abraham:
and Abraham returned unto his
place.

19. And the two angels came to Sodom
at even; and Lot sat in the gate of
Sodom: and Lot saw them, and rose up
to meet them; and he bowed himself
2] with his face to the earth; and he
said, Behold now, my lords, turn aside,
I pray you, into your servant's house,
and tarry all night, and wash your feet,
and ye shall rise up early, and go on
your way. And they said, Nay; but we
3] will abide in the street all night. And
he urged them greatly; and they turned
in unto him, and entered into his house;
and he made them a feast, and did bake
unleavened bread, and they did eat.
4] But before they lay down, the men of
the city, *even* the men of Sodom, compassed
the house round, both young and
old, all the people from every quarter;
5] and they called unto Lot, and said
unto him, Where are the men which
came in to thee this night? bring them
out unto us, that we may know them.
6] And Lot went out unto them to the
7] door, and shut the door after him. And
he said, I pray you, my brethren, do not
8] so wickedly. Behold now, I have two
daughters which have not known man;
let me, I pray you, bring them out unto
you, and do ye to them as is good in your
eyes: only unto these men do nothing;
[24] forasmuch as they are come under the
9] shadow of my roof. And they said,
Stand back. And they said, This one fellow
came in to sojourn, and he will needs
be a judge: now will we deal worse with
thee, than with them. And they pressed
sore upon the man, even Lot, and drew
10] near to break the door. But the men
put forth their hand, and brought Lot
into the house to them, and shut to the
11] door. And they smote the men that
were at the door of the house with blindness,
both small and great: so that they
wearied themselves to find the door.
12] And the men said unto Lot, Hast
thou here any besides? son in law, and
thy sons, and thy daughters, and whomsoever
thou hast in the city; bring them
13] out of the place: for we will destroy
this place, because the cry of them is
waxen great before the LORD; and the
14] LORD hath sent us to destroy it. And
Lot went out, and spake unto his sons in
law, which [25] married his daughters, and
said, Up, get you out of this place; for
the LORD will destroy the city. But he
seemed unto his sons in law as one that
15] mocked. And when the morning
arose, then the angels hastened Lot, saying,
Arise, take thy wife, and thy two
daughters which are here; lest thou be
consumed in the [26] iniquity of the city.
16] But he lingered; and the men laid
hold upon his hand, and upon the hand
of his wife, and upon the hand of his
two daughters; the LORD being merciful
unto him: and they brought him forth,
17] and set him without the city. And it
came to pass, when they had brought
them forth abroad, that he said, Escape
for thy life; look not behind thee, neither
stay thou in all the [27] Plain; escape to the
18] mountain, lest thou be consumed. And
Lot said unto them, Oh, not so, [28] my
19] lord: behold now, thy servant hath
found grace in thy sight, and thou hast
magnified thy mercy, which thou hast
shewed unto me in saving my life; and
I cannot escape to the mountain, lest
20] [29] evil overtake me, and I die: behold
now, this city is near to flee unto,
and it is a little one: Oh, let me escape
thither, (is it not a little one?) and my
21] soul shall live. And he said unto him,
See, I have accepted thee concerning this
thing also, that I will not overthrow the
22] city of which thou hast spoken. Haste
thee, escape thither; for I cannot do any
thing till thou be come thither. There-

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[24] Or, *for therefore.*
[25] Or, *were to marry.*
[26] Or, *punishment.*
[27] See ch. 13: 10.
[28] Or, *O Lord.*
[29] Or, *the evil.*

fore the name of the city was called
23] [30] Zoar. The sun was risen upon the
earth when Lot came unto Zoar.
24] Then the LORD rained upon Sodom
and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire
25] from the LORD out of heaven; and he
overthrew those cities, and all the Plain,
and all the inhabitants of the cities, and
that which grew upon the ground.
26] But his wife looked back from behind
him, and she became a pillar of
27] salt. And Abraham gat up early in
the morning to the place where he had
28] stood before the LORD: and he looked
toward Sodom and Gomorrah, and
toward all the land of the Plain, and beheld,
and, lo, the smoke of the land went
up as the smoke of a furnace.

29] And it came to pass, when God destroyed
the cities of the Plain, that God
remembered Abraham, and sent Lot out
of the midst of the overthrow, when he
overthrew the cities in the which Lot
dwelt.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth chapters of *Genesis* there is a picturesque and graphic account of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah and other cities of "the Plain" as the deep depression at the south end of the Dead Sea was called. This account is in the main from the J Document, and is replete with the religious ideas of that writer. The writer tells his stories as simply and powerfully as Homer, making the scene stand out before the reader and never permitting the interest to lag. The story is probably founded on the memory of a disaster which overtook that region through an earthquake and the subsidence of a part of the earth's surface. The description suggests volcanic action, but geologists tell us that there has been no volcanic action in that part of Palestine in times so recent. It is known, though, that, while the northern two-thirds of the Dead Sea is from 1,200 to 1,500 feet deep, the southern third is only 12 to 16 feet deep. It is also known that the water is gradually rising and is submerging more and more land year by year. That there were once cities there was established in 1924 by Dr. W. F. Albright and Dr. Melvin G. Kyle, who discovered at the base of the hills which rise at the east of the "Plain" the "high place" where these peoples of long ago used to go and worship. The pottery found in connection with this sanctuary showed that it had been used from about 2800 B.C. to 1800 B.C., and deserted about the last mentioned date. As this corresponds approximately with the time of Abraham, it tends to establish our faith in this story that the cities which once stood here perished in some great upheaval.

THE DELIVERANCE OF ISAAC, *Gen.* 22: 1–24

Gen. 22. And it came to pass after
these things, that God did prove Abraham,
and said unto him, Abraham; and
2] he said, Here am I. And he said, Take
now thy son, thine only son, whom thou
lovest, even Isaac, and get thee in to the
land of Moriah; and offer him there for
a burnt offering upon one of the mountains
3] which I will tell thee of. And
Abraham rose early in the morning, and
saddled his ass, and took two of his
young men with him, and Isaac his son;
and he clave the wood for the burnt offering,
and rose up, and went unto the
4] place of which God had told him. On
the third day Abraham lifted up his eyes,
5] and saw the place afar off. And Abraham
said unto his young men, Abide ye
here with the ass, and I and the lad will
go yonder; and we will worship, and

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[30] That is, *Little*, ver. 20. See ch. 14: 8.

6] come again to you. And Abraham
took the wood of the burnt offering, and
laid it upon Isaac his son; and he took
in his hand the fire and the knife; and
7] they went both of them together. And
Isaac spake unto Abraham his father,
and said, My father: and he said, Here
am I, my son. And he said, Behold, the
fire and the wood: but where is the lamb
8] for a burnt offering? And Abraham
said, God will [31] provide himself the
lamb for a burnt offering, my son: so
9] they went both of them together. And
they came to the place which God had
told him of; and Abraham built the altar
there, and laid the wood in order, and
bound Isaac his son, and laid him on the
10] altar, upon the wood. And Abraham
stretched forth his hand, and took the
11] knife to slay his son. And the angel
of the LORD called unto him out of
heaven, and said, Abraham, Abraham:
12] and he said, Here am I. And he said,
Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither
do thou any thing unto him: for now I
know that thou fearest God, seeing thou
has not withheld thy son, thine only son,
13] from me. And Abraham lifted up
his eyes, and looked, and [32] behold, behind
him a ram caught in the thicket by
his horns: and Abraham went and took
the ram, and offered him up for a burnt
14] offering in the stead of his son. And
Abraham called the name of that place [33] Jehovah-jireh: as it is said to this day,
In the mount of the LORD [34] it shall be
15] provided. And the angel of the LORD
called unto Abraham a second time out
16] of heaven, and said, By myself have
I sworn, saith the LORD, because thou
hast done this thing, and hast not withheld
17] thy son, thine only son: that in
blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying
I will multiply thy seed as the
stars of the heaven, and as the sand
which is upon the sea shore; and thy
seed shall possess the gate of his enemies;
18] and in thy seed shall all the
nations of the earth [35] be blessed; because
19] thou hast obeyed my voice. So
Abraham returned unto his young men,
and they rose up and went together to
Beer-sheba; and Abraham dwelt at
Beer-sheba.

20] And it came to pass after these
things, that it was told Abraham, saying,
Behold, Milcah, she also hath borne
21] children unto thy brother Nahor; Uz
his firstborn, and Buz his brother, and
22] Kemuel the father of Aram; and
Chesed, and Hazo, and Pildash, and Jidlaph,
23] and Bethuel. And Bethuel begat
Rebekah: these eight did Milcah
bear to Nahor, Abraham's brother.
24] And his concubine, whose name was
Reumah, she also bare Tebah, and Gaham,
and Tahash, and Maacah.

The twenty-second chapter of *Genesis* has long been called the "sacrifice of Isaac"; it should be called the "deliverance of Isaac." The ancestors of the Hebrews had believed that God required human sacrifices. The firstborn children, as well as firstborn animals, were regarded as Jehovah's and should be given him in sacrifice (see *Ex.* 34: 19, 20). Later they felt that God permitted them to substitute a lamb and sacrifice it instead of their firstborn, and they told this story of how God had revealed the fact to Abraham as he was about to sacrifice Isaac, his firstborn, in justification of such substitution. The story is from the E Document.

ABRAHAM BUYS A BURIAL-CAVE, *Gen.* 23: 1–20

Gen. 23. And the life of Sarah was an
hundred and seven and twenty years:
these were the years of the life of Sarah.
2] And Sarah died in Kiriath-arba (the

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[31] Heb. *see for himself.*

[32] Or, according to many ancient authorities, *behold a* (Heb. *one*) *ram caught.*

[33] That is, *The LORD will see*, or, *provide.*

[34] Or, *he shall be seen.*

[35] Or, *bless themselves.*

same is Hebron), in the land of Canaan: and Abraham came to mourn for Sarah,
3] and to weep for her. And Abraham rose up from before his dead, and spake
4] unto the children of Heth, saying, I am a stranger and a sojourner with you: give me a possession of a buryingplace with you, that I may bury my dead out
5] of my sight. And the children of Heth answered Abraham, saying unto him,
6] Hear us, my lord: thou art [36] a mighty prince among us: in the choice of our sepulchres bury thy dead; none of us shall withhold from thee his sepulchre, but that thou mayest bury thy dead.
7] And Abraham rose up, and bowed himself to the people of the land, even
8] to the children of Heth. And he communed with them, saying, If it be your mind that I should bury my dead out of my sight, hear me, and intreat for me to
9] Ephron the son of Zohar, that he may give me the cave of Machpelah, which he hath, which is in the end of his field; for the full price let him give it to me in the midst of you for a possession
10] of a buryingplace. Now Ephron was sitting in the midst of the children of Heth: and Ephron the Hittite answered Abraham in the audience of the children of Heth, even of all that went in at the
11] gate of his city, saying, Nay, my lord, hear me: the field give I thee, and the cave that is therein, I give it thee; in the presence of the sons of my people
12] give I it thee: bury thy dead. And Abraham bowed himself down before the
13] people of the land. And he spake unto Ephron in the audience of the people of the land, saying, But if thou wilt, I pray thee, hear me: I will give the price of the field; take it of me, and I will
14] bury my dead there. And Ephron answered Abraham, saying unto him, My
15] lord, hearken unto me: a piece of land worth four hundred shekels of silver, what is that betwixt me and thee?
16] bury therefore thy dead. And Abraham hearkened unto Ephron; and Abraham weighed to Ephron the silver, which he had named in the audience of the children of Heth, four hundred shekels of silver, current *money* with the mer-
17] chant. So the field of Ephron, which was in Machpelah, which was before Mamre, the field, and the cave which was therein, and all the trees that were in the field, that were in all the border
18] thereof round about, were made sure unto Abraham for a possession in the presence of the children of Heth, before all that went in at the gate of his city.
19] And after this, Abraham buried Sarah his wife in the cave of the field of Machpelah before Mamre (the same is
20] Hebron), in the land of Canaan. And the field, and the cave that is therein, were made sure unto Abraham for a possession of a buryingplace by the children of Heth.

In early Palestine the dead were often buried in caves, the mouths of which were then closed up. If no cave was available, a tomb could be cut out of the solid rock; but, if a cave could be obtained, much labor was saved. The twenty-third chapter of *Genesis* tells the story of how, when Sarah died, Abraham purchased the Cave of Macpelah in Hebron as a tomb for her. Although the story is taken from the P Document, the latest source in the Pentateuch, it is interesting as it recognizes that Hittites were in possession of Hebron in the Abrahamic age. It is also an excellent picture of the slow processes of Oriental bargaining.

ABRAHAM TAKES A BRIDE FOR ISAAC, *Gen.* 24: 1–67

In the twenty-fourth chapter of *Genesis* there is the story of an Oriental wooing of a bride. It is taken from the J Document, and is one of that writer's best told tales.

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[36] Heb. *a prince of God.*

Gen. 24. And Abraham was old, *and*
well stricken in age: and the Lord had
2] blessed Abraham in all things. And
Abraham said unto his servant, the elder
of his house, that ruled over all that he
had, Put, I pray thee, thy hand under
3] my thigh: and I will make thee swear
by the Lord, the God of heaven and the
God of the earth, that thou shalt not take
a wife for my son of the daughters of
the Canaanites, among whom I dwell:
4] but thou shalt go unto my country,
and to my kindred, and take a wife for
5] my son Isaac. And the servant said
unto him, Peradventure the woman will
not be willing to follow me unto this
land: must I needs bring thy son again
unto the land from whence thou camest?
6] And Abraham said unto him, Beware
thou that thou bring not my son thither
7] again. The Lord, the God of heaven,
that took me from my father's house,
and from the land of my nativity, and
that spake unto me, and that sware unto
me, saying, Unto thy seed will I give this
land; he shall send his angel before thee,
and thou shalt take a wife for my son
8] from thence. And if the woman be
not willing to follow thee, then thou
shalt be clear from this my oath; only
thou shalt not bring my son thither
9] again. And the servant put his hand
under the thigh of Abraham his master,
and sware to him concerning this matter.
10] And the servant took ten camels,
of the camels of his master, and
departed; [37] having all goodly things of
his master's in his hand: and he arose,
and went to [38] Mesopotamia, unto the
11] city of Nahor. And he made the
camels to kneel down without the city
by the well of water at the time of evening,
the time that women go out to
12] draw water. And he said, O Lord,
the God of my master Abraham, send
me, I pray thee, good speed this day,
and shew kindness unto my master Abraham.
13] Behold, I stand by the fountain
of water; and the daughters of the
men of the city come out to draw water:
14] and let it come to pass, that the damsel
to whom I shall say, Let down thy
pitcher, I pray thee, that I may drink;
and she shall say, Drink, and I will give
thy camels drink also: let the same be
she that thou hast appointed for thy
servant Isaac; and thereby shall I know
that thou hast shewed kindness unto my
15] master. And it came to pass, before
he had done speaking, that, behold, Rebekah
came out, who was born to Bethuel
the son of Milcah, the wife of Nahor,
Abraham's brother, with her pitcher upon
16] her shoulder. And the damsel
was very fair to look upon, a virgin,
neither had any man known her: and
she went down to the fountain, and filled
17] her pitcher, and came up. And the
servant ran to meet her, and said, Give
me to drink, I pray thee, a little water
18] of thy pitcher. And she said, Drink,
my lord: and she hasted, and let down
her pitcher upon her hand, and gave
19] him drink. And when she had done
giving him drink, she said, I will draw
for thy camels also, until they have done
20] drinking. And she hasted, and emptied
her pitcher into the trough, and ran
again unto the well to draw, and drew
21] for all his camels. And the man
looked stedfastly on her; holding his
peace, to know whether the Lord had
made his journey prosperous or not.
22] And it came to pass, as the camels
had done drinking, that the man took a
golden ring of [39] half a shekel weight,
and two bracelets for her hands of ten
23] shekels weight of gold; and said,
Whose daughter art thou? tell me, I
pray thee. Is there room in thy father's
24] house for us to lodge in? And she
said unto him, I am the daughter of
Bethuel the son of Milcah, which she
25] bare unto Nahor. She said moreover
unto him, We have both straw and provender
enough, and room to lodge in.
26] And the man bowed his head, and
27] worshipped the Lord. And he said,
Blessed be the Lord, the God of my master
Abraham, who hath not forsaken his
mercy and his truth toward my master:
as for me, the Lord hath led me in

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[37] Or, *for all the goods of his master were in his hand.*

[38] Heb. *Aramnaharaim,* that is, *Aram of the two rivers.*

[39] Heb. *a beka.* See *Ex.* 38: 26.

the way to the house of my master's
28] brethren. And the damsel ran, and
told her mother's house according to
29] these words. And Rebekah had a
brother, and his name was Laban: and
Laban ran out unto the man, unto the
30] fountain. And it came to pass, when
he saw the ring, the bracelets upon his
sister's hands, and when he heard the
words of Rebekah his sister, saying,
Thus spake the man unto me; that he
came unto the man; and, behold, he
stood by the camels at the fountain.
31] And he said, Come in, thou blessed
of the LORD; wherefore standest thou
without? for I have prepared the house,
32] and room for the camels. And the
man came into the house, and he ungirded
the camels; and he gave straw
and provender for the camels, and water
to wash his feet and the men's feet
33] that were with him. And there was
set meat before him to eat: but he said,
I will not eat, until I have told mine errand.
34] And he said, Speak on. And he
35] said, I am Abraham's servant. And
the LORD hath blessed my master greatly;
and he is become great: and he hath
given him flocks and herds, and silver
and gold, and menservants and maidservants,
36] and camels and asses. And
Sarah my master's wife bare a son to
my master when she was old: and unto
him hath he given all that he hath.
37] And my master made me swear, saying,
Thou shalt not take a wife for my
son of the daughters of the Canaanites,
38] in whose land I dwell: but thou shalt
go unto my father's house, and to my
kindred, and take a wife for my son.
39] And I said unto my master, Peradventure
the woman will not follow me.
40] And he said unto me, The LORD, before
whom I walk, will send his angel
with thee, and prosper thy way; and
thou shalt take a wife for my son of my
kindred, and of my father's house:
41] then shalt thou be clear from my
oath, when thou comest to my kindred;
and if they give her not to thee, thou
42] shalt be clear from my oath. And
I came this day unto the fountain, and
said, O LORD, the God of my master
Abraham, if now thou do prosper my
43] way which I go: behold, I stand by
the fountain of water; and let it come
to pass, that the maiden which cometh
forth to draw, to whom I shall say, Give
me, I pray thee, a little water of thy
44] pitcher to drink; and she shall say
to me, Both drink thou, and I will also
draw for thy camels: let the same be
the woman whom the LORD hath appointed
45] for my master's son. And before
I had done speaking in mine heart,
behold, Rebekah came forth with her
pitcher on her shoulder; and she went
down unto the fountain, and drew: and
I said unto her, Let me drink I pray
46] thee. And she made haste, and let
down her pitcher from her shoulder, and
said, Drink, and I will give thy camels
drink also: so I drank, and she made the
47] camels drink also. And I asked her,
and said, Whose daughter art thou? And
she said, The daughter of Bethuel, Nahor's
son, whom Milcah bare unto him:
and I put the ring upon her nose, and the
48] bracelets upon her hands. And I
bowed my head, and worshipped the
LORD, and blessed the LORD, the God of
my master Abraham, which had led me
in the right way to take my master's
49] brother's daughter for his son. And
now if ye will deal kindly and truly
with my master, tell me: and if not, tell
me; that I may turn to the right hand,
50] or to the left. Then Laban and Methuel
answered and said, The thing proceedeth
from the LORD: we cannot speak
51] unto thee bad or good. Behold, Rebekah
is before thee, take her, and go,
and let her be thy master's son's wife,
52] as the LORD hath spoken. And it
came to pass, that, when Abraham's servant
heard their words, he bowed himself
down to the earth unto the LORD.
53] And the servant brought forth jewels
of silver, and jewels of gold, and
raiment, and gave them to Rebekah: he
gave also to her brother and to her
54] mother precious things. And they did
eat and drink, he and the men that were
with him, and tarried all night; and
they rose up in the morning, and he said,
55] Send me away unto my master. And
her brother and her mother said, Let the
damsel abide with us *a few* days, at the

56] least ten; after that she shall go. And he said unto them, Hinder me not, seeing the LORD hath prospered my way; send me away that I may go to my mas-
57] ter. And they said, We will call the damsel, and inquire at her mouth.
58] And they called Rebekah, and said unto her, Wilt thou go with this man?
59] And she said, I will go. And they sent away Rebekah their sister, and her nurse, and Abraham's servant, and his
60] men. And they blessed Rebekah, and said unto her, Our sister, be thou *the mother* of thousands of ten thousands, and let thy seed possess the gate of those
61] which hate them. And Rebekah arose, and her damsels, and they rode upon the camels, and followed the man: and the servant took Rebekah, and went
62] his way. And Isaac came[40] from the way of Beer-lahai-roi; for he dwelt in
63] the land of the South. And Isaac went out to meditate in the field at the eventide: and he lifted up his eyes, and saw, and, behold, there were camels com-
64] ing. And Rebekah lifted up her eyes, and when she saw Isaac, she lighted off
65] the camel. And she said unto the servant, What man is this that walketh in the field to meet us? And the servant said, It is my master: and she took her
66] veil, and covered herself. And the servant told Isaac all the things that he
67] had done. And Isaac brought her into his mother Sarah's tent, and took Rebekah, and she became his wife; and he loved her: and Isaac was comforted after his mother's death.

This narrative is another item, linking the Hebrew ancestry with Haran. It represents under the form of marriage the blending of the Amorite and the Aramean elements.

These priceless pictures of Oriental life contain in various degrees such historical elements from the age of Abraham as had survived in the memory of the story-tellers of ancient Israel.

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[40] The Sept. has, *through the wilderness.*

CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF HEBREWS IN PALESTINE

IN the late autumn of 1887 an Egyptian peasant woman was digging in the sand at Tel-el-Amarna, about half-way between Cairo and the First Cataract on the east side of the Nile in Egypt, when she came upon some clay tablets, inscribed in the wedge-shaped writing of Babylonia. She is said to have sold her rights to the discovery for fifty cents. When the clue was followed up, more than four hundred such tablets were found. They proved to be an archive of letters written to Amenophis III and Amenophis IV, kings of Egypt between 1411 and 1357 B.C., by various kings, princes, and chieftains of western Asia. There were letters from kings of Babylon, Assyria, the Mitanni, from Azarwa in western Asia Minor, and a great many from princes of cities in Phenicia and Palestine, including Tyre and Jerusalem. It was from these letters that we gained our first information about the Habiri, who were described above in chapter II.

As soon as it was realized that the Habiri, who, these tablets said, were making war on the residents of Palestine and overrunning parts of the country, were Hebrews, it was assumed by some that here we had contemporary evidence from the people of Canaan of the wars of Joshua, the story of which is recounted in the book of *Joshua*. While this supposition suits certain chronological statements of the Bible, it creates difficulties in other ways. If the Habiri described in the tablets were the armies of Joshua, the exodus from Egypt must have occurred under the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty, but the book of *Exodus* tells us (ch. 1:11) that the Hebrews, when in bondage in Egypt, were compelled to help build the city of Raamses, which we know from Egyptian sources was built by Ramses II, a king of the nineteenth Egyptian dynasty, who reigned from 1292 to 1225 B.C. The description of the oppression of the Hebrews in Egypt corresponds so closely with what is known of his reign, and with the reign of no other Egyptian king, that it has been very generally accepted by scholars that Ramses II was the Pharaoh who oppressed the Hebrews and that the Exodus occurred under Merneptah, his son and successor, who reigned from 1225 to 1215 B.C.—the exodus being about 1220 B.C. The evidence for this view is so much more convincing than for the other, that it has been accepted by the great majority of scholars, and will be found in most modern books on the subject. Notwithstanding this, there are difficulties, if one accepts it. In 1896 Petrie discovered on the back of a statue a hymn of victory, written in the fifth year of Merneptah's reign, to celebrate the victories he had won up to that time, in which, in naming the peoples he had conquered in the land of Canaan, he said: "Israel is desolated; his seed is not." [1] Because the evidence is so conflicting, a few scholars, the present writer among them, have come to believe that there were two periods of Hebrew conquest and settlement in Palestine, one in the time of Amenophis IV, of which the El-Amarna letters give us a glimpse, and the other about 1200 B.C., after the reign of Merneptah. During the first settlement the tribes said to be descended from Leah, who were even then called the "sons of Israel," settled, it is supposed, in that country, where they remained. According to this theory, it was only the tribes said to be descended from Rachel that were in Egypt and were delivered therefrom by Moses, and who reached Palestine soon after the year 1200 B.C. The acceptance of this solution of the difficulties involves the supposition that centuries later, when the documents J, E, D, and P, from which the book of *Joshua* was compiled, were written, the two periods of conquest lay so far back that they seemed to be one, and so the actual perspective was lost. Such a supposition need not disturb us. It is a mistaken view of inspiration to suppose that it enables one to write history without sources and state all the facts exactly. The writers of the Bible show their inspiration by the fact that they perceived more clearly than their contemporaries the true nature of God, and saw more deeply than others the vital connection between ethics and religion.

This theory of two invasions of Palestine finds support in the fact that, in spite of what has been said about the book of *Joshua,* there are recollections of two invasions of Palestine in the Bible itself, for, while the book of *Joshua* describes one made from the east, in *Numbers* 21 : 1–3 and *Judges* 1 : 1–20 we have a record of an invasion made by the tribe of Judah from the south.[2] The evidence is so conflicting that there will be for a long time advocates of all three theories. Some will believe that the Hebrews conquered Palestine before 1350 B.C.; others, that they did it about 1200 B.C.; while some, like the writer, will believe that they did it at both times. The following pages are written on the supposition that the last mentioned theory is probably correct. If at times the writer seems to speak too much as though it were fully established, it is only to avoid using too often some such word as "probably," "perhaps," or "in our opinion." It is always helpful to arrange our knowledge in an orderly manner in accordance with the theory that will best explain all the facts, but one must be willing to abandon one's theory, when it becomes clear that another affords a better explanation of all the facts.

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[1] See J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records: Egypt,* Vol. III, p.264 ff., or G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible,* 5th ed., p. 338.

[2] A more detailed statement with more complete reasons will be found in G. A. Barton, *Religion of Israel,* 2nd ed., Philadelphia, 1928, ch. III.

With the understanding thus reached, we ask what the letters found at El-Amarna have to tell us of the first Hebrew conquest of Palestine. Several of these letters were written by Abdi-Hepa (or Ebed-Hepa), a king of Jerusalem, who was of Hurri descent. Ebed-Hepa was a vassal of the king of Egypt, who was hard beset by the Habiri, and he made in these letters frantic appeals for soldiers to help him in his fight. One of them begins thus:

> "To the king, my lord, speak, saying, Ebed-Hepa, thy servant—at the feet of my lord, the king, seven times and seven times I prostrate myself. What have I done to the king, my lord? They slander and misrepresent me before the king, my lord (saying): 'Ebed-Hepa is disloyal to the king,' my lord. Behold I—neither my father nor my mother set me in this place; the arm of the mighty king caused me to enter into the house of my father. Why should I commit rebellion against the king, my lord? As long as the king, my lord, lives I will say unto the governor of the king, my lord; 'Why dost thou love the Habiri and hate the prefects?' But thus he misrepresents me before the king, my lord. Now I say: 'lost are the lands of the king, my lord."

Further on in the same letter Ebed-Hepa says:

> "May the king turn his face toward soldiers, so that there may come forth soldiers of the king, my lord. There are no lands left to the king, my lord. The Habiri plunder all the lands of the king. If there are soldiers in this year, there will be left lands of the king, my lord. If there are no soldiers, the lands of the king will be lost. Unto the scribe of the king, my lord, the following: Ebed-Hepa, thy servant. Take beautiful words to the king, my lord. Lost are all the lands of the king, my lord."

In another letter he says:

> "I set once a ship on the sea, when the mighty arm of the king took Naharina [Mesopotamia] and Kapasi, but, behold the Habiri take the cities of the king. There is no prefect to the king, my lord; all are lost. Behold Turbazu was killed in the city-gate of Zilu and the king is inactive! Behold Zimridda of Lachish, his servants were enraged at him; he adhered to the Habiri. Yapti-Adda was killed in the city-gate of Zilu and there is no action! Concerning it the king makes no inquiry! Let the king care for his land and let the king turn his face to soldiers for the tributary lands! For, if there are no soldiers in this year, lost, perished are all the lands of the king, my lord. Let not one say in the presence of the king, my lord, that the land of the king, my lord, is lost and all the prefects are lost. If there are no soldiers in this year, then let the king send a governor to bring me and my brothers unto thee, and we will die with the king, my lord."

In still another letter he says, after the usual introduction:

> "Behold the deed which Malkiel and Shuardatu have done against the country of the king, my lord! They have won over the soldiers of Gezer, the soldiers of Gath, and the soldiers of Keilah; they have seized the country of the city Rubuti. The land of the king is fallen away to the Habiri. And now also a city of the territory of Jerusalem—its name is Beth-shemesh—a city of the king, has gone over to the men of Keilah. May the king hearken to Ebed-Hepa, thy servant, and send

soldiers that the land of the king may remain unto the king. If there are no soldiers, lost are the lands of the king to the Habiri. This is the deed which Malkiel and Shuardatu have done. . . . May the king care for his land!"[3]

From these letters it is clear that Jerusalem was the capital of an extensive territory, which included the territory of what was afterward northern Judea, extended westward to include Beth-shemesh on the border of what we now call the Philistine plain, and northward to Mount Carmel. The Habiri were pushing into Lachish, Gath, and Gezer, all on the edge of the Plain, and Beth-shemesh and Keilah in Judea had gone over to them. They appear to have been pushing up from the south along the western edge of the central range of Palestinian hills. According to a passage in the book of *Judges* the children of Judah made a similar attack from the south and captured several cities, including Jerusalem. We suspect that this passage refers to a slightly later stage in the same war, and that their capture of Jerusalem caused Ebed-Hepa's letters to cease. The passage reads as follows:

Jud. 1. 2] And the LORD said, Judah
shall go up: behold, I have delivered
3] the land into his hand. And Judah said
unto Simeon his brother, Come up with
me into my lot, that we may fight against
the Canaanites; and I likewise will go
with thee into thy lot. So Simeon went
4] with him. And Judah went up; and
the LORD delivered the Canaanites and
the Perizzites into their hand: and
they smote of them in Bezek ten thousand
5] men. And they found Adoni-bezek
in Bezek: and they fought against him,
and they smote the Canaanites and the
6] Perizzites. But Adoni-bezek fled; and
they pursued after him, and caught him,
and cut off his thumbs and his great toes.
7] And Adoni-bezek said, Three-score
and ten kings, having their thumbs and
their great toes cut off, gathered *their*
meat under my table: as I have done, so
God hath requited me. And they brought
him to Jerusalem, and he died there.

8] And the children of Judah fought
against Jerusalem, and took it, and smote
it with the edge of the sword, and set the
9] city on fire. And afterward the children of Judah went down to fight against
the Canaanites that dwelt in the hill
country, and in the South, and in the
10] lowland. [4] And Judah went against
the Canaanites that dwelt in Hebron:
(now the name of Hebron beforetime
was Kiriath-arba:) and they smote She-
11] shai, and Ahiman, and Talmai. And
from thence he went against the inhabitants of Debir. (Now the name of Debir
12] beforetime was Kiriath-sepher.) And
Caleb said, He that smiteth Kiriath-
sepher, and taketh it, to him will I give
13] Achsah my daughter to wife. And
Othniel the son of Kenaz, Caleb's younger brother, took it: and he gave him
14] Achsah his daughter to wife. And
it came to pass, when she came *unto him*,
that she moved him to ask of her father
a field: and she lighted down from off
her ass; and Caleb said unto her, What
15] wouldest thou? And she said unto
him, Give me a [5] blessing; for that thou
hast [6] set me in the land of the South,
give me also springs of water. And Caleb gave her the upper springs and the
nether springs.

The book of *Numbers*, ch. 21 : 1–3, seems to record another episode in this same war. It reads as follows:

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[3] For full translation of these letters, see Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., pp. 403–406.

[4] See *Josh.* 15: 13–19.

[5] Or, *present*.

[6] Or, *given me the land of the South*.

Num. 21. And the Canaanite, the king of Arad, which dwelt in the South, heard tell that Israel came by the way [7] of Atharim; and he fought against Israel, and took some of them captive. 2] And Israel vowed a vow unto the LORD, and said, If thou wilt indeed deliver this people into my hand, then I 3] will [8] utterly destroy their cities. And the LORD hearkened to the voice of Israel, and delivered up the Canaanites; and they [9] utterly destroyed them and their cities: and the name of the place was called [10] Hormah.

THE CONQUEST OF THE AMORITE KING SIHON BY THE REUBENITES, *Num.* 21:21–31

Num. 21. 21] And Israel sent messengers unto Sihon king of the Amorites, 22] saying, Let me pass through thy land: we will not turn aside into field, or into vineyard; we will not drink of the water of the wells: we will go by the king's *high* way, until we have passed 23] thy border. And Sihon would not suffer Israel to pass through his border: but Sihon gathered all his people together, and went out against Israel into the wilderness, and came to Jahaz: and 24] he fought against Israel. And Israel smote him with the edge of the sword, and possessed his land from Arnon unto Jabbok, even unto the children of Ammon: for the border of the children of 25] Ammon was strong. And Israel took all these cities: and Israel dwelt in all the cities of the Amorites, in Heshbon, 26] and in all the [11] towns thereof. For Heshbon was the city of Sihon the king of the Amorites, who had fought against the former king of Moab, and taken all his land out of his hand, even unto Ar-27] non. Wherefore they that speak in proverbs say,

Come ye to Heshbon,
Let the city of Sihon be built and established:
28] For a fire is gone out of Heshbon,
A flame from the city of Sihon:
It hath devoured Ar of Moab,
The lords of [12] the high places of Arnon.
29] Woe to thee, Moab!
Thou art undone, O people of Chemosh:
He hath given his sons as fugitives,
And his daughters into captivity,
Unto Sihon king of the Amorites.
30] We have shot at them; Heshbon is perished even unto Dibon,
And we have laid waste even unto Nophah,
[13] which *reacheth* unto Medeba.

31] Thus Israel dwelt in the land of the Amorites.

This passage tells us how the Reubenites won their land east of the Jordan.

Other letters in the El-Amarna correspondence, written by other men than Ebed-Hepa, tell a similar tale. Lápaya and Malkiel, to whom Ebed-Hepa refers, wrote letters, the one telling how an influential man had gone over to the Habiri, the other appealing that the land of the king might be saved from them. Yapahi, king of Gezer, wrote to the king making a similar appeal, while men whose names are lost declared "the Habiri are stronger than we."

The El-Amarna letters from the north of Palestine tell a similar story.

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[7] Or, *of the spies*
[8] Heb. *devote.*
[9] Heb. *devoted.*
[10] From the same root as *herem,* a devoted thing.
[11] Heb. *daughters.*
[12] Or, *Bamoth.*
[13] Some ancient authorities have, *Fire reached unto.*

Rib-Adad, king of Gebal, wrote a number of letters, from which we learn that the Habiri were pressing down upon the Amorite kingdom which lay just east of Tyre and Sidon. A king of Sidon writes: "All my cities are in the hands of the Habiri." They attacked Gebal itself. Other letters, the names of whose writers are lost, show that the Habiri were in Bethshean on the west of the Jordan, and in Ashtart (Ashtoreth Karnaim) and in Bosrah. They also attacked Damascus. These letters accordingly show that the Habiri had gained a foothold in the country east of the Sea of Galilee which has for centuries been called the Hauran, that they held a fortress in the heights of Galilee, and were pressing hard on the cities of Phenicia. It would seem therefore that they gained possession of the southern portion of the country and of the most northerly part of it.

The Habiri, in struggling for a foothold in Palestine, did not expel or exterminate all its previous inhabitants. Sometimes they captured a city, as Ebed-Hepa testifies; sometimes they were repulsed with loss; sometimes they gained a foothold by making alliances with clans who were in possession. The El-Amarna letters reveal the fact that there were much intrigue and bad faith among the petty princes of the country, who had been vassals of the Egyptian king, and we learn also from the Bible that the Hebrews themselves were sometimes treacherous and suffered for it. The story of such an episode, which seems to belong to this period, is recorded in the thirty-fourth chapter of *Genesis*. In the narrative the tribes of Simeon and Levi are personified as men. What their shadowy sister Dinah may represent, we do not know. The scene of the narrative is the city of Shechem, in central Palestine, afterward an important city in the tribe of Ephraim. The city, like the tribes, is personified. In the affair described, there seems to have been treachery on both sides. In the encounter the tribes of Simeon and Levi were so nearly annihilated that they never recovered from the shock. The few Levites who survived were scattered among the other tribes, and the remnant of Simeon maintained for a time a shadowy existence on the border of Judah, by which tribe it was afterward absorbed.

The story reads as follows, *Genesis* 33:18–34:31.

Gen. 33. 18] And Jacob came [14] in
peace to the city of Shechem, which is in
the land of Canaan, when he came from
Paddan-aram; and encamped before the
19] city. And he bought the parcel of
ground, where he had spread his tent,
at the hand of the children of Hamor,
Shechem's father, for an hundred
20] [15] pieces of money. And he erected
there an altar, and called it [16] El-elohe-
Israel.

34. And Dinah the daughter of Leah,
which she bare unto Jacob, went out to
2] see the daughters of the land. And
Shechem the son of Hamor the Hivite,
the prince of the land, saw her; and he
took her, and lay with her, and humbled
3] her. And his soul clave unto Dinah
the daughter of Jacob, and he loved the
damsel, and spake [17] kindly unto the
4] damsel. And Shechem spake unto his
father Hamor, saying, Get me this dam-

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[14] Or, *to Shalom, a city.*

[15] Heb. *kesitah.*

[16] That is, *God, the God of Israel.*

[17] Heb. *to the heart of the damsel.*

5] sel to wife. Now Jacob heard that he had defiled Dinah his daughter; and his sons were with his cattle in the field: and Jacob held his peace until they came.
6] And Hamor the father of Shechem went out unto Jacob to commune with
7] him. And the sons of Jacob came in from the field when they heard it: and the men were grieved, and they were very wroth, because he had wrought folly in Israel in lying with Jacob's daughter;
8] which thing ought not to be done. And Hamor communed with them, saying, The soul of my son Shechem longeth for your daughter: I pray you give her unto
9] him to wife. And make ye marriages with us; give your daughters unto us,
10] and take our daughters unto you. And ye shall dwell with us: and the land shall be before you; dwell and trade ye therein, and get you possessions
11] therein. And Shechem said unto her father and unto her brethren, Let me find grace in your eyes, and what ye shall
12] say unto me I will give. Ask me never so much dowry and gift, and I will give according as ye shall say unto me: but give me the damsel to wife.
13] And the sons of Jacob answered Shechem and Hamor his father with guile, and spake, because he had defiled Dinah their sister, and said unto them,
14] We cannot do this thing, to give our sister to one that is uncircumcised; for
15] that were a reproach unto us: only on this condition will we consent unto you: if ye will be as we be, that every
16] male of you be circumcised; then will we give our daughters unto you, and we will take your daughters to us, and we will dwell with you, and we will
17] become one people. But if ye will not hearken unto us, to be circumcised; then will we take our daughter, and we will
18] be gone. And their words pleased Hamor, and Shechem Hamor's son.
19] And the young man deferred not to do the thing, because he had delight in Jacob's daughter: and he was honoured above all the house of his father.
20] And Hamor and Shechem his son came unto the gate of their city, and communed with the men of their city,
21] saying, These men are peaceable with us; therefore let them dwell in the land, and trade therein; for, behold, the land is large enough for them; let us take their daughters to us for wives, and
22] let us give them our daughters. Only on this condition will the men consent unto us to dwell with us, to become one people, if every male among us be circumcised, as they are circumcised.
23] Shall not their cattle and their substance and all their beasts be ours? only let us consent unto them, and they will
24] dwell with us. And unto Hamor and unto Shechem his son hearkened all that went out of the gate of his city; and every male was circumcised, all that went
25] out of the gate of his city. And it came to pass on the third day, when they were sore, that two of the sons of Jacob, Simeon and Levi, Dinah's brethren, took each man his sword, and came upon the
26] city [18] unawares, and slew all the males. And they slew Hamor and Shechem his son with the edge of the sword, and took Dinah out of Shechem's house,
27] and went forth. The sons of Jacob came upon the slain, and spoiled the city, because they had defiled their sister.
28] They took their flocks and their herds and their asses, and that which was in the city, and that which was
29] in the field; and all their wealth, and all their little ones and their wives, took they captive and spoiled, even all
30] that was in the house. And Jacob said to Simeon and Levi, Ye have troubled me, to make me to stink among the inhabitants of the land, among the Canaanites and the Perizzites: and, I being few in number, they will gather themselves together against me and smite me; and I shall be destroyed, I and my house.
31] And they said, Should he deal with our sister as with an harlot?

The memory of the treachery of these tribes and the punishment which, it was believed, they suffered, is also preserved in an old poem, called "The Blessing of Jacob" preserved in the forty-ninth chapter of *Genesis*. Among the Hebrews it was customary to sum up in terse poetry the fortunes of various tribes and attribute the lines as a prophecy to some ancient patriarch. A similar custom still exists among the Arabs. The forty-ninth chapter of *Genesis* contains a group of such poems, describing the fortunes of each of the sons of Jacob. The portion concerning Simeon and Levi reads as follows:

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[18] Or, *boldly*.

Gen. 49. 5] Simeon and Levi are brethren;
Weapons of violence are their [19] swords.
6] O my soul, come not thou into their [20] council;
Unto their assembly, my glory, be not thou united;
For in their anger they slew [21] a man,
And in their selfwill they houghed [22] an ox.
7] Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce;
And their wrath, for it was cruel:
I will divide them in Jacob,
And scatter them in Israel.

Another passage, which probably records a war of this period, is found in the eleventh chapter of the book of *Joshua*. It records the defeat of Jabin, king of Hazor, a site near the "Waters of Merom," the modern Huleh, a small lake formed by the river Jordan some miles north of the Sea of Galilee. Its site was discovered by Dr. Garstang in 1927. The description of the battle in the book of *Joshua* is drawn from the D Document, which is quite late, but it seems to be a tradition of a historical battle. The writer of the passage calls the Hebrew commander Joshua, but, since the victory secured the territory in which the tribe of Zebulun lived, and since Zebulun was one of the Leah-tribes who, according to our theory, settled in Palestine with the first settlement of Hebrews, it seems probable that, in a long oral transmission, the true perspective was lost, and the battle mistakenly attributed to the time of Joshua. This need not surprise us; stories still attach themselves to the wrong persons as they pass from mouth to mouth. The writer has heard the same stories told of Professor Neander of Berlin and Professor Andrew P. Peabody, both of whom were very absent-minded. He has also heard a story which was originally told in England of the school days of Thomas Hughes, the author of *Tom Brown at Rugby,* told in this country of the school days of President Roosevelt. The account of the defeat of Jabin is as follows:

Josh. 11. And it came to pass, when
Jabin king of Hazor heard thereof, that
he sent to Jobab king of Madon, and to
the king of Shimron, and to the king of
2] Achshaph, and to the kings that were
on the north, in the hill country, and in
the Arabah south of Chinneroth, and in
the lowland, and in [23] the heights of Dor
3] on the west, to the Canaanite on the
east and on the west, and the Amorite,
and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and
the Jebusite in the hill country, and the
Hivite under Hermon in the land of Miz-
4] pah. And they went out, they and all
their hosts with them, much people, even
as the sand that is upon the sea shore in

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[19] Or, *compacts.*
[20] Or, *secret.*
[21] Or, *men.*
[22] Or, *oxen.*
[23] Or, *Naphoth Dor.*

multitude, with horses and chariots very
5] many. And all these kings met together;
and they came and pitched together
at the waters of Merom, to fight
6] with Israel. And the Lord said unto
Joshua, Be not afraid because of them:
for to-morrow at this time will I deliver
them up all slain before Israel: thou shalt
hough their horses, and burn their chariots
7] with fire. So Joshua came, and all
the people of war with him, against
them by the waters of Merom suddenly,
8] and fell upon them. And the Lord
delivered them into the hand of Israel,
and they smote them, and chased them
unto great Zidon, and unto Misrephoth-maim,
and unto the valley of Mizpeh
eastward; and they smote them, until
9] they left them none remaining. And
Joshua did unto them as the Lord bade
him: he houghed their horses, and burnt
their chariots with fire.

10] And Joshua turned back at that
time, and took Hazor, and smote the king
thereof with the sword: for Hazor beforetime
was the head of all those kingdoms.
11] And they smote all the souls
that were therein with the edge of the
sword, [24] utterly destroying them: there
was none left that breathed: and he burnt
12] Hazor with fire. And all the cities
of those kings, and all the kings of them,
did Joshua take, and he smote them with
the edge of the sword, and [25] utterly destroyed
them; as Moses the servant of
13] the Lord commanded. But as for the
cities that stood on their mounds, Israel
burned none of them, save Hazor only;
14] that did Joshua burn. And all the
spoil of these cities, and the cattle, the
children of Israel took for a prey unto
themselves; but every man they smote
with the edge of the sword, until they
had destroyed them, neither left they
15] any that breathed. As the Lord commanded
Moses his servant, so did Moses
command Joshua: and so did Joshua;
[26] he left nothing undone of all that the
Lord commanded Moses.

Of course, if we are right in thinking this a tradition of a battle of the fourteenth century B.C., the references to Joshua and Moses are mistakes, since they both lived later.

Our sources give us a glimpse of one other tribe at this period, which was ultimately incorporated into the Hebrew confederacy—the tribe of Asher. That tribe in later centuries occupied the western part of Galilee, east of the Phenician cities of Tyre and Sidon. The El-Amarna letters and tablets from Boghaz Koi reveal to us a petty Amorite kingdom in this very territory in the period between 1400 and 1200 B.C., though the tribe at this time appears also to have occupied territory in the valley between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon mountains to the north of the river Litani. About 1400 B.C., the chieftain, or petty king, of these Amorites was named Aziru. He was subject to the king of Egypt, and wrote some letters to a high official of Egypt of which we shall speak later. His son and successor was named Ebed-Ashera—a name which means "Servant of Ashera." Ashera was the name given by these Amorites to the old Semitic mother-goddess, who was usually called Ishtar or Ashtoreth. This Amorite chieftain tried to conquer the city of Gebal in Phenicia, and Rib-Adda, who was then king of Gebal, complained of him in some letters to Amenophis IV, king of Egypt, which were found at El-Amarna. In one of these letters Rib-Adda says: "Again, there is clear to the king,

[24] Heb. *devoting.*
[25] Heb. *devoting.*
[26] Heb. *he removed nothing.*

my lord, the deed of Ebed-Ashera, the dog, when all the lands of the king, my lord, are made over to him and are subservient to his hand." In another letter he says: "It is going very hard with me. The sons of Ebed-Ashera have become great in Amorite-land; theirs is the whole land."[27] In this last passage he calls the Amorites "sons of Ebed-Ashera." It has sometimes happened that Semitic tribes came to be called after famous chieftains, and one has only to drop out the word "Ebed" in Rib-Adda's phrase, to obtain "sons of Ashera" or "sons of Asher," the very name by which the Bible calls the tribe of Asher. When we add to all the facts enumerated here the fact mentioned in a previous chapter that the tribe of Asher is said to have been descended from a slave-girl, and accordingly cannot have been one of the original members of the Israelitish confederacy, there can be little doubt that the Asherites were originally this Amorite people who figure in the El-Amarna letters. Probably it was in the fourteenth century before Christ that the alliance was made with them which brought them into the Hebrew federation.

From Hittite records at Boghaz Koi we learn that, after Amenophis IV allowed Palestine to slip from Egypt's grasp, the Amorites of Asher became subject for a time to the kings of Hittite-city. Copies of a treaty made after 1350 B.C. between Mursilis, king of the Hittites, and Duppi-Adda (whom the Hittites called Duppi-Teshub, the name of their weather-god being Teshub), have come to us. We learn from it that Duppi-Adda was a grandson of Aziru. Later, the kings of Hittite-city at Boghaz Koi weakened, and their sway over the country of the "sons of Asher" ceased. When the Bible gives us our next glimpse of the Asherites, they are a part of the Israelitish nation.

Such are the glimpses our ancient records give us of what seems to us to be the first settlement of Israelites in Palestine. As already said, others interpret the evidence differently, but, on the whole, it seems to the present writer that the interpretation here given affords the best understanding of all the facts.

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[27] For translations of some of these letters see Barton, *Archæology and the Bible,* 5th ed., p. 402 f.

CHAPTER V

HEBREWS IN EGYPT

THE river valleys of Babylonia and Egypt have often attracted hungry peoples. In Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor famines occur if the rainfall fails; in the valleys of the Tigris, the Euphrates, and the Nile, where water for irrigation can be had from rivers fed from far-off sources, famines are far rarer. It thus happened that again and again Asiatic tribes entered the Egyptian Delta, to secure food and sojourn awhile. At some time during the time of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty (1580–1350 B.C.) some Hebrew clans entered Egypt. The stories of Joseph in the book of *Genesis* give us the Biblical account of this "going down" to Egypt. It has been explained in a previous chapter that probably these tribes took the name Joseph as that of their reputed ancestor because the city Josephel was in the territory which they afterward inhabited in Palestine. The stories of Joseph, as we have them, grew up centuries later. Joseph became one of the most popular of heroes with Hebrew story-tellers, and we can now show that some of the tales in which he figures were borrowed from Egyptian sources and were originally told of others. Perhaps the tribes said to be descended from Rachel had tried to gain a foothold in Palestine and, failing, blamed the Leah-tribes for the fact that they had to go to Egypt, where they were reduced to servitude. Perhaps that is the historical kernel of the following story, in which tribes are personified as men.

JOSEPH IS SOLD INTO EGYPTIAN SLAVERY, *Gen.* 37: 3–36

Gen. 37. 3] Now Israel loved Joseph
more than all his children, because he
was the son of his old age: and he made
4] him [1] a coat of many colours. And
his brethren saw that their father loved
him more than all his brethren; and they
hated him, and could not speak peaceably
5] unto him. And Joseph dreamed a
dream, and he told it to his brethren;
6] and they hated him yet the more. And
he said unto them, Hear, I pray you,
this dream which I have dreamed:
7] for, behold, we were binding sheaves
in the field, and, lo, my sheaf arose, and
also stood upright; and, behold, your
sheaves came round about, and made
8] obeisance to my sheaf. And his brethren said to him, Shalt thou indeed reign
over us? or shalt thou indeed have dominion over us? And they hated him yet
the more for his dreams, and for his
9] words. And he dreamed yet another
dream, and told it to his brethren, and
said, Behold, I have dreamed yet a

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[1] Or, *a long garment with sleeves.*

dream; and, behold, the sun and the
moon and eleven stars made obeisance to
10] me. And he told it to his father, and
to his brethren; and his father rebuked
him, and said unto him, What is this
dream that thou hast dreamed? Shall I
and thy mother and thy brethren indeed
come to bow down ourselves to thee to
11] the earth? And his brethren envied
him; but his father kept the saying in
12] mind. And his brethren went to feed
13] their father's flock in Shechem. And
Israel said unto Joseph, Do not thy
brethren feed the flock in Shechem?
come, and I will send thee unto them.
14] And he said to him, Here am I. And
he said to him, Go now, see whether it be
well with thy brethren, and well with the
flock; and bring me word again. So he
sent him out of the vale of Hebron, and
15] he came to Shechem. And a certain
man found him, and, behold, he was wandering
in the field: and the man asked
16] him, saying, What seekest thou? And
he said, I seek my brethren: tell me, I
pray thee, where they are feeding *the*
17] *flock.* And the man said, They are
departed hence: for I heard them say,
Let us go to Dothan. And Joseph went
after his brethren, and found them in
18] Dothan. And they saw him afar off,
and before he came near unto them, they
conspired against him to slay him.
19] And they said one to another, Be-
20] hold, this [2] dreamer cometh. Come
now therefore, and let us slay him, and
cast him into one of the pits, and we
will say, An evil beast hath devoured
him: and we shall see what will become
21] of his dreams. And Reuben heard it,
and delivered him out of their hands;
22] and said, Let us not take his life. And
Reuben said unto them, Shed no blood;
cast him into this pit that is in the wilderness,
but lay no hand upon him: that
he might deliver him out of their hand,
23] to restore him to his father. And it
came to pass, when Joseph was come
unto his brethren, that they stript Joseph
of his coat, the coat of many col-
24] ours that was on him; and they took
him, and cast him into the pit: and the
pit was empty, there was no water in it.
25] And they sat down to eat bread: and
they lifted up their eyes and looked, and,
behold, a travelling company of Ishmaelites
came from Gilead, with their
camels bearing [3] spicery and [4] balm and
[5]myrrh, going to carry it down to Egypt.
26] And Judah said unto his brethren,
What profit is it if we slay our brother
27] and conceal his blood? Come, and
let us sell him to the Ishmaelites, and
let not our hand be upon him; for he is
our brother, our flesh. And his brethren
28] hearkened unto him. And there
passed by Midianites, merchantmen; and
they drew and lifted up Joseph out of
the pit, and sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites
for twenty pieces of silver. And
29] they brought Joseph into Egypt. And
Reuben returned unto the pit; and, behold,
Joseph was not in the pit; and
30] he rent his clothes. And he returned
unto his brethren, and said, The child is
31] not; and I, whither shall I go? And
they took Joseph's coat, and killed a he-goat,
and dipped the coat in the blood;
32] and they sent the coat of many colours,
and they brought it to their father;
and said, This have we found:
know now whether it be thy son's coat
33] or not. And he knew it, and said,
It is my son's coat; an evil beast hath
devoured him; Joseph is without doubt
34] torn in pieces. And Jacob rent his
garments, and put sackcloth upon his
loins, and mourned for his son many
35] days. And all his sons and all his
daughters rose up to comfort him; but
he refused to be comforted; and he said,
For I will go down to [6] the grave to my
son mourning. And his father wept for
36] him. And the [7] Midianites sold him
into Egypt unto Potiphar, an officer of
Pharaoh's, the [8] captain of the guard.

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[2] Heb. *master of dreams.*
[3] Or, *gum tragacanth;* or *storax.*
[4] Or, *mastic.*
[5] Or, *ladanum.*
[6] Heb. *Sheol,* the name of the abode of the dead, answering to the Greek Hades, *Acts* ii. 27.
[7] Heb. *Medanites.*
[8] Heb. *chief of the executioners.*

JOSEPH BECOMES STEWARD, IS ACCUSED AND IMPRISONED, *Gen.* 39

Gen. 39. And Joseph was brought
down to Egypt; and Potiphar, an officer
of Pharaoh's, the captain of the guard,
an Egyptian, bought him of the hand of
the Ishmaelites, which had brought him
2] down thither. And the Lord was with
Joseph, and he was a prosperous man;
and he was in the house of his master the
3] Egyptian. And his master saw that
the Lord was with him, and that the
Lord made all that he did to prosper in
his hand. And Joseph found grace in his
sight, and he ministered unto him: and
he made him overseer over his house,
and all that he had he put into his hand.
5] And it came to pass from the time
that he made him overseer in his house,
and over all that he had, that the Lord
blessed the Egyptian's house for Joseph's
sake; and the blessing of the Lord
was upon all that he had, in the house
6] and in the field. And he left all that he
had in Joseph's hand; and [9] he knew not
aught *that was* with him, save the bread
which he did eat. And Joseph was comely,
7] and well favoured. And it came to
pass after these things, that his master's
wife cast her eyes upon Joseph;
8] and she said, Lie with me. But he refused,
and said unto his master's wife,
Behold, my master [10] knoweth not what
is with me in the house, and he hath put
9] all that he hath into my hand; [11] there
is none greater in this house than I;
neither hath he kept back any thing from
me but thee, because thou art his wife:
how then can I do this great wickedness,
10] and sin against God? And it came to
pass, as she spake to Joseph day by day,
that he hearkened not unto her, to lie by
11] her, *or* to be with her. And it came
to pass about this time, that he went into
the house to do his work; and there was
none of the men of the house there within.
12] And she caught him by his garment,
saying, Lie with me: and he left
his garment in her hand, and fled, and
13] got him out. And it came to pass,
when she saw that he had left his garment
in her hand, and was fled forth,
14] that she called unto the men of her
house, and spake unto them, saying, See,
he hath brought in an Hebrew unto us
to mock us; he came in unto me to lie
with me, and I cried with a loud voice:
15] and it came to pass, when he heard
that I lifted up my voice and cried, that
he left his garment by me, and fled, and
16] got him out. And she laid up his
garment by her, until his master came
17] home. And she spake unto him according
to these words, saying, The Hebrew
servant, which thou hast brought
unto us, came in unto me to mock me:
18] and it came to pass, as I lifted up my
voice and cried, that he left his garment
19] by me, and fled out. And it
came to pass, when his master heard
the words of his wife, which she spake
unto him, saying, After this manner did
thy servant to me; that his wrath was
20] kindled. And Joseph's master took
him, and put him into the prison, the
place where the king's prisoners were
bound: and he was there in the prison.
21] But the Lord was with Joseph, and
shewed kindness unto him, and gave him
favour in the sight of the keeper of the
22] prison. And the keeper of the prison
committed to Joseph's hand all the prisoners
that were in the prison; and whatsoever
they did there, he was the doer
23] of it. The keeper of the prison looked
not to any thing that was under his hand,
because the Lord was with him; and that
which he did, the Lord made it to prosper.

This tale is, as to its main features, identical with an Egyptian story called "The Tale of the Two Brothers." [12] We know the Egyptian story from a papyrus written before 1200 B.C., more than three hundred years

[9] Or, *with him he knew not.*

[10] Or, *knoweth not with me what is &c.*

[11] Or, *he is not.*

[12] For the Egyptian story, see Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., p. 326 ff.

earlier than the earliest of the documents in our Pentateuch. That it is told of Joseph, is another example of the fact that stories travel.

JOSEPH IS DELIVERED FROM PRISON AND BECOMES VIZIER OF EGYPT, *Gen.* 40 and 41

Gen. 40. And it came to pass after
these things, that the butler of the king
of Egypt and his baker offended their
2] lord the king of Egypt. And Pharaoh
was wroth against his two officers,
against the chief of the butlers, and
3] against the chief of the bakers. And
he put them in ward in the house of the
captain of the guard, into the prison, the
4] place where Joseph was bound. And
the captain of the guard charged Joseph
with them, and he ministered unto them:
and they continued a season in ward.
5] And they dreamed a dream both of
them, each man his dream, in one night,
each man according to the interpretation
of his dream, the butler and the baker
of the king of Egypt, which were bound
6] in the prison. And Joseph came in unto
them in the morning, and saw them,
7] and, behold, they were sad. And he
asked Pharaoh's officers that were with
him in ward in his master's house, saying,
Wherefore look ye so sadly to-day?
8] And they said unto him, We have
dreamed a dream, and there is none that
can interpret it. And Joseph said unto
them, Do not interpretations belong to
9] God? tell it me, I pray you. And the
chief butler told his dream to Joseph,
and said to him, In my dream, behold, a
10] vine was before me; and in the vine
were three branches: and it was as
though it budded, *and* its blossoms shot
forth; *and* the clusters thereof brought
11] forth ripe grapes: and Pharaoh's cup
was in my hand; and I took the grapes,
and pressed them into Pharaoh's cup,
and I gave the cup into Pharaoh's hand.
12] And Joseph said unto him, This is
the interpretation of it: the three
13] branches are three days; within yet
three days shall Pharaoh lift up thine
head, and restore thee unto thine office:
and thou shalt give Pharaoh's cup into
his hand, after the former manner when
14] thou wast his butler. But have me in
thy remembrance when it shall be well
with thee, and shew kindness, I pray
thee, unto me, and make mention of me
unto Pharaoh, and bring me out of this
15] house: for indeed I was stolen away
out of the land of the Hebrews: and here
also have I done nothing that they should
16] put me into the dungeon. When the
chief baker saw that the interpretation
was good, he said unto Joseph, I also
was in my dream, and, behold, three
baskets of white bread were on my head:
17] and in the uppermost basket there
was of all manner of bakemeats for
Pharaoh; and the birds did eat them
18] out of the basket upon my head. And
Joseph answered and said, This is the
interpretation thereof: the three baskets
19] are three days; within yet three days
shall Pharaoh lift up thy head from off
thee, and shall hang thee on a tree; and
the birds shall eat thy flesh from off
20] thee. And it came to pass the third
day, which was Pharaoh's birthday, that
he made a feast unto all his servants:
and he lifted up the head of the chief
butler and the head of the chief baker
21] among his servants. And he restored
the chief butler unto his butlership
again; and he gave the cup into Pharaoh's
22] hand: but he hanged the chief
baker: as Joseph had interpreted to
23] them. Yet did not the chief butler
remember Joseph, but forgat him.

41. And it came to pass at the end of
two full years, that Pharaoh dreamed:
and, behold, he stood by the [13] river.
2] And, behold, there came up out of
the river seven kine, well favoured and
fatfleshed; and they fed in the reed-
3] grass. And, behold, seven other kine
came up after them out of the river, ill
favoured and leanfleshed; and stood by
the other kine upon the brink of the
4] river. And the ill favoured and lean-

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[13] Heb. *Yeor,* that is, *the Nile.*

fleshed kine did eat up the seven well
5] favoured and fat kine. So Pharaoh
awoke. And he slept and dreamed a second
time: and, behold, seven ears of
corn came up upon one stalk, [14] rank and
6] good. And, behold, seven ears, thin
and blasted with the east wind, sprung
7] up after them. And the thin ears swallowed
up the seven [14] rank and full ears.
And Pharaoh awoke, and, behold, it was
8] a dream. And it came to pass in the
morning that his spirit was troubled;
and he sent and called for all the [15] magicians
of Egypt, and all the wise men
thereof: and Pharaoh told them his
dream; but there was none that could
9] interpret them unto Pharaoh. Then
spake the chief butler unto Pharaoh,
saying, I [16] do remember my faults this
10] day: Pharaoh was wroth with his
servants, and put me in ward in the
house of the captain of the guard, me
11] and the chief baker: and we dreamed
a dream in one night, I and he; we
dreamed each man according to the interpretation
12] of his dream. And there
was with us there a young man, an Hebrew,
servant to the captain of the
guard; and we told him, and he interpreted
to us our dreams; to each
man according to his dream he did interpret.
13] And it came to pass, as he
interpreted to us, so it was; [17] me he
restored unto mine office, and him he
14] hanged. Then Pharaoh sent and
called Joseph, and they brought him
hastily out of the dungeon: and he
shaved himself, and changed his raiment,
and came in unto Pharaoh.
15] And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, I
have dreamed a dream, and there is
none that can interpret it: and I have
heard say of thee, that when thou hearest
a dream thou canst interpret it.
16] And Joseph answered Pharaoh, saying,
It is not in me: God shall give
17] Pharaoh an answer of peace. And
Pharaoh spake unto Joseph, In my
dream, behold, I stood upon the brink
18] of the river: and, behold, there came
up out of the river seven kine, fatfleshed
and well favoured; and they fed
19] in the reed-grass: and, behold, seven
other kine came up after them, poor and
very ill favoured and leanfleshed, such
as I never saw in all the land of Egypt
20] for badness: and the lean and ill
favoured kine did eat up the first seven
21] fat kine: and when they had eaten
them up, it could not be known that they
had eaten them; but they were still ill
22] favoured, as at the beginning. So I
awoke. And I saw in my dream, and,
behold, seven ears came up upon one
23] stalk, full and good: and, behold,
seven ears, withered, thin, *and* blasted
with the east wind, sprung up after
24] them: and the thin ears swallowed
up the seven good ears: and I told it unto
the magicians; but there was none that
25] could declare it to me. And Joseph
said unto Pharaoh, The dream of Pharaoh
is one: what God is about to do he
26] hath declared unto Pharaoh. The
seven good kine are seven years; and the
seven good ears are seven years: the
27] dream is one. And the seven lean and
ill favoured kine that came up after them
are seven years, and also the seven empty
ears blasted with the east wind; they
28] shall be seven years of famine. That
is the thing which I spake unto Pharaoh:
what God is about to do he hath shewed
29] unto Pharaoh. Behold, there come
seven years of great plenty throughout
30] all the land of Egypt: and there shall
arise after them seven years of famine;
and all the plenty shall be forgotten in
the land of Egypt; and the famine shall
31] consume the land; and the plenty
shall not be known in the land by reason
of that famine which followeth; for it
32] shall be very grievous. And for that
the dream was doubled unto Pharaoh
twice, it is because the thing is established
by God, and God will shortly
33] bring it to pass. Now therefore let
Pharaoh look out a man discreet and
wise, and set him over the land of Egypt.
34] Let Pharaoh do *this*, and let him appoint
overseers over the land, and take
up the fifth part of the land of Egypt

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[14] Heb. *fat.*
[15] Or, *sacred scribes.*
[16] Or, *will make mention of.*
[17] Or, *I was restored . . . and he was hanged.*

35] in the seven plenteous years. And
let them gather all the food of these
good years that come, and lay up corn
under the hand of Pharaoh for food in
36] the cities, and let them keep it. And
the food shall be for a store to the land
against the seven years of famine, which
shall be in the land of Egypt; that the
land perish not through the famine.
37] And the thing was good in the eyes
of Pharaoh, and in the eyes of all his
38] servants. And Pharaoh said unto his
servants, Can we find such a one as this,
a man in whom the spirit of God is?
39] And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, Forasmuch
as God hath shewed thee all this,
there is none so discreet and wise as
40] thou: thou shalt be over my house,
and according unto thy word shall all
my people [18] be ruled: only in the throne
41] will I be greater than thou. And
Pharaoh said unto Joseph, See, I have
set thee over all the land of Egypt.
42] And Pharaoh took off his signet ring
from his hand, and put it upon Joseph's
hand, and arrayed him in vestures of
[19] fine linen, and put a gold chain about
43] his neck; and he made him to ride
in the second chariot which he had; and
they cried before him, [20] Bow the knee:
and he set him over all the land of
44] Egypt. And Pharaoh said unto
Joseph, I am Pharaoh, and without thee
shall no man lift up his hand or his foot
45] in all the land of Egypt. And Pharaoh
called Joseph's name Zaphenath-paneah;
and he gave him to wife Asenath
the daughter of Poti-phera priest of On.
And Joseph went out over the land of
46] Egypt. And Joseph was thirty years
old when he stood before Pharaoh king
of Egypt. And Joseph went out from the
presence of Pharaoh, and went throughout
47] all the land of Egypt. And in the
seven plenteous years the earth brought
48] forth by handfuls. And he gathered
up all the food of the seven years which
were in the land of Egypt, and laid up
the food in the cities: the food of the
field, which was round about every city,
49] laid he up in the same. And Joseph
laid up corn as the sand of the sea, very
much, until he left numbering; for it
50] was without number. And unto
Joseph were born two sons before the
year of famine came, which Asenath the
daughter of Poti-phera priest of On
51] bare unto him. And Joseph called
the name of the first born [21] Manasseh:
For, *said he,* God hath made me forget
all my toil, and all my father's house.
52] And the name of the second called
he [22] Ephraim: For God hath made me
fruitful in the land of my affliction.
53] And the seven years of plenty, that
was in the land of Egypt, came to an end.
54] And the seven years of famine began
to come, according as Joseph had
said: and there was famine in all lands;
but in all the land of Egypt there was
55] bread. And when all the land of
Egypt was famished, the people cried
to Pharaoh for bread: and Pharaoh said
unto all the Egyptians, Go unto Joseph;
56] what he saith to you, do. And the
famine was over all the face of the earth:
and Joseph opened all the storehouses,
and sold unto the Egyptians; and the
famine was sore in the land of Egypt.
57] And all countries came into Egypt
to Joseph for to buy corn; because the
famine was sore in all the earth.

In all the Egyptian records which have come down to us there is no mention of a vizier, Joseph. That Semites did sometimes rise to high ministerial positions in Egypt is shown by the fact that Aziru, the Amorite, mentioned in the last chapter, wrote letters to an Egyptian minister named Dudu.[23] Dudu is a good Semetic name, being the form the name David would assume in Babylonian. In the story of Joseph's viziership

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[18] Or, *order themselves,* or *do homage.*

[19] Or, *cotton.*

[20] *Abrech,* probably an Egyptian word, similar in sound to the Hebrew word meaning *to kneel.*

[21] That is, *Making to forget.*

[22] From a Hebrew word signifying *to be fruitful.*

[23] See Barton, *Archæology and the Bible,* 5th ed., p. 329 f.

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we probably have another instance of the transfer to Joseph of a promotion that had once been experienced by another.

The account of Joseph's storing up of grain for lean years, when the rains failed in Abyssinia, so that the Nile did not overflow in Egypt, is paralleled by the records of a number of Egyptian officers and noblemen.[24] The accounts are true to Egypt's history, even if they applied in the first instance to some one other than Joseph.

JOSEPH'S BRETHREN COME TO BUY GRAIN, *Gen.* 42–45

Gen. 42. Now Jacob saw that there
was corn in Egypt, and Jacob said unto
his sons, Why do ye look one upon another?
2] And he said, Behold, I have
heard that there is corn in Egypt: get
you down thither, and buy for us from
thence; that we may live, and not die.
3] And Joseph's ten brethren went
4] down to buy corn from Egypt. But
Benjamin, Joseph's brother, Jacob sent
not with his brethren; for he said, Lest
5] peradventure mischief befall him. And
the sons of Israel came to buy among
those that came: for the famine was in
6] the land of Canaan. And Joseph was
the governor over the land; he it was
that sold to all the people of the land:
and Joseph's brethren came, and bowed
down themselves to him with their faces
7] to the earth. And Joseph saw his
brethren, and he knew them, but made
himself strange unto them, and spake
roughly with them; and he said unto
them, Whence come ye? And they said,
From the land of Canaan to buy food.
8] And Joseph knew his brethren, but
9] they knew not him. And Joseph remembered
the dreams which he dreamed
of them, and said unto them, Ye are
spies; to see the nakedness of the land
10] ye are come. And they said unto him,
Nay, my lord, but to buy food are thy
11] servants come. We are all one man's
sons; we are true men, thy servants are
12] no spies. And he said unto them,
Nay, but to see the nakedness of the land
13] ye are come. And they said, We thy
servants are twelve brethren, the sons of
one man in the land of Canaan; and, behold,
the youngest is this day with our
14] father, and one is not. And Joseph said unto them, That is it that I spake
15] unto you, saying, Ye are spies: hereby
ye shall be proved: by the life of
Pharaoh ye shall not go forth hence,
except your youngest brother come
16] hither. Send one of you, and let him
fetch your brother, and ye shall be
bound, that your words may be proved,
whether there be truth in you: or else by
the life of Pharaoh surely ye are spies.
17] And he put them all together into
18] ward three days. And Joseph said
unto them the third day, This do, and
19] live; for I fear God: if ye be true
men, let one of your brethren be bound
in your prison house; but go ye, carry
corn for the famine of your houses:
20] and bring your youngest brother
unto me; so shall your words be verified,
and ye shall not die. And they did
21] so. And they said one to another,
We are verily guilty concerning our
brother, in that we saw the distress of
his soul, when he besought us, and we
would not hear; therefore is this distress
22] come upon us. And Reuben answered
them, saying, Spake I not unto you,
saying, Do not sin against the child;
and ye would not hear? therefore also,
23] behold, his blood is required. And
they knew not that Joseph understood
them; for there was an interpreter between
24] them. And he turned himself
about from them, and wept; and he returned
to them, and spake to them, and
took Simeon from among them, and
25] bound him before their eyes. Then
Joseph commanded to fill their vessels
with corn, and to restore every man's
money into his sack, and to give them
provision for the way: and thus was

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[24] *Ibid.* p. 332.

26] it done unto them. And they laded
their asses with their corn, and departed
27] thence. And as one of them opened
his sack to give his ass provender in the
lodging place, he espied his money;
and, behold, it was in the mouth of his
28] sack. And he said unto his brethren,
My money is restored; and, lo, it
is even in my sack: and their heart failed
them, and they turned trembling one to
another, saying, What is this that God
29] hath done unto us? And they came
unto Jacob their father unto the land of
Canaan, and told him all that had befallen
30] them; saying, The man, the
lord of the land, spake roughly with us,
and took us for spies of the country.
31] And we said unto him, We are true
32] men; we are no spies: we be twelve
brethren, sons of our father; one is not,
and the youngest is this day with our
33] father in the land of Canaan. And the
man, the lord of the land, said unto us,
Hereby shall I know that ye are true
men; leave one of your brethren with
me, and take *corn for* the famine of your
34] houses, and go your way: and bring
your youngest brother unto me: then
shall I know that ye are no spies, but
that ye are true men: so will I deliver
you your brother, and ye shall traffick
35] in the land. And it came to pass as
they emptied their sacks, that, behold,
every man's bundle of money was in
his sack: and when they and their father
saw their bundles of money, they were
36] afraid. And Jacob their father said
unto them, Me have ye bereaved of my
children: Joseph is not, and Simeon
is not, and ye will take Benjamin away:
all these things are [25] against me.
37] And Reuben spake unto his father,
saying, Slay my two sons, if I bring him
not to thee: deliver him into my hand,
and I will bring him to thee again.
38] And he said, My son shall not go
down with you; for his brother is dead,
and he only is left: if mischief befall
him by the way in the which ye go, then
shall ye bring down my gray hairs with
sorrow to [26] the grave.

43. And the famine was sore in
2] the land. And it came to pass, when
they had eaten up the corn which they
had brought out of Egypt, their father
said unto them, Go again, buy us a little
3] food. And Judah spake unto him, saying,
The man did solemnly protest unto
us, saying, Ye shall not see my face, except
4] your brother be with you. If thou
wilt send our brother with us, we will
5] go down and buy thee food: but if
thou wilt not send him, we will not go
down: for the man said unto us, Ye shall
not see my face, except your brother be
6] with you. And Israel said, Wherefore
dealt ye so ill with me, as to tell
the man whether ye had yet a brother?
7] And they said, The man asked straitly
concerning ourselves, and concerning our
kindred, saying, Is your father yet alive?
have ye *another* brother? and we told
him according to the tenor of these
words: could we in any wise know that
he would say, Bring your brother down?
8] And Judah said unto Israel his
father, Send the lad with me, and we
will arise and go; that we may live, and
not die, both we, and thou, and also our
9] little ones. I will be surety for him;
of my hand shalt thou require him: if
I bring him not unto thee, and set him
before thee, then [27] let me bear the blame
10] for ever: for except we had lingered,
surely we had now returned a second
11] time. And their father Israel said
unto them, If it be so now, do this; take
of the choice fruits of the land in your
vessels, and carry down the man a present,
a little [28] balm, and a little honey,
spicery and myrrh, [29] nuts, and almonds:
12] and take double money in your
hand; and the money that was returned
in the mouth of your sacks carry again
in your hand; peradventure it was an
13] oversight: take also your brother,
14] and arise, go again unto the man: and
[30] God Almighty give you mercy before
the man, that he may release unto you
your other brother and Benjamin. And
if I be bereaved of my children, I am
bereaved.

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[25] Or, *upon.*

[26] Heb. *Sheol.* See ch. 37: 35.

[27] Heb. *I shall have sinned against thee for ever.*

[28] See ch. 37: 25.

[29] That is, *pistachio nuts.*

[30] Heb. *El Shaddai.*

15] And the men took that present,
and they took double money in their
hand, and Benjamin; and rose up, and
went down to Egypt, and stood before
16] Joseph. And when Joseph saw Benjamin
with them, he said to the steward
of his house, Bring the men into the
house, and slay, and make ready; for
the men shall dine with me at noon.
17] And the man did as Joseph bade;
and the man brought the men into
18] Joseph's house. And the men were
afraid, because they were brought into
Joseph's house; and they said, Because
of the money that was returned in our
sacks at the first time are we brought
in; that he may [31] seek occasion against
us, and fall upon us, and take us for
19] bondmen, and our asses. And they
came near to the steward of Joseph's
house, and they spake unto him at the
20] door of the house, and said, Oh my
lord, we came indeed down at the
21] first time to buy food: and it came
to pass, when we came to the lodging
place, that we opened our sacks, and,
behold, every man's money was in the
mouth of his sack, our money in full
weight: and we have brought it again
22] in our hand. And other money have
we brought down in our hand to buy
food: we know not who put our money
23] in our sacks. And he said, Peace be
to you, fear not: your God, and the God
of your father, hath given you treasure
in your sacks: I had your money. And
he brought Simeon out unto them.
24] And the man brought the men into
Joseph's house, and gave them water,
and they washed their feet; and he gave
25] their asses provender. And they
made ready the present against Joseph
came at noon: for they heard that they
26] should eat bread there. And when
Joseph came home, they brought him
the present which was in their hand into
the house, and bowed down themselves
27] to him to the earth. And he asked
them of their welfare, and said, Is your
father well, the old man of whom ye
28] spake? Is he yet alive? And they
said, Thy servant our father is well, he
is yet alive. And they bowed the head,
29] and made obeisance. And he lifted
up his eyes, and saw Benjamin his
brother, his mother's son, and said, Is
this your youngest brother, of whom ye
spake unto me? And he said, God be
30] gracious unto thee, my son. And
Joseph made haste; for his bowels did
yearn upon his brother: and he sought
where to weep; and he entered into his
31] chamber, and wept there. And he
washed his face, and came out; and he
refrained himself, and said, Set on bread.
32] And they set on for him by himself,
and for them by themselves, and for the
Egyptians, which did eat with him, by
themselves: because the Egyptians might
not eat bread with the Hebrews; for that
is an abomination unto the Egyptians.
33] And they sat before him, the firstborn
according to his birthright, and the
youngest according to his youth: and
the men marvelled one with another.
34] And [32] he took *and sent* messes
unto them from before him: but Benjamin's
mess was five times so much as any
of theirs. And they drank, and [33] were
merry with him.

44. And he commanded the steward
of his house, saying, Fill the men's
sacks with food, as much as they
can carry, and put every man's money in
2] his sack's mouth. And put my cup, the
silver cup, in the sack's mouth of the
youngest, and his corn money. And he
did according to the word that Joseph
3] had spoken. As soon as the morning
was light, the men were sent away, they
4] and their asses. *And* when they were
gone out of the city, and were not yet
far off, Joseph said unto his steward,
Up, follow after the men; and when
thou dost overtake them, say unto them,
Wherefore have ye rewarded evil for
5] good? Is not this it in which my lord
drinketh, and whereby he indeed divineth?
ye have done evil in so doing.
6] And he overtook them, and he spake
7] unto them these words. And they
said unto him, Wherefore speaketh my
lord such words as these? God forbid
that thy servants should do such a thing.

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[31] Heb. *roll himself upon us.*
[32] Or, *messes were taken.*
[33] Heb. *drank largely.*

8] Behold, the money, which we found
in our sacks' mouths, we brought again
unto thee out of the land of Canaan:
how then should we steal out of thy
9] lord's house silver or gold? With
whomsoever of thy servants it be found,
let him die, and we also will be my lord's
10] bondmen. And he said, Now also let
it be according unto your words: he with
whom it is found shall be my bondman;
11] and ye shall be blameless. Then they
hasted, and took down every man his
sack to the ground, and opened every
12] man his sack. And he searched, *and*
began at the eldest, and left at the
youngest: and the cup was found in
13] Benjamin's sack. Then they rent
their clothes, and laded every man his
14] ass, and returned to the city. And
Judah and his brethren came to Joseph's
house; and he was yet there: and they
15] fell before him on the ground. And
Joseph said unto them, What deed is
this that ye have done? know ye not
that such a man as I can indeed divine?
16] And Judah said, What shall we say
unto my lord? what shall we speak? or
how shall we clear ourselves? God hath
found out the iniquity of thy servants:
behold, we are my lord's bondmen, both
we, and he also in whose hand the cup
17] is found. And he said, God forbid
that I should do so: the man in whose
hand the cup is found, he shall be my
bondman; but as for you, get you up
in peace unto your father.

18] Then Judah came near unto him,
and said, Oh my lord, let thy servant, I
pray thee, speak a word in my lord's
ears, and let not thine anger burn against
thy servant: for thou art even as Pharaoh.
19] My lord asked his servants,
saying, Have ye a father, or a brother?
20] And we said unto my lord, We have
a father, an old man, and a child of his
old age, a little one; and his brother is
dead, and he alone is left of his mother,
21] and his father loveth him. And thou
saidst unto thy servants, Bring him down
unto me, that I may set mine eyes upon
22] him. And we said unto my lord, The
lad cannot leave his father: for if he
should leave his father, his father would
23] die. And thou saidst unto thy servants,
Except your youngest brother
come down with you, ye shall see my
24] face no more. And it came to pass
when we came up unto thy servant my
father, we told him the words of my
25] lord. And our father said, Go again,
26] buy us a little food. And we said,
We cannot go down: if our youngest
brother be with us, then will we go
down: for we may not see the man's
face, except our youngest brother be
27] with us. And thy servant my father
said unto us, Ye know that my wife
28] bare me two sons: and the one went
out from me, and I said, Surely he is
torn in pieces; and I have not seen him
29] since: and if ye take this one also
from me, and mischief befall him, ye
shall bring down my gray hairs with
30] [34] sorrow to [35] the grave. Now therefore
when I come to thy servant my
father, and the lad be not with us; seeing
that [36] his life is bound up in the
31] lad's life; it shall come to pass,
when he seeth that the lad is not *with
us,* that he will die: and thy servants
shall bring down the gray hairs of thy
servant our father with sorrow to [35] the
32] grave. For thy servant became surety
for the lad unto my father, saying, If
I bring him not unto thee, then shall I
bear the blame to my father for ever.
33] Now therefore, let thy servant, I
pray thee, abide instead of the lad a
bondman to my lord; and let the lad go
34] up with his brethren. For how shall
I go up to my father, and the lad be not
with me? lest I see the evil that shall
come on my father.

45. Then Joseph could not refrain
himself before all them that stood by
him; and he cried, Cause every man
to go out from me. And there stood no
man with him, while Joseph made himself
2] known unto his brethren. And he
[37] wept aloud: and the Egyptians heard
3] and the house of Pharaoh heard. And
Joseph said unto his brethren, I am

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[34] Heb. *evil.*
[35] Heb. *Sheol.* See ch. 37: 35.
[36] Or, *his soul is knit with the lad's soul.* See *I Sam.* 18: 1.
[37] Heb. *gave forth his voice in weeping.*

Joseph; doth my father yet live? And
his brethren could not answer him; for
they were troubled at his presence.
4] And Joseph said unto his brethren,
Come near to me, I pray you. And they
came near. And he said, I am Joseph
your brother, whom ye sold into Egypt.
5] And now be not grieved, nor angry
with yourselves, that ye sold me hither:
for God did send me before you to preserve
6] life. For these two years hath
the famine been in the land: and there
are yet five years, in the which there
shall be neither plowing nor harvest.
7] And God sent me before you to preserve
you a remnant in the earth, and to
save you alive [38] by a great deliverance.
8] So now it was not you that sent me
hither, but God: and he hath made me
a father to Pharaoh, and lord of all his
house, and ruler over all the land of
9] Egypt. Haste ye, and go up to my
father, and say unto him, Thus saith thy
son Joseph, God hath made me lord of
all Egypt: come down unto me, tarry
10] not: and thou shalt dwell in the land
of Goshen, and thou shalt be near unto
me, thou, and thy children, and thy children's
children, and thy flocks, and thy
11] herds, and all that thou hast: and
there will I nourish thee; for there are
yet five years of famine; lest thou come
to poverty, thou, and thy household, and
12] all that thou hast. And, behold, your
eyes see, and the eyes of my brother
Benjamin, that it is my mouth that
13] speaketh unto you. And ye shall tell
my father of all my glory in Egypt, and
of all that ye have seen; and ye shall
haste and bring down my father hither.
14] And he fell upon his brother Benjamin's
neck, and wept; and Benjamin
15] wept upon his neck. And he kissed
all his brethren, and wept upon them:
and after that his brethren talked with
him.
16] And the fame thereof was heard
in Pharaoh's house, saying, Joseph's
brethren are come: and it pleased Pharaoh
17] well, and his servants. And
Pharaoh said unto Joseph, Say unto thy
brethren, This do ye: lade your beasts,
and go, get you unto the land of Canaan;
18] and take your father and your households,
and come unto me: and I will
give you the good of the land of Egypt,
and ye shall eat the fat of the land.
19] Now thou art commanded, this do
ye; take you wagons out of the land
of Egypt for your little ones, and for
your wives, and bring your father, and
20] come. Also regard not your stuff;
for the good of all the land of Egypt is
21] yours. And the sons of Israel did so:
and Joseph gave them wagons, according
to the commandment of Pharaoh,
and gave them provision for the way.
22] To all of them he gave each man
changes of raiment; but to Benjamin he
gave three hundred pieces of silver, and
23] five changes of raiment. And to
his father he sent after this manner;
ten asses laden with the good things of
Egypt, and ten she-asses laden with
corn and bread and victual for his father
24] by the way. So he sent his brethren
away, and they departed: and he said
unto them, See that ye fall not out by
25] the way. And they went up out of
Egypt, and came into the land of Canaan
26] unto Jacob their father. And
they told him, saying, Joseph is yet alive,
and he is ruler over all the land of
Egypt. And his heart fainted, for he believed
27] them not. And they told him
all the words of Joseph, which he had
said unto them: and when he saw the
wagons which Joseph had sent to carry
him, the spirit of Jacob their father revived:
28] and Israel said, It is enough;
Joseph my son is yet alive: I will go
and see him before I die.

With such stories as these the ancient story-tellers of Israel beguiled the time. While it seems clear, for reasons already stated, that in one sense we cannot take these stories as history in just the form they are told, in another sense they are history of a high order. They are inimitable pictures of ancient Oriental life, and, as such, are historical in that they faithfully reflect the life, customs, and feelings of men of that time. Asiatics often went to Egypt to trade and, in time of famine, to buy corn. On the walls of tombs at Beni Hasan groups of such traders were pictured five hundred years before the Hebrews entered Egypt.[39]

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[38] Or, *to be a great company that escape.*

As will appear in a later chapter, the events connected with the exodus from Egypt ultimately transformed the religion of the Hebrews. It was for this reason that in the lapse of time the memories and stories connected with Egypt became so popular that it seemed that all the tribes must have participated in its experiences. Accordingly stories were added which gave expression to that point of view. They will be found in the remaining chapters of *Genesis* and in many parts of the Pentateuch. Nevertheless passages have been preserved which reflect what we regard as the historical fact.

THE EGYPTIANS MAKE BONDMEN OF THE HEBREWS, *Ex.* 1:8–22

Ex. 1. 8] Now there arose a new king
over Egypt, which knew not Joseph.
9] And he said unto his people, Behold,
the people of the children of Israel are
10] [40] more and mightier than we: come,
let us deal wisely with them; lest they
multiply, and it come to pass, that, when
there falleth out any war, they also join
themselves unto our enemies, and fight
against us, and get them up out of the
11] land. Therefore they did set over
them taskmasters to afflict them with
their burdens. And they built for Pharaoh
store cities, Pithom and Raamses.
12] But the more they afflicted them, the
more they multiplied and the more they
spread abroad. And they [41] were grieved
13] because of the children of Israel. And
the Egyptians made the children of Israel
14] to serve with rigour: and they made
their lives bitter with hard service, in
mortar and in brick, and in all manner
of service in the field, all their service,
wherein they made them serve with
rigour.

15] And the king of Egypt spake to
the Hebrew midwives, of which the
name of the one was Shiphrah, and the
16] name of the other Puah: and he
said, When ye do the office of a midwife
to the Hebrew women, and see them
upon the birthstool; if it be a son, then ye
shall kill him; but if it be a daughter,
17] then she shall live. But the midwives
feared God, and did not as the king of
Egypt commanded them, but saved the
18] men children alive. And the king of
Egypt called for the midwives, and said
unto them, Why have ye done this thing,
and have saved the men children alive?
19] And the midwives said unto Pharaoh,
Because the Hebrew women are
not as the Egyptian women; for they are
lively, and are delivered ere the mid-
20] wife come unto them. And God
dealt well with the midwives: and the
people multiplied, and waxed very
21] mighty. And it came to pass, because
the midwives feared God, that he
22] made them houses. And Pharaoh
charged all his people, saying, Every
son that is born ye shall cast into [42] the
river, and every daughter ye shall save
alive.

This account, which was drawn from the E Document, gives, it is believed, a correct history of events. A change of dynasty occurred in Egypt and a king of the new dynasty needed laborers for his building

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[39] See Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., Fig. 1.
[40] Or, *too many and too mighty for us.*
[41] Or, *abhorred.*
[42] See *Gen.* 41: 1.

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enterprises, so he compelled the Hebrew foreigners who were living in Egypt to work for him. The cities which they helped him build were Pithom (Egyptian *Pitum*) and Raamses. This fact identifies the Pharaoh concerned in this oppression as Ramses II. Not only is one of the cities named for him, but we now have his own statement, in one of his inscriptions, that he built it.[43] Most buildings in Egypt were constructed of brick; it was only temples and great palaces that were constructed of stone. From sculptured pictures on the walls of Egyptian tombs we gain a vivid impression of the processes of brick-making.[44]

It will be noticed that, in the account quoted above from *Exodus,* the Hebrew community in Egypt is so small that two midwives can check its birth-rate. This is a picture quite in accord with the assumption that only the Joseph tribes were in Egypt; they, too, could not have been numerous. The writer of the E Document lived in Ephraim, one of the Joseph tribes, where a more correct memory of the numbers in Egypt would be likely to survive than in Judah, a tribe that was probably not there. The historical fact seems to be that it was a comparatively small body of Hebrews that were in Egypt. The deep impression which that sojourn made on the Hebrew people resulted from the change of religion which came with the exodus; but of that the next chapter will treat.

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[43] See Barton, *Archæology and the Bible,* 5th ed., p. 551 f.
[44] See *Ibid.,* Fig. 11.

CHAPTER VI

THE WORK OF MOSES

THE first great personal figure that we can discern with any certainty in the history of Israel is Moses. It was his leadership that delivered the Hebrew serfs from Egypt and led them to devote themselves to a religion that had a new element in it—an element that first welded all the tribes together, and ultimately, under other leaders, made it different from any other religion in the world. Later tradition attributed to him much that belonged to later and lesser men, and so overlaid his portrait with features from a later time that it is sometimes difficult to discern his true figure. Nevertheless, in the main, we can make out his character and work with a good degree of clearness.

THE BIRTH AND EARLY LIFE OF MOSES, *Ex.* 2

Ex. 2. And there went a man of the
house of Levi, and took to wife a
2] daughter of Levi. And the woman
conceived, and bare a son: and when
she saw him that he was a goodly child,
3] she hid him three months. And when
she could not longer hide him, she took
for him an ark of [1] bulrushes, and
daubed it with [2] slime and with pitch;
and she put the child therein, and laid
it in the flags by the river's brink.
4] And his sister stood afar off, to know
5] what would be done to him. And
the daughter of Pharaoh came down to
bathe at the river; and her maidens
walked along by the river side; and she
saw the ark among the flags, and sent
6] her handmaid to fetch it. And she
opened it, and saw the child: and, behold,
the babe wept. And she had compassion
on him, and said, This is one of
7] the Hebrew's children. Then said his
sister to Pharaoh's daughter, Shall I
go and call thee a nurse of the Hebrew
women, that she may nurse the child
8] for thee? And Pharaoh's daughter
said to her, Go. And the maid went and
9] called the child's mother. And Pharaoh's
daughter said unto her, Take this
child away, and nurse it for me, and I
will give thee thy wages. And the woman
10] took the child, and nursed it. And
the child grew, and she brought him
unto Pharaoh's daughter, and he became
her son. And she called his name [3] Moses,
and said, Because I [4] drew him out of
the water.

11] And it came to pass in those days,
when Moses was grown up, that he
went out unto his brethren, and looked
on their burdens: and he saw an Egyptian
smiting an Hebrew, one of his
12] brethren. And he looked this way
and that way, and when he saw that
there was no man, he smote the Egyptian,
13] and hid him in the sand. And he went
out the second day, and, behold, two
men of the Hebrews strove together:
and he said to him that did the wrong,
Wherefore smitest thou thy fellow?

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[1] That is, *papyrus.*
[2] That is, *bitumen.*
[3] Heb. *Mosheh.*
[4] Heb. *mashah,* to draw out.

14] And he said, Who made thee a prince and a judge over us? thinkest thou to kill me, as thou killedst the Egyptian? And Moses feared, and said, Surely the
15] thing is known. Now when Pharaoh heard this thing, he sought to slay Moses. But Moses fled from the face of Pharaoh, and dwelt in the land of Midian:
16] and he sat down by a well. Now the priest of Midian had seven daughters: and they came and drew water, and filled the troughs to water their father's
17] flock. And the shepherds came and drove them away: but Moses stood up and helped them, and watered their flock.
18] And when they came to Reuel their father, he said, How is it that ye are
19] come so soon to-day? And they said, An Egyptian delivered us out of the hand of the shepherds, and moreover he drew water for us, and watered the
20] flock. And he said unto his daughters, And where is he? why is it that ye have left the man? call him, that he may eat
21] bread. And Moses was content to dwell with the man: and he gave Moses
22] Zipporah his daughter. And she bare a son, and he called his name Gershom: for he said, I have been [5] a sojourner in a strange land.

23] And it came to pass in the course of those many days, that the king of Egypt died: and the children of Israel sighed by reason of the bondage, and they cried, and their cry came up unto
24] God by reason of the bondage. And God heard their groaning, and God remembered his covenant with Abraham,
25] with Isaac, and with Jacob. And God saw the children of Israel, and God took knowledge *of them.*

The facts in the story just quoted that are undoubtedly historical are that Moses was born in Egypt of the oppressed race; that, when he had come to man's estate, he killed in anger an Egyptian who was maltreating a Hebrew and fled the country; that he fled to the Midianites, a nomadic tribe which was connected with the inhabitants of Main in South Arabia, but roamed in a region of northwestern Arabia stretching far down toward the site of the present city of Medina; and that he married Zipporah, the daughter of the priest of Midian, whom the E Document calls Reuel, but whom J calls Jethro. With Jethro he dwelt and became the shepherd of his flocks. Of this much we may be sure, but the other features of the story are probably unhistorical accretions. His parents were probably not Levites in the sense that they were members of the tribe of Levi. Moses and Aaron were later called "levim" or "adherers" along with a group of people who, in a later crisis, adhered to Yahweh (Jehovah). (See *Ex.* 32:26.) The descendants of these people were called "levites" or "adherers," and were supposed to be the proper people to exercise the priesthood, and they also bore the name. In time they were naturally confused in the traditions with the ancient tribe that had been destroyed at the time of the first settlement in Canaan, but with that tribe they really had nothing to do. Down to the time of the Babylonian Exile, about 600 B.C., the "levites" who were priests were drawn from every tribe.

Another element that is probably an addition to real history is the story of his secret birth, his exposure on the Nile in a little papyrus-boat daubed with pitch, his rescue and adoption by Pharaoh's daughter. A story almost identical with this was told in Babylonia centuries before of Sargon of Agade, who was said to have been brought forth in secret, set afloat on the Euphrates in a boat of reed lined with bitumen, rescued by an irrigator, and adopted by the goddess Ishtar.[6] The parallel is so close that it is difficult to resist the impression that this is another of the stories that have "traveled." The Hebrews heard it, were fascinated by it, and in time came to believe that its main features were events in the life of Moses. If Moses was never adopted by Pharaoh's daughter, it is hardly probable that he was "instructed in all the wisdom of Egypt."

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[5] Heb. *Ger.*

MOSES' CALL TO SERVICE, *Ex.* 3: 1–14

Ex. 3. Now Moses was keeping the
flock of Jethro his father in law, the
priest of Midian: and he led the flock to
the back of the wilderness, and came to
2] the mountain of God, unto Horeb. And
the angel of the LORD appeared unto him
in a flame of fire out of the midst of a
bush: and he looked, and, behold, the
bush burned with fire, and the bush was
3] not consumed. And Moses said, I will
turn aside now, and see this great sight,
4] why the bush is not burnt. And when
the LORD saw that he turned aside to see,
God called unto him out of the midst of
5] the bush, and said, Moses, Moses. And
he said, Here am I. And he said, Draw
not nigh hither: put off thy shoes from
off thy feet, for the place whereon thou
6] standest is holy ground. Moreover he
said, I am the God of thy father, the God
of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the
God of Jacob. And Moses hid his face;
for he was afraid to look upon God.
7] And the LORD said, I have surely
seen the affliction of my people which are
in Egypt, and have heard their cry by
reason of their taskmasters; for I know
8] their sorrows; and I am come down
to deliver them out of the hand of the
Egyptians, and to bring them up out of
that land unto a good land and a large,
unto a land flowing with milk and honey;
unto the place of the Canaanite, and the
Hittite, and the Amorite, and the Perizzite,
and the Hivite, and the Jebusite.
9] And now, behold, the cry of the children
of Israel is come unto me: moreover
I have seen the oppression wherewith
the Egyptians oppress them.
10] Come now therefore, and I will send
thee unto Pharaoh, that thou mayest
bring forth my people the children of
11] Israel out of Egypt. And Moses said
unto God, Who am I, that I should go
unto Pharaoh, and that I should bring
forth the children of Israel out of
12] Egypt? And he said, Certainly I
will be with thee; and this shall be the
token unto thee, that I have sent thee:
when thou hast brought forth the people
out of Egypt, ye shall serve God
13] upon this mountain. And Moses said
unto God, Behold, when I come unto
the children of Israel, and shall say unto
them, The God of your fathers hath
sent me unto you; and they shall say
to me, What is his name? what shall I
14] say unto them? And God said unto
Moses, [7] I AM THAT I AM: and he said,
Thus shalt thou say unto the children
of Israel, [8] I AM hath sent me unto you.

Although this account was compiled when many things that we know concerning nature and psychology were unknown, and even when much that we know of the previous history of religion was a sealed book, there is in it clearly a record of an epoch-making religious experience on the part of Moses. In order to understand it, it should be known that the god Yah or Yahu or Yahweh (his name is spelled in all three ways) —the God whom we know as Jehovah—had been worshiped for centuries in Arabia. His worshipers appear to have lived in South Arabia, from which his name had been carried both to Babylonia and to Palestine, where traces of it have been found. Yahu was worshiped by widely scattered Amorites, some of whom lived many centuries before Moses. The Kenites, the clan of Midianites to which Moses' father-in-law belonged, were especially devoted to his worship; inscriptions bearing his name have been found in their territory. Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, was a priest of this god.

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[6] See Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., p. 337.
[7] Or, *I AM, BECAUSE I AM*; or, *I AM WHO AM*; or, *I WILL BE THAT I WILL BE.*
[8] Or, *I WILL BE* (Heb. *Ehyeh*).

Yahu was not the only god of any of his worshipers, except possibly the Kenites. He was only one among many gods. To the Kenites he had become the chief deity. He made things grow; he presided over births; there was a volcano in their territory, and its activity was believed to be Yahu's activity; when it rained, Yahu caused it to rain; the thunder was his voice; their wars were Yahu's wars, and, as they had been particularly successful in fighting, Yahu was regarded as "a man of war." Up to this time no one who worshiped him had thought of denying the reality of other gods or of refusing, under certain circumstances, to worship them.

Moses, as son-in-law of Jethro, knew of the existence of Yahu and probably had often joined in his worship, but, on the day described in the passage from *Exodus* just quoted, he had a mystical experience, which not only changed the course of his whole life, but made that day one of the landmarks in the history of the world. All great things, whether in industry, science, literature, art, or religion, first take shape in the soul of a man. Moses' experience on this day set in motion influences which in later centuries were taken up and developed, and ultimately gave to the world three great religions, Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism.

The Horeb to which Moses led his flock that day was, we believe, not the traditional Horeb in the peninsula of Sinai, but a volcanic mountain far down toward the modern city of Medina. It was a mountain that at times was in active eruption.[9] Most of the great religious leaders of the world have possessed a strain of lofty mysticism. At moments of great religious experience new impressions are sometimes received by such persons and new ideas take shape in their minds with such suddenness and intensity that they seem to hear them uttered by a voice.[10] Such experiences are called "auditions." It is a well-known fact that great upheavals of nature, such as storms and earthquakes—experiences in which man realizes his littleness in comparison with God—often pave the way for great religious experience. Such a moment had now come in the life of Moses. On the volcanic mountain, which was believed to be Yahweh's abode, he saw what seemed to be a bush on fire, but, as he watched, the bush did not burn up as one might expect. He drew nearer to examine the mystery. He knew that this was Yahweh's mountain; in the burning bush he believed he was face to face with Yahweh in a most unusual way. Stirred by such thoughts, the conviction that Yahweh called him to liberate his brethren in Egypt from their bondage, that Yahweh was able to do it, and that, if they worshiped only him, he would do it, took such sudden shape in his mind that he seemed to hear a voice, and so believed that Yahweh had actually spoken to him.

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[9] This is made particularly clear in *Ex.* 19.

[10] For many instances, see Barton, *Handbook of Religious Mysticism*, (in preparation).

This is the historic fact underlying this narrative. As the record stands, it is compiled in part from J and in part from E, and D has added a touch, so that conceptions of a later time are mingled with it. These do not, however, obscure the fact of the great mystic experience which gave Moses his sense of mission, and burned it into his soul, together with a new faith in Yahweh, with such intensity that it carried him through all difficulties. One of the conceptions that belongs to a later age than that of Moses is the belief that the name Yahweh means "I AM," or "the self-existent One." We now know that the name probably meant "He-who-causes love." [11]

MOSES AGAIN IN EGYPT

That part of the book of Exodus between ch. 3:15 and the end of ch. 12 is occupied with stories of the tests Moses tried to see if his call was real, of his return to Egypt, his interviews with Pharaoh, and, above all, with the story of the ten plagues culminating in the miraculous slaying of the first born of the Egyptians and the starting of the Hebrews on their Exodus. Three writers, who lived at widely different periods, J, E, and P, were drawn upon for materials, and the actual history is so overlaid with wonders, and the ideas of a later age are so interwoven, especially in the material taken from P, that one does not know how much credence to give to many portions of the story. Until long after Moses everybody believed in magic. Probably Moses did, but whether he could beat the Egyptian magicians in its practice, as these writers believed, we do not know. E consistently represents the few Hebrews as living among the Egyptians, where they can borrow jewelry of their Egyptian neighbors just before they run away (Ex. 11:1–3), while J represents them as dwelling in Goshen, a large district apart from the Egyptians, where they can enjoy light in their houses, when it is dark in all the rest of Egypt (*Ex.* 8:22, 9:26, and 10:23). The number of plagues differs in the different sources; J tells of seven, E, of five, and P of seven. They do not all recount the same ones, so that, when all the sources are combined, the plagues become ten. Most of the plagues are the heightening or intensifying of phenomena which sometimes occur in Egypt. In all probability the plagues are later additions to the story. At first, perhaps, some untoward happening was interpreted as a manifestation of Yahweh's displeasure toward the Egyptians, and, in the course of the centuries, the stories grew. It is of little profit now to attempt to separate the facts from the additions. It is enough to be sure that a comparatively small number of Hebrews were in Egypt, that they were living among the Egyptians, not in a land apart, that Moses came and told them of the power of the God Yahweh and promised them deliverance, if they would go out into the wilderness to worship him, and that, after such obstacles as any one in similar circumstances would meet—incredulity on the part of Hebrews, and opposition on the part of Egyptians—he persuaded his brethren to make the venture.

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[11] See G. A. Barton, *The Religion of Israel,* Philadelphia, 1928, p. 60.

CROSSING THE RED SEA

The route of the Hebrews from the land of their bondage to the wilderness lay along the isthmus of Suez, but that isthmus is in part occupied with lagoons of salt water, which, as the sand has accumulated, have been gradually separated from the Gulf of Suez. These are now called the Bitter Lakes. Twelve hundred years before Christ the marshland to the south of these lakes seems to have been impassable, and north of them there had long been a fortress, which is often mentioned in earlier Egyptian records, where an Egyptian garrison was stationed to guard the frontier. The Hebrews did not dare to encounter the garrison, and found themselves hemmed in and their flight checked by the Gulf of Suez, the marshes, and the Bitter Lakes. Then a way of escape opened by what they regarded as a direct interposition of Yahweh. Three accounts of it, one from J, one from E, and one from P, are woven together in the fourteenth chapter of *Exodus*. J says that "Yahweh caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all that night, and made the sea dry land" (*Ex.* 14:21*b*). E says that "Moses stretched out his hand and lifted up his rod over the sea and the sea was divided" (*Ex.* 14:16 and 21*a* and *c*). According to P the Hebrews crossed on dry ground, "and the waters were a wall to them on the right hand and on the left" (*Ex.* 14:22). In other words J sees a divine interposition of Yahweh as he controlled nature, directing the wind; E makes it a miracle, which P makes a greater miracle. This is the sort of heightening of the divine for purposes of religious instruction which, in the course of the centuries, often happens. If the explanation of J points to the historical fact, the Hebrews, through some unexpected recession of the waters, got across, and the Egyptians, in attempting to follow, were drowned.

Naturally the Hebrews saw in this the interposition of Yahweh. Like most other peoples, they celebrated events of importance in poetry, and soon this event was celebrated in the couplet:

> "Sing ye to Yahweh, for he hath triumphed gloriously,
> The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea."

THE COVENANT WITH YAHWEH

Having really escaped from Egypt into the wilderness, the Hebrews made their way to the mountain of Yahweh, Horeb. As has already been said, this was probably not in the peninsula of Sinai, but a volcanic mountain far down toward Medina. When they arrived there, Jethro, Yahweh's priest, celebrated the event by a sacrifice. This initiated Moses and Aaron into the cult of Yahweh, and was apparently a kind of ordination service for them. The account of it is in *Exodus* 18: 1–12 and is as follows:

Ex. 18. Now Jethro, the priest of Midian, Moses' father in law, heard of all
that God had done for Moses, and for
Israel his people, how that the Lord had
2] brought Israel out of Egypt. And
Jethro, Moses' father in law, took Zipporah, Moses' wife, after he had sent
3] her away, and her two sons; of
which the name of the one was Gershom;
for he said, I have been [12] a sojourner in
4] a strange land: and the name of the
other was [13] Eliezer: for *he said,* The
God of my father was my help, and delivered me from the sword of Pharaoh:
5] and Jethro, Moses' father in law,
came with his sons and his wife unto
Moses into the wilderness where he was
6] encamped, at the mount of God: and
he said unto Moses, I thy father in law
Jethro am come unto thee, and thy wife,
7] and her two sons with her. And Moses
went out to meet his father in law, and
did obeisance, and kissed him; and they
asked each other of their welfare; and
8] they came into the tent. And Moses
told his father in law all that the Lord
had done unto Pharaoh and to the
Egyptians for Israel's sake, all the travail that had come upon them by the way,
9] and how the Lord delivered them. And
Jethro rejoiced for all the goodness
which the Lord had done to Israel, in
that he had delivered them out of the
10] hand of the Egyptians. And Jethro
said, Blessed be the Lord, who hath delivered you out of the hand of the Egyptians, and out of the hand of Pharaoh;
who hath delivered the people from un-
11] der the hand of the Egyptians. Now
I know that the Lord is greater than all
gods: yea, in the thing wherein they
12] dealt proudly against them. And
Jethro, Moses' father in law, took a
burnt offering and sacrifices for God:
and Aaron came, and all the elders of
Israel, to eat bread with Moses' father in
law before God.

After this initiatory sacrifice, the account of which comes from the E Document, Moses and Aaron officiated at a covenant sacrifice, by which the Hebrews, through their elders, bound themselves to worship Yahweh, and he, they understood, would be their God and fight their battles and give them prosperity. A favorable opportunity for this occurred when the sacred mountain burst into smoke and flame on account of a mild volcanic eruption. Yahweh was then believed to be present on his mountain. This is told from the point of view of ancient Hebrews in *Exodus* 19. Moses and Aaron and seventy elders then went up into the mountain and sealed the covenant by a sacrifice. There are two accounts of this: one from J and the other from E. They are as follows:

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[12] Heb. *Ger.* See ch. 2: 22.

[13] Heb. *El.* God, and *ezer,* help.

E, *Ex.* 24:3–8

Ex. 24. 3] And Moses came and told
the people all the words of the LORD,
and all the judgements: and all the people answered with one voice, and said,
All the words which the LORD hath
4] spoken will we do. And Moses wrote
all the words of the LORD, and rose up
early in the morning, and builded an altar under the mount, and twelve pillars,
according to the twelve tribes of Israel.
5] And he sent young men of the children of Israel, which offered burnt offerings, and sacrificed peace offerings of
6] oxen unto the LORD. And Moses took
half of the blood, and put it in basons;
and half of the blood he sprinkled on the
7] altar. And he took the book of the
covenant, and read in the audience of
the people: and they said, All that the
LORD hath spoken will we do, and be
8] obedient. And Moses took the blood,
and sprinkled it on the people, and said,
Behold the blood of the covenant, which
the LORD hath made with you [15] concerning all these words.

J, *Ex.* 24:1, 2; 9–11

Ex. 24. And he said unto Moses, Come
up unto the LORD, thou, and Aaron,
Nadab, and Abihu, and seventy of the
elders of Israel; and worship ye afar
2] off: and Moses alone shall come near
unto the LORD; but they shall not come
near; neither shall the people go up with
9] him. Then went up Moses, and
Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and seventy
10] of the elders of Israel: and they saw
the God of Israel; and there was under
his feet as it were [14] a paved work of
sapphire stone, and as it were the very
11] heaven for clearness. And upon the
nobles of the children of Israel he laid
not his hand: and they beheld God, and
did eat and drink.

Both accounts of the making of the covenant tell us that it was ratified by a sacrifice. According to J the sacrifice was a meal which Moses, Aaron, and the seventy elders ate in Yahweh's presence; according to E the blood of the offering was sprinkled on an altar, which represented Yahweh, and also upon the congregation of Hebrews. In both accounts the underlying idea is that Yahweh and Israel were bound together by the blood of a consecrated victim.

THE EARLIEST FORM OF THE TEN COMMANDMENTS,
Ex. 34:2, 3, 10a, 14–30

Ex. 34. 2] And be ready by the morning, and come up in the morning unto
mount Sinai, and present thyself there to
3] me on the top of the mount. And no
man shall come up with thee, neither let
any man be seen throughout all the
mount; neither let the flocks nor herds
10] feed before that mount. And he
14] said, Behold, I make a covenant: thou
shalt worship no other god: for the
LORD, whose name is Jealous, is a jealous
15] God: lest thou make a covenant
with the inhabitants of the land, and they
go a whoring after their gods, and do

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[14] Or, *work of bright sapphire.*

[15] Or, *upon all these words.*

sacrifice unto their gods, and one call
16] thee and thou eat of his sacrifice; and
thou take of their daughters unto thy
sons, and their daughters go a whoring
after their gods, and make thy sons go
17] a whoring after their gods. Thou
shalt make thee no molten gods.
18] The feast of unleavened bread
shalt thou keep. Seven days thou shalt
eat unleavened bread, as I commanded
thee, at the time appointed in the month
Abib: for in the month Abib thou
19] camest out from Egypt. All that
openeth the womb is mine; and all
thy cattle that is male, the firstlings of
20] ox and sheep. And the firstling of an
ass thou shalt redeem with a [16] lamb:
and if thou wilt not redeem it, then thou
shalt break its neck. All the firstborn of
thy sons thou shalt redeem. And none
21] shall appear before me empty. Six
days thou shalt work, but on the seventh
day thou shalt rest: in plowing time and
22] in harvest thou shalt rest. And thou
shalt observe the feast of weeks, *even* of
the firstfruits of wheat harvest, and the
feast of ingathering at the year's [17] end.
23] Three times in the year shall all thy
males appear before the LORD GOD,
24] the God of Israel. For I will cast
out nations before thee, and enlarge thy
borders: neither shall any man desire thy
land, when thou goest up to appear before the LORD thy God three times in the
25] year. Thou shalt not offer the blood
of my sacrifice with leavened bread;
neither shall the sacrifice of the feast of
the passover be left unto the morning.
26] The first of the firstfruits of thy
ground thou shalt bring unto the house
of the LORD thy God. Thou shalt not
27] seethe a kid in its mother's milk. And
the LORD said unto Moses, Write thou
these words: for after the tenor of these
words I have made a covenant with thee
28] and with Israel. And he was there
with the LORD forty days and forty
nights; he did neither eat bread, nor
drink water. And he wrote upon the
tables the words of the covenant, the
ten [18] commandments.

29] And it came to pass, when Moses
came down from mount Sinai with the
two tables of the testimony in Moses'
hand, when he came down from the
mount, that Moses wist not that the skin
of his face [19] shone [20] by reason of his
30] speaking with him. And when Aaron
and all the children of Israel saw Moses,
behold, the skin of his face shone; and
they were afraid to come nigh him.

This narrative is, in the main, from the J Document, though some editorial additions have been made by later editors. It tells how Yahweh called Moses up into the mountain and conveyed to him face to face the substance of the ten commandments. There are elements in the story which make it probable that it records another mystic experience of Moses, for when he came down his face shone. It has been noted of many mystics that, when the feelings are exalted in mystic ecstasy, the face is often illumined and seems to shine with unwonted radiance. This touch, unique in the Old Testament, vouches for the historicity of this part of the story. Nothing, indeed, would be more natural than for Moses to go up into the sacred mountain alone, to commune with Yahweh and to seek guidance.

The narrative states that in this interview Yahweh imparted to Moses the ten commandments, even going so far as to say that he wrote them on stone (see verse 28). All ancient peoples believed that their fundamental laws were revealed from heaven. Hammurabi, the Babylonian lawgiver, pictures the sun-god as handing him his code of laws. This feature of the story is, then, simply the ancient way of expressing the belief that the commandments had divine authority. The strange thing is that these commands as given here, which J believed to have formed the basis of the covenant between Yahweh and Israel, differ very widely from the ten commandments as given in *Exodus* 20 and *Deuteronomy* 5, and are clearly much more primitive than those. We believe that J is right in thinking that these ten simple commands, which could be counted off on the fingers and easily carried in the memory, formed the basis of the covenant which was made at this time. At the time the commands were meant to apply to nomadic life in the Arabian deserts. Later editors retouched them a little at certain points to make them apply better to the agricultural conditions of Palestine after the people had settled there, but it is believed that we can still approximately restore the original form. It was probably as follows:

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[16] Or, *kid.*
[17] Heb. *revolution.*
[18] Heb. *words.*
[19] Or, *sent forth beams* (Heb. *horns*).
[20] Or, *while he talked with him.*

1. Thou shalt worship no other god.
2. Thou shalt make thee no molten gods.
3. The feast of the Passover thou shalt keep.
4. The firstling of an ass thou shalt redeem with a lamb; all the first-born of thy sons thou shalt redeem.
5. None shall appear before me empty.
6. Six days thou shalt work, but on the seventh thou shalt rest.
7. Thou shalt observe the feast of ingathering (*i. e.,* the date harvest).
8. Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread, neither shall the sacrifice of the Passover remain until the morning.
9. The firstlings of thy flocks thou shalt bring unto Yahweh, thy God.
10. Thou shalt not boil a kid in its mother's milk.

At this early period, religion consisted largely of ritual. These commands are almost exclusively ritualistic. They taught people what Yahweh required them to do in his ritual worship. They did contain one requirement unique for that age—the requirement to worship no other god. Most ancient gods were believed to be tolerant; they were not angry, if their devotees at proper times worshiped other gods. But Yahweh was a jealous God; he required the sole allegiance of his worshipers. In this was the germ of Israel's future monotheism.

The relation established by this covenant between Yahweh and Israel was also unique. It laid the foundation for the future development of Yahwehism as an ethical religion. The gods of other nations were believed to be, like their chieftains, bound to them by ties of kinship, which, it was thought, could not be broken. A chieftain might not like the conduct of his tribe; he might sulk for a time; but in the end he must help them. He could not permit them to be destroyed, or he would not be a chief. He would become an outcast and have no tribe over which to rule. Similarly a national god related to his people by kinship could be coerced. In the end he must rescue his people, whatever their morals, or he would have no worshipers and so would be no god. Yahweh's relation to Israel was, however, different. It was a covenant relation, and, if Israel did not fulfil its part of the bargain, Yahweh would be free to cast them off and choose another people. To this fact successive prophets in subsequent centuries appealed with effect.

It was a fortunate circumstance that the covenant, in the time of Moses, was not written. Later writers supposed it to have been written, but in this we believe they were mistaken. As it was unwritten, it could be continually reinterpreted. Thus while J believed the covenant to be based on this oldest decalogue, just quoted, E thought it was based on the ethical decalogue of *Exodus* 20 and the agricultural code of laws in *Exodus* 20:24—23:19; the prophets Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah believed it to be based on the living of a thoroughly humane and ethical life; D interpreted the basis of the covenant to be his revised agricultural code; while P considered it the whole body of Levitical ritual, much of which was not developed until long after. This constant reinterpretation ultimately made Israel's religion the lofty, ethical monotheism which has been such a blessing to the world. The first step in that process was the establishment of this covenant by Moses.

THE WILDERNESS WANDERING

The reinterpretations just mentioned have overlaid the period traditionally known as the "wandering in the wilderness" with so many traditions of later origin that it seems at first sight hopeless to discover a historical kernel in the traditions that have come down to us. The great body of material in the last chapters of *Exodus,* all the book of *Leviticus,* and nearly all the book of *Numbers* are from the P stratum—the latest stratum in the Pentateuch. The representation given by these editors, that the number of Hebrews in the wilderness was as great as the population of New York with all its boroughs, and that, when they camped, the tabernacle with all its priestly and Levitical retinue occupied a prescribed area in the midst of this vast city of tents, is certainly unhistorical. What the historical fact probably was will be told soon.

How long a period should be assigned to the wilderness we do not know. The traditional time is "forty years," but that is a period of time that the Deuteronomic writers are particularly fond of, and it seems that they may have employed it as a round number to express the idea of a "generation" or "a long time."

Whether the tribes said to be descended from Rachel roamed as nomads in the desert country for twenty or for forty years, they seem to have made the mountain of Yahweh, far down toward Medina, one gathering place, and the oasis of Kadesh, about fifty miles south of Beersheba, the other. Only one or two facts of the history of this period are now discernible.

THE REAL TABERNACLE, *Ex.* 33:7–11

7] Now Moses used to take the tent
and to pitch it without the camp, afar
off from the camp; and he called it, The
tent of meeting. And it came to pass,
that every one which sought the Lord
went out unto the tent of meeting which
8] was without the camp. And it came
to pass, when Moses went out unto the
Tent, that all the people rose up, and
stood, every man at his tent door, and
looked after Moses, until he was gone
9] into the Tent. And it came to pass,
when Moses entered into the Tent, the
pillar of cloud descended, and stood at
10] the door of the Tent: and *the* Lord
spake with Moses. And all the people
saw the pillar of cloud stand at the door
of the Tent: and all the people rose up
and worshipped, every man at his tent
11] door. And the Lord spake unto
Moses face to face, as a man speaketh
unto his friend. And he turned again
into the camp: but his minister Joshua,
the son of Nun, a young man, departed
not out of the Tent.

Some features of this story, which comes from the E Document, are probably additions of a later time. Such is the tradition that, when Yahweh came to the tent, the pillar of cloud rested upon it, and all the people stood. That Moses, as he led this comparatively small group of Hebrews, had a tent for the worship of Yahweh, which he pitched apart from the camp, and to which he went for the purpose of ascertaining the will of Yahweh, by casting the sacred lot and by such other means as the men of that time believed to be efficacious, is altogether probable. This is the original of that "tabernacle," which the imagination of priestly writers expanded into the structure pictured in much Sunday school literature.

THE ORIGIN OF THE LEVITES, *Ex.* 32:25–31

25] And when Moses saw that the
people were broken loose; for Aaron
had let them loose for a [21] derision
26] among their enemies: then Moses
stood in the gate of the camp, and said,
Whoso is on the Lord's side, *let him
come* unto me. And all the sons of Levi
gathered themselves together unto him.
27] And he said unto them, Thus saith
the Lord, the God of Israel, Put ye every
man his sword upon his thigh, and go
to and fro from gate to gate throughout
the camp, and slay every man his brother,
and every man his companion, and every
28] man his neighbour. And the sons of
Levi did according to the word of
Moses: and there fell of the people that
29] day about three thousand men. And
Moses said, [22] Consecrate yourselves today
to the Lord, [23] yea, every man
[24] against his son, and [24] against his
brother; that he may bestow upon you a
30] blessing this day. And it came to
pass on the morrow, that Moses said
unto the people, Ye have sinned a great
sin: and now I will go up unto the
Lord; peradventure I shall make atonement
31] for your sin. And Moses returned
unto the Lord, and said, Oh, this
people have sinned a great sin, and have
made them gods of gold.

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[21] Heb. *whispering.*

[22] Heb. *Fill your hand.*

[23] Or, *for every man* hath been *against his son and against his brother.*

[24] Or, *upon.*

The second of the commandments of *Exodus* 34, quoted above, prohibited the making of "molten gods." It did not prohibit the making of idols whittled out of wood, but only expensive idols made of molten metal. The verses, just preceding the extract last quoted from the book of *Exodus,* tell how Aaron made a golden calf and the people worshiped it. We are told that then Moses said: "Who is on Yahweh's side, let him come to me." The narrative adds "all the Levites [literally, "adherers"] gathered themselves together unto him." Those who thus adhered to Yahweh in this crisis, and showed it by standing by Moses and executing the bloody mission on which he sent them, became, it is believed, the ancestors of the Levitical priesthood of later times. Naturally, in the lapse of time, they were confused with the old tribe of Levi, some memory of which lingered, but, unless we are mistaken, originally the two were quite distinct.

The story of this crisis as we have it was written to combat the use of golden bullocks or calves in the worship of Yahweh in the time of the kingdom of Israel, but doubtless there may have been a crisis over some similar matter in the time of Moses. People do not give up old practices easily.

THE OVERTHROW OF OG, KING OF BASHAN, *Num.* 21:33–35

Num. 21. 33] And they turned and went up by the way of Bashan: and Og the king of Bashan went out against them, he and all his people, to battle at 34] Edrei. And the LORD said unto Moses, Fear him not: for I have delivered him into thy hand, and all his people, and his land; and thou shalt do to him as thou didst unto Sihon king of the Amorites, 35] which dwelt at Heshbon. So they smote him, and his sons, and all his people, until there was none left him remaining: and they possessed his land.

Og ruled over a kingdom in the fertile lands east of the Sea of Galilee, called to-day, as in the time of the Assyrians, the Hauran. As, according to the hypothesis of this book, the Reubenites and Gadites were already occupying the territory east of the Jordan and south of the Hauran, Moses led the Joseph tribes, whom he had delivered from Egypt, along the border of the desert to the neighborhood of what is to-day called Gebel-ed-Druz, and, turning westward, conquered the kingdom of Bashan. Here a part of the tribe of Manasseh settled.

THE DEATH OF MOSES, *Deut.* 34:1–8

Deut. 34. And Moses went up from the plains of Moab unto mount Nebo, to the top of Pisgah, that is over against Jericho. And the LORD shewed him all 2] the land of Gilead, unto Dan; and all Naphtali, and the land of Ephraim and Manasseh, and all the land of Judah, 3] unto the [25] hinder sea; and the South, and the Plain of the valley of Jericho 4] the city of palm trees, unto Zoar. And

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[25] That is, *western.*

the LORD said unto him, This is the land which I sware unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, saying, I will give it unto thy seed: I have caused thee to see it with thine eyes, but thou shalt not go
5] over thither. So Moses the servant of the LORD died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of the LORD.
6] And [26] he buried him in the valley in the land of Moab over against Beth-peor: but no man knoweth of his sepul-
7] chre unto this day. And Moses was an hundred and twenty years old when he died: his eye was not dim, nor his
8] natural force abated. And the children of Israel wept for Moses in the plains of Moab thirty days: so the days of weeping in the mourning for Moses were ended.

The death of Moses, recorded in this passage, occurred before the Joseph-tribes had made any conquests west of the Jordan. This passage in *Deuteronomy,* made up of strands from different documents, shows how later generations venerated him, and how little they knew of the details of his last days. His age of a hundred and twenty years is an addition from the P Document, and is clearly an exaggeration. Although, as we have seen, later generations greatly magnified the work of Moses, it would be difficult to exaggerate its importance. He set in motion influences which made the Hebrew people what they were, and thus contributed ultimately one of the most important elements of modern civilization.

[26] Or, *he was buried.*

CHAPTER VII

THE SECOND SETTLEMENT IN PALESTINE

IT has already been pointed out that the book of *Joshua,* which is devoted to an account of the conquest of Palestine, is in good part composed of material from the D and P documents, whose authors had entirely lost the historical perspective. In the first ten chapters of the book there is some material drawn from J and E, and, though even here there are later accretions as is natural, the account is in the main historical.

The tribes said to be descended from Rachel traced their ancestry in part back to Haran in Mesopotamia, and it is probable that they too were Habiri, but Habiri who had not obtained a footing in Palestine at the time of the first settlement. We know from the tablets from Boghaz Koi that not all the Habiri had left the Hurri-country, when the first settlement took place. When the Rachel-tribes approached western Palestine through the Hauran, where they conquered the kingdom of Og and where part of the tribe of Manasseh settled, northern Palestine, according to our hypothesis, was already in the possession of Habiri, while the tribes of Judah and Simeon had established themselves in the south, where they had made an alliance with the tribe of Dan, which was, perhaps, originally Canaanite. The great central portion of the country from Jerusalem northward nearly to the great Plain of Esdraelon was still in the hands of Amorite or Canaanite tribes. This the Rachel-tribes determined to attack; and apparently they moved down the Jordan valley on the east side of the river seeking an advantageous point at which to begin the invasion. They appear to have found this at Jericho.

CROSSING OF THE JORDAN

When this decision was reached the problem was how to get across the Jordan. Farther up the river the bottom of the stream is often hard and it can be forded, but for miles above Jericho the bed of the river is of clay in which there are streaks of salt. The water is deep, flows swiftly, and the bottom is treacherous. Along its banks great cliffs of this clay, worn into curious shapes through the centuries by annual floods, stand like castles.[1] The problem of crossing was a serious one, and it was accomplished by the occurrence of an event which, like the blowing of the winds at the Red Sea, the Hebrews believed to be an interposition of Yahweh. Here is the Biblical account of it, made up of strata from the different documents.

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[1] For a picture of such a cliff see G. A. Barton, *A Year's Wandering in Bible Lands,* Philadelphia, 1904, p. 125.

Josh 3. And Joshua rose up early in
the morning, and they removed from
Shittim, and came to Jordan, he and all
the children of Israel; and they lodged
2] there before they passed over. And
it came to pass after three days, that the
officers went through the midst of the
3] camp; and they commanded the peo-
ple, saying, When ye see the ark of the
covenant of the LORD your God, and the
priests the Levites bearing it, then ye
shall remove from your place, and go
4] after it. Yet there shall be a space
between you and it, about two thousand
cubits by measure: come not near unto
it, that ye may know the way by which
ye must go; for ye have not passed this
5] way heretofore. And Joshua said un-
to the people, Sanctify yourselves: for
to-morrow the LORD will do wonders
6] among you. And Joshua spake unto
the priests, saying, Take up the ark of
the covenant, and pass over before the
people. And they took up the ark of
the covenant, and went before the peo-
7] ple. And the LORD said unto Joshua,
This day will I begin to magnify thee in
the sight of all Israel, that they may
know that, as I was with Moses, so I
8] will be with thee. And thou shalt com-
mand the priests that bear the ark of
the covenant, saying, When ye are come
to the brink of the waters of Jordan, ye
shall stand still in Jordan.

9] And Joshua said unto the children
of Israel, Come hither, and hear the
10] words of the LORD your God. And
Joshua said, Hereby ye shall know that
the living God is among you, and that
he will without fail drive out from be-
fore you the Canaanite, and the Hittite,
and the Hivite, and the Perizzite, and
the Girgashite, and the Amorite, and the
11] Jebusite. Behold, the ark of the cov-
enant of the LORD of all the earth pass-
12] eth over before you into Jordan. Now
therefore take you twelve men out of
the tribes of Israel, for every tribe a
13] man. And it shall come to pass,
when the soles of the feet of the priests
that bear the ark of the LORD, the LORD
of all the earth, shall rest in the waters
of Jordan, that the waters of Jordan
shall be cut off, even the waters that
come down from above; and they shall
14] stand in one heap. And it came to
pass, when the people removed from
their tents, to pass over Jordan, the
priests that bare the ark of the covenant
15] being before the people; and when
they that bare the ark were come unto
Jordan, and the feet of the priests that
bare the ark were dipped in the brink
of the water, (for Jordan overfloweth
all its banks all the time of harvest),
16] that the waters which came down
from above stood, and rose up in one
heap, a great way [2] off, at Adam, the
city that is beside Zarethan: and those
that went down toward the sea of the
[3] Arabah, even the Salt Sea, were
wholly cut off: and the people passed
17] over right against Jericho. And the
priests that bare the ark of the covenant
of the LORD stood firm on dry ground
in the midst of Jordan, and all Israel
passed over on dry ground, until all the
nation were passed clean over Jordan.

What are we to make of this narrative? The key to its interpretation is furnished by an Arab historian, who relates that in the year 1266 A.D. an Arab officer was detailed to repair a bridge over this part of the Jordan.[4] It was at the time of the year when the river was in flood, and the bridge was in imminent danger of being washed away. Suddenly the water subsided and in a little while the river bottom was waterless, so that the bridge was repaired. On examination it was found that farther up the river one of the clay cliffs had been undermined by the flood and made a dam which caused the waters to back up for a long way while the river was finding a way through it and around it. Such an occurrence in the time of Joshua the Hebrews would certainly regard as a miraculous interposition of Yahweh. That is probably what occurred, and later tradition by a natural, unconscious process turned it into a miracle which happened at the approach of a procession of priests.

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[2] Another reading is, *off from*.

[3] See *Deut.* 1: 1.

[4] For the Arabic text with translation see *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1895, pp. 253–261.

THE FALL OF JERICHO, *Josh.* 6

Josh. 6. (Now Jericho [5] was straitly
shut up because of the children of Israel:
none went out, and none came in.)
2] And the LORD said unto Joshua, See,
I have given into thine hand Jericho,
and the king thereof, and the mighty
3] men of valour. And ye shall compass
the city, all the men of war, going about
4] the city once. Thus shalt thou do six
days. And seven priests shall bear seven
[6] trumpets of rams' horns before the
ark: and the seventh day ye shall compass
the city seven times, and the priests
5] shall blow with the trumpets. And
it shall be, that when they make a long
blast with the ram's horn, and when ye
hear the sound of the trumpet, all the
people shall shout with a great shout;
and the wall of the city shall fall down
[7] flat, and the people shall go up every
6] man straight before him. And Joshua
the son of Nun called the priests, and
said unto them, Take up the ark of the
covenant, and let seven priests bear seven
trumpets of rams' horns before the ark
7] of the LORD. And [8] they said unto the
people, Pass on, and compass the city,
and let the armed men pass on before
8] the ark of the LORD. And it was so,
that when Joshua had spoken unto the
people, the seven priests bearing the
seven trumpets of rams' horns before the
LORD passed on, and blew with the trumpets:
and the ark of the covenant of the
9] LORD followed them. And the armed
men went before the priests that blew
the trumpets, and the rearward went
after the ark, *the priests* blowing with
10] the trumpets as they went. And
Joshua commanded the people, saying,
Ye shall not shout, nor let your voice be
heard, neither shall any word proceed
out of your mouth, until the day I bid
11] you shout; then shall ye shout. So
he caused the ark of the LORD to compass
the city, going about it once: and
they came into the camp, and lodged
in the camp.

12] And Joshua rose early in the
morning, and the priests took up the ark
13] of the LORD. And the seven priests
bearing the seven trumpets of rams'
horns before the ark of the LORD went
on continually, and blew with the trumpets:
and the armed men went before
them; and the rearward came after the
ark of the LORD, *the priests* blowing with
14] the trumpets as they went. And the
second day they compassed the city once,
and returned into the camp: so they did
15] six days. And it came to pass on the
seventh day, that they rose early at the
dawning of the day, and compassed the
city after the same manner seven times:
only on that day they compassed the city
16] seven times. And it came to pass at
the seventh time, when the priests blew
with the trumpets, Joshua said unto the
people, Shout; for the LORD hath given
17] you the city. And the city shall be
[9] devoted, even it and all that is therein,
to the LORD: only Rahab the harlot shall
live, she and all that are with her in the
house, because she hid the messengers

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[5] Heb. *shut* the gates *and was shut in.*
[6] Or, *jubile trumpets.*
[7] Heb. *in its place.*
[8] Another reading is, *he.*
[9] See *Lev.* 27: 28; *Deut.* 20: 17.

18] that we sent. And ye, in any wise
keep yourselves from the devoted thing,
lest when ye have devoted it, ye take of
the devoted thing; so should ye make
the camp of Israel [10] accursed, and trouble
19] it. But all the silver, and gold,
and vessels of brass and iron, are holy
unto the LORD: they shall come into the
20] treasury of the LORD. So the people
shouted, and *the priests* blew with the
trumpets: and it came to pass, when the
people heard the sound of the trumpet,
that the people shouted with a great
shout, and the wall fell down [7] flat, so
that the people went up into the city,
every man straight before him, and they
21] took the city. And they [11] utterly destroyed
all that was in the city, both man
and woman, both young and old, and
ox, and sheep, and ass, with the edge of
22] the sword. And Joshua said unto
the two men that had spied out the land,
Go into the harlot's house, and bring out
thence the woman, and all that she hath,
23] as ye sware unto her. And the young
men the spies went in, and brought out
Rahab, and her father, and her mother,
and her brethren, and all that she had,
all her [12] kindred also they brought out;
and they set them without the camp of
24] Israel. And they burnt the city with
fire, and all that was therein: only the
silver, and the gold, and the vessels of
brass and of iron, they put into the treasury
25] of the house of the LORD. But
Rahab the harlot, and her father's household,
and all that she had, did Joshua
save alive; and she dwelt in the midst
of Israel, unto this day; because she hid
the messengers, which Joshua sent to
26] spy out Jericho. And Joshua charged
them with an oath at that time, saying,
Cursed be the man before the LORD, that
riseth up and buildeth this city Jericho:
with the loss of his firstborn shall he lay
the foundation thereof, and with the loss
of his youngest son shall he set up the
27] gates of it. So the LORD was with
Joshua; and his fame was in all the
land.

Scholars find two strands woven together in this chapter, one from J and one from E. According to the J strand the Hebrews marched around the walls of Jericho once a day for six days, making no attack. The people of Jericho, thinking they did not dare to attack, were thrown off their guard and became lax in the vigilance of their defense. When, on the seventh day, they marched around, they made a surprise attack and took the city. E, on the other hand, represented the Hebrews as marching around seven times on one day, and then blowing trumpets, when the walls fell down of themselves. As the narrative stands they are made to march around the walls thirteen times in all and the miraculous falling of the walls is preserved. It is believed that the J account represents the historical fact.

THE CONQUEST OF CENTRAL PALESTINE, *Josh.* 8:1—10:27

Josh. 8. And the LORD said unto
Joshua, Fear not, neither be thou dismayed:
take all the people of war with
thee, and arise, go up to Ai: see, I have
given into thy hand the king of Ai, and
his people, and his city, and his land:
2] and thou shalt do to Ai and her king
as thou didst unto Jericho and her king:
only the spoil thereof, and the cattle
thereof, shall ye take for a prey unto
yourselves: set thee an ambush for the
3] city behind it. So Joshua arose, and
all the people of war, to go up to Ai:
and Joshua chose out thirty thousand
men, the mighty men of valour, and sent
4] them forth by night. And he com-

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[10] Heb. *devoted.*
[11] Heb. *devoted.*
[12] Heb. *families.*

manded them, saying, Behold, ye shall
lie in ambush against the city, behind the
city: go not very far from the city, but
5] be ye all ready: and I, and all the people that are with me, will approach unto
the city: and it shall come to pass, when
they come out against us, as at the first,
6] that we will flee before them; and
they will come out after us, till we have
drawn them away from the city; for
they will say, They flee before us, as at
the first; so we will flee before them:
7] and ye shall rise up from the ambush,
and take possession of the city: for the
Lord your God will deliver it into your
8] hand. And it shall be, when ye have
seized upon the city, that ye shall set
the city on fire; according to the word
of the Lord shall ye do: see, I have
9] commanded you. And Joshua sent
them forth: and they went to the ambushment, and abode between Beth-el
and Ai, on the west side of Ai: but
Joshua lodged that night among the people.

10] And Joshua rose up early in the
morning, and mustered the people, and
went up, he and the elders of Israel,
11] before the people to Ai. And all the
people, *even* the *men of* war that were
with him, went up, and drew nigh, and
came before the city, and pitched on the
north side of Ai: now there was a valley
12] between him and Ai. And he took
about five thousand men, and set them
in ambush between Beth-el and Ai, on
13] the west side of [13] the city. [14] So
they set the people, even all the host that
was on the north of the city, and their
liers in wait that were on the west of the
city; and Joshua [15] went that night into
14] the midst of the vale. And it came to
pass, when the king of Ai saw it, that
they hasted and rose up early, and the
men of the city went out against Israel
to battle, he and all his people, [16] at the
time appointed, before the Arabah; but
he wist not that there was an ambush
15] against him behind the city. And
Joshua and all Israel made as if they
were beaten before them, and fled by
16] the way of the wilderness. And all
the people that were in [13] the city were
called together to pursue after them:
and they pursued after Joshua, and were
17] drawn away from the city. And
there was not a man left in Ai or Beth-el, that went not out after Israel: and
they left the city open, and pursued after
18] Israel. And the Lord said unto
Joshua, Stretch out the javelin that is in
thy hand toward Ai; for I will give it
into thine hand. And Joshua stretched
out the javelin that was in his hand
19] toward the city. And the ambush
arose quickly out of their place, and
they ran as soon as he had stretched out
his hand, and entered into the city, and
took it; and they hasted and set the city
20] on fire. And when the men of Ai
looked behind them, they saw, and, behold, the smoke of the city ascended up
to heaven, and they had no [17] power to
flee this way or that way: and the people that fled to the wilderness turned
21] back upon the pursuers. And when
Joshua and all Israel saw that the ambush had taken the city, and that the
smoke of the city ascended, then they
turned again, and slew the men of Ai.
22] And the other came forth out of the
city against them; so they were in the
midst of Israel, some on this side, and
some on that side: and they smote them,
so that they let none of them remain or
23] escape. And the king of Ai they
took alive, and brought him to Joshua.
24] And it came to pass, when Israel
had made an end of slaying all the inhabitants of Ai in the field, in the wilderness wherein they pursued them, and
they were all fallen by the edge of the
sword, until they were consumed, that
all Israel returned unto Ai, and smote
25] it with the edge of the sword. And
all that fell that day, both of men and
women, were twelve thousand, even all
26] the men of Ai. For Joshua drew not
back his hand, wherewith he stretched
out the javelin, until he had [18] utterly
destroyed all the inhabitants of Ai.
27] Only the cattle and the spoil of that

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[13] Another reading is, *Ai.*
[14] Or, *So the people set all &c.*
[15] Some MSS. read, *lodged that night in.*
[16] Or, *to the place appointed.*
[17] Heb. *hands.*
[18] Heb. *devoted.*

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city Israel took for a prey unto themselves,
according unto the word of the
Lord which he commanded Joshua.
28] So Joshua burnt Ai, and made it an
[19] heap for ever, even a desolation, unto
29] this day. And the king of Ai he
hanged on a tree until the eventide: and
at the going down of the sun Joshua
commanded, and they took his carcase
down from the tree, and cast it at the
entering of the gate of the city, and
raised thereon a great heap of stones,
unto this day.

30] Then Joshua built an altar unto
the Lord, the God of Israel, in mount
31] Ebal, as Moses the servant of the
Lord commanded the children of Israel,
as it is written in the book of the law
of Moses, an altar of [20] unhewn stones,
upon which no man had lift up any
iron: and they offered thereon burnt offerings
unto the Lord, and sacrificed
32] peace offerings. And he wrote there
upon [21] the stones a copy of the law of
Moses, [22] which he wrote, in the presence
33] of the children of Israel. And
all Israel, and their elders and officers,
and their judges, stood on this side the
ark and on that side before the priests
the Levites, which bare the ark of the
covenant of the Lord, as well the stranger
as the homeborn; half of them in
front of mount Gerizim, and half of
them in front of mount Ebal; as Moses
the servant of the Lord had [23] commanded,
that they should bless the people
34] of Israel first of all. And afterward
he read all the words of the law,
the blessing and the curse, according
to all that is written in the book of the
35] law. There was not a word of all
that Moses commanded, which Joshua
read not before all the assembly of Israel,
and the women, and the little ones,
and the strangers that [24] were conversant
among them.

9. And it came to pass, when all the
kings which were beyond Jordan, in
the hill country, and in the lowland, and
on all the shore of the great sea in front
of Lebanon, the Hittite, and the Amorite,
the Canaanite, the Perizzite, the Hivite,
and the Jebusite, heard thereof;
2] that they gathered themselves together,
to fight with Joshua and with
Israel, with one accord.

3] But when the inhabitants of Gibeon
heard what Joshua had done unto
4] Jericho and to Ai, they also did work
wilily, and went and [25] made as if they
had been ambassadors, and took old
sacks upon their asses, and wine-skins,
5] old and rent and bound up; and old
shoes and clouted upon their feet, and
old garments upon them; and all the
bread of their provision was dry and
6] was become mouldy. And they went
to Joshua unto the camp at Gilgal, and
said unto him, and to the men of Israel,
We are come from a far country: now
therefore make ye a covenant with us.
7] And the men of Israel said unto the
Hivites, Peradventure ye dwell among
us; and how shall we make a covenant
8] with you? And they said unto Joshua,
We are thy servants. And Joshua said
unto them, Who are ye? and from
9] whence come ye? And they said unto
him, From a very far country thy
servants are come because of the name
of the Lord thy God: for we have heard
the fame of him, and all that he did in
10] Egypt, and all that he did to the two
kings of the Amorites, that were beyond
Jordan, to Sihon king of Heshbon,
and to Og king of Bashan, which was
11] at Ashtaroth. And our elders and all
the inhabitants of our country spake to
us, saying, Take provision in your hand
for the journey, and go to meet them,
and say unto them, We are your servants:
and now make ye a covenant with
12] us. This our bread we took hot for
our provision out of our houses on the
day we came forth to go unto you; but
now, behold, it is dry, and is become
mouldy: and these wine-skins, which we
filled, were new; and, behold, they be
rent: and these our garments and our
shoes are become old by reason of the

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[19] Or, *mound* Heb. *tel.*

[20] Heb. *whole.*

[21] See *Deut.* 27: 2–4.

[22] Or, *which he wrote in &c.*

[23] Or, *commanded at the first that they should bless the people of Israel.*

[24] Heb. *walked.*

[25] Another reading, followed by most ancient versions, is, *took them provisions.* See ver. 12.

14] very long journey. And the men
took of their provision, and asked not
counsel at the mouth of the Lord.
15] And Joshua made peace with them,
and made a covenant with them, to let
them live: and the princes of the congregation
16] sware unto them. And it
came to pass at the end of three days
after they had made a covenant with
them, that they heard that they were
their neighbours, and that they dwelt
17] among them. And the children of
Israel journeyed, and came unto their
cities on the third day. Now their cities
were Gibeon, and Chephirah, and Beeroth,
18] and Kiriath-jearim. And the
children of Israel smote them not, because
the princes of the congregation
had sworn unto them by the Lord, the
God of Israel. And all the congregation
19] murmured against the princes. But
all the princes said unto all the congregation,
We have sworn unto them by the
Lord, the God of Israel: now therefore
20] we may not touch them. This we
will do to them, and let them live; lest
wrath be upon us, because of the oath
21] which we sware unto them. And
the princes said unto them, Let them
live: so they became hewers of wood
and drawers of water unto all the congregation;
as the princes had spoken
22] unto them. And Joshua called for
them, and he spake unto them, saying,
Wherefore have ye beguiled us, saying,
We are very far from you; when ye
23] dwell among us? Now therefore ye
are cursed, and there [26] shall never fail
to be of you bondmen, both hewers of
wood and drawers of water for the
24] house of my God. And they answered
Joshua, and said, Because it was
certainly told thy servants, how that the
Lord thy God commanded his servant
Moses to give you all the land, and to
destroy all the inhabitants of the land
from before you; therefore we were
sore afraid for our lives because of you,
25] and have done this thing. And now,
behold, we are in thine hand: as it seemeth
good and right unto thee to do unto
26] us, do. And so did he unto them, and
delivered them out of the hand of the
children of Israel, that they slew them
27] not. And Joshua made them that day
hewers of wood and drawers of water
for the congregation, and for the altar
of the Lord, unto this day, in the place
which he should choose.

10. Now it came to pass, when Adoni-zedek
king of Jerusalem heard how
Joshua had taken Ai, and had [27] utterly
destroyed it; as he had done *to Jericho
and her king, so he had done to Ai and
her king;* and how the inhabitants of
Gibeon had made peace with Israel, and
2] were among them; that they feared
greatly, because Gibeon was a great city,
as one of the royal cities, and because it
was greater than Ai, and all the men
3] thereof were mighty. Wherefore
Adoni-zedek king of Jerusalem sent unto
Hoham king of Hebron, and unto Piram
king of Jarmuth, and unto Japhia king
of Lachish, and unto Debir king of
4] Eglon, saying, Come up unto me,
and help me, and let us smite Gibeon:
for it hath made peace with Joshua and
5] with the children of Israel. Therefore
the five kings of the Amorites, the king
of Jerusalem, the king of Hebron, the
king of Jarmuth, the king of Lachish,
the king of Eglon, gathered themselves
together, and went up, they and all
their hosts, and encamped against Gibeon,
6] and made war against it. And
the men of Gibeon sent unto Joshua to
the camp of Gilgal, saying, Slack not
thy hand from thy servants; come up to
us quickly, and save us, and help us: for
all the kings of the Amorites that dwell
in the hill country are gathered together
7] against us. So Joshua went up from
Gilgal, he, and all the people of war
with him, and all the mighty men of valour.
8] And the Lord said unto Joshua,
Fear them not: for I have delivered
them into thine hands; there shall not
a man of them stand before thee.
9] Joshua therefore came upon them
suddenly; *for* he went up from Gilgal
10] all the night. And the Lord discomfited
them before Israel, and he slew
them with a great slaughter at Gibeon,
and chased them by the way of the
ascent of Beth-horon, and smote them to

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[26] Heb. *shall not be cut off from you.*

[27] Heb. *devoted.*

11] Azekah, and unto Makkedah. And
it came to pass, as they fled from before
Israel, while they were in the going
down of Beth-horon, that the Lord cast
down great stones from heaven upon
them unto Azekah, and they died: they
were more which died with the hailstones
than they whom the children of
Israel slew with the sword.

12] Then spake Joshua to the Lord
in the day *when the* Lord *delivered up
the Amorites before the children of Israel;*
and he said in the sight of Israel,

Sun, [28] stand thou still upon Gibeon;
And thou, Moon, in the valley of Aijalon.
13] And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed,
Until the nation had avenged themselves of their enemies.

Is not this written in the book of
[29] Jashar? And the sun stayed in the
midst of heaven, and hasted not to go
14] down about a whole day. And there
was no day like that before it or after
it, that the Lord hearkened unto the
voice of a man: for the Lord fought for
Israel.

15] And Joshua returned, and all Israel
with him, unto the camp to Gilgal.

16] And these five kings fled, and hid
themselves in the cave at Makkedah.
17] And it was told Joshua, saying, The
five kings are found, hidden in the cave
18] at Makkedah. And Joshua said, Roll
great stones unto the mouth of the cave,
and set men by it for to keep them:
19] but stay not ye; pursue after your
enemies, and smite the hindmost of
them; suffer them not to enter into their
cities: for the Lord your God hath delivered
20] them into your hand. And
it came to pass, when Joshua and the
children of Israel had made an end of
slaying them with a very great slaughter,
till they were consumed, and the
remnant which remained of them had
21] entered into the fenced cities, that
all the people returned to the camp to
Joshua at Makkedah in peace: none
[30] moved his tongue against any of the
22] children of Israel. Then said Joshua,
Open the mouth of the cave, and bring
forth those five kings unto me out of the
23] cave. And they did so, and brought
forth those five kings unto him out of
the cave, the king of Jerusalem, the king
of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth, the
king of Lachish, the king of Eglon.
24] And it came to pass, when they
brought forth those kings unto Joshua,
that Joshua called for all the men of
Israel, and said unto the chiefs of the
men of war which went with him,
Come near, put your feet upon the necks
of these kings. And they came near, and
put their feet upon the necks of them.
25] And Joshua said unto them, Fear
not, nor be dismayed; be strong and of
good courage: for thus shall the Lord
do to all your enemies against whom ye
26] fight. And afterward Joshua smote
them, and put them to death, and hanged
them on five trees: and they were hanging
upon the trees until the evening.
27] And it came to pass at the time of
the going down of the sun, that Joshua
commanded, and they took them down
off the trees, and cast them into the
cave wherein they had hidden themselves,
and laid great stones on the mouth
of the cave, unto this very day.

These chapters from the book of *Joshua* contain all we know of the conquest of central Palestine. To one who follows them with the map they give a tolerably clear picture. Partly by conquest and partly by alliances the Rachel-tribes gained possession of the territory in which they developed into a political power. The only part of the material that needs a word of comment is the supposed miracle of the sun standing still in chapter 10: 12, 13. The last part of verse 12 and all of verse 13 are a bit of poetry, taken by the writer of the J Document from an ancient book of odes that is now lost. This book, which is quoted three or four times in the Old Testament, contained poems celebrating the deeds of ancient heroes. It contained a poem on Joshua's victorious battle at Aijalon, and the poet with poetic exaggeration expresses the fact that the day was quite long enough for the victory by saying that

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[28] Heb. *be silent.*
[29] Or, *The Upright.* See *2 Sam.* 1: 18.
[30] Heb. *whetted.*

> "The sun stood still and the moon stayed,
> Until the nation had avenged themselves on their enemies."

It is a bit of poetic hyperbole, such as one might find in Homer, written by one who thought of the sun as a creature that passed through a kind of Hudson tunnel at night from west to east, and that might stop for a bit without doing more harm than a person does when he stops. For us, who know how the earth would fall into the sun's fire, if it stopped moving around the sun, it is a different matter. The utterance is as clearly poetic metaphor as is Shakespere's

> "How sweet the moonlight sleeps upon this bank!"

KENITES SETTLE IN JUDAH, *Jud.* 1:16

16] And the children of the Kenite, Moses' [31] brother in law, went up out of [32] the city of palm trees with the children of Judah into the wilderness of Judah, which is in the south of Arad; and they went and dwelt with the people.

This passage shows that some Kenite-Midianites moved into the tribe of Judah and lived there. Apparently they were absorbed and became a part of that tribe as numerous Canaanites did.

THE PHYSICAL FEATURES OF PALESTINE

In the two settlements which have now been described the Hebrews pushed their way in among the Palestinian population. They killed some and made alliances with others. There were many walled cities that they did not take; a line of these extended from Bethshean to Megiddo across the Plain of Jezreel, and another from Jerusalem to Gezer. Judah had once captured Jerusalem, but had lost it to the Jebusites. Nevertheless Israel became the dominant element in the population and in a few centuries had assimilated the others. With a map of Palestine one should note the locality occupied by each of the twelve tribes.

Having reached a point where we can study the real history of Israel, we should form some idea of the physical features of the country. It is divided naturally into five long narrow strips which run from north to south. The first of these as we approach the land from the west is the

[31] Or, *father in law.*

[32] See *Deut.* 34:3.

maritime plain. This plain at the southern end of the country is about fifteen miles wide; it narrows as one goes north until, at Mount Carmel, it disappears. It consists of rolling land intersected by streams; it is well watered and fertile. During most of the Old Testament period it was in the hands of Israel's enemies.

East of this plain is a range of low hills, which begin about opposite Samaria and extend southward to Lachish. The Hebrews called these the "Shephēlah." The city of Gezer was situated in it.

East of the Shephelah is the range of hills which constitute central Palestine. Most of Hebrew history was enacted on this range. North of Beersheba the hills begin to rise in what was called the "Negeb" or "south country"; they increase in height as one goes northward until at Hebron their summits are 3,300 feet above sea-level. North of this they gradually fall; Jerusalem is 2,500 feet above the sea, although the top of the Mount of Olives is 2,900 feet. As one goes northward through the country of ancient Ephraim the hills are lower and the valleys wider. This continues until we reach the great Plain of Jezreel—called later Esdraelon—which extends in a northwesterly direction from Bethshean to the Mediterranean north of Mount Carmel. North of this plain near Nazareth the hills begin again and gradually become higher until in northern Galilee they again reach a height of about 3,300 feet. A few miles east of Nazareth, Mount Tabor rises like a round loaf to a height of 2,800 feet.

The most remarkable part of Palestine is the Jordan valley, which lies just east of the central range. Beginning where the Jordan rises near the foot of Mount Hermon—the highest mountain in Palestine, which reaches a height of 9,300 feet—this valley starts at a height of 1,700 feet above the level of the sea. As one goes south it descends so fast—the name "Jordan" means "descender"—that where it broadens out into the Hulah (the ancient "Waters of Merom") it is but two feet above sea-level. From the Huleh it descends so rapidly that at the Sea of Galilee it is 681 feet below the level of the Mediterranean. From this point it descends so rapidly that it enters the Dead Sea 1,300 feet below sea-level. This valley, only twenty miles wide at the broadest part, and averaging about eight miles in width, is a great crevice in the earth's surface, most of it below the level of the sea, into which the rays of the subtropical sun beat, producing in it a truly tropical climate. In it oleanders and various tropical flowers bloom, while Hermon at its northern end—snow-capped for nine months of the year—can be seen as a white sentinel throughout its entire length.

As one goes up out of the Jordan valley to the east opposite Jericho one seems to be climbing the side of a mountain 5,000 feet high. When he has reached the top, he finds himself, however, not on a mountain, but on an elevated plain. The country is rolling, well watered, and fertile. This elevated table-land—the Transjordania of to-day—is the fifth division of the country. It extends from the Jordan valley to the Arabian desert. Opposite the Dead Sea the fertile land is about thirty miles wide; farther north, east of the Sea of Galilee, where the land is not so high and the moisture is not so soon drained out of the air blown in from the Mediterranean, it is more than twice that width.

This portion of Palestine is divided into four parts by three deep valleys, at the bottoms of which perennial streams flow. The southernmost of these was in ancient times called the Arnon. It divided the land of Moab from the territory supposed to belong to the tribe of Reuben (see *Num.* 21 : 14, 15), though Moab often pushed to the north of it. The Arnon empties into the Dead Sea. About half-way between the Dead Sea and the Sea of Galilee another deeply cut bed of a small river enters the Jordan valley. This is the ancient Jabbok (see *Gen.* 32 : 22). A few miles south of the Sea of Galilee the third valley, the Yarmuk, divides the land and conducts a large creek to the Jordan. In going through this country from south to north one finds one's self east of the Dead Sea in a fertile land that reminds one of eastern Pennsylvania. Farther to the north, in the territory of Gad, he passes through a more mountainous region—Mount Gilead, of the Bible—where there is less fertility. North of the Jabbok the country is still hilly and one finds occasional oak trees, the few survivors of the forests that once clothed these hills (see *2 Sam.* 18: 9, 10). North of the Yarmuk the country is less elevated and broadens out into more fertile undulating plains, though far to the east, near the desert, are mountains of volcanic formation—the Gebel ed-Druz.

Such was the land that the Hebrews came to call "the promised land." Although but about the size of Vermont or New Hampshire, it presents a greater variety of scenery, of climate, and of products than can be found anywhere else on the earth's surface in the same space. Its hills are everywhere intersected by deep valleys. From the hilltops wide views are nearly always obtainable. Fertility depends on the rains of heaven, not on rivers, like the Nile and Euphrates, which man can control for irrigation. Is it an accident that the world's best religion had such a birthplace?

CHAPTER VIII

THE PERIOD OF THE JUDGES

WE must not think of a "judge" in ancient Israel as we think of a judge in the United States. The ancient Hebrew judge was not appointed; he was not elected; his duties were defined by no constitution or laws. Indeed, in the period of the judges there was in Israel no generally recognized code of laws. The compiler of the book of *Judges* remarks: "In those days there was no king in Israel; every man did that which was right in his own eyes" (*Jud.* 21:25; compare also *Jud.* 18:1 and 19:1). There was no king, nor constitution, nor any sense of national unity. Each tribe had its elders, but there was no general government even in the tribe. There was no such thing as national defense. If the country was invaded, the invasion went on unchecked until some energetic person on his own initiative organized his fellows and drove the enemy out. In the process such a man became rich and powerful because of the booty he took. Both because of his riches and because of the energy he had displayed, he became the principal citizen of his district, and men brought to him their disputes to be settled. It was thus that he became a "judge." Probably the authority of no "judge" was recognized over the whole country.

The book of *Judges,* together with the books of *Samuel* and *Kings,* was compiled about 600 B.C. by a writer whose purpose it was to persuade people by lessons from history to observe the laws of *Deuteronomy,* which had been promulgated in 621 B.C. The method of the compiler was to select extracts from J and E and other documents, telling of invasions and the emergence of leaders who expelled the invader. These he wove together, inserting connecting material of his own composition, which said that, because Israel forgot Yahweh and served the Baals and Ashtaroths (Canaanite deities), Yahweh permitted enemies to come and punish them. When they turned again to Yahweh, he raised up a deliverer, and after the deliverance the land had rest such or such a number of years. The ancient documents which he quotes are important sources of information. The editorial setting may frequently be disregarded.

There has been much discussion as to how long a time the period of the Judges covered. Clearly it was a longer time than that covered by the book of *Judges,* for it lasted until the rise of King Saul. If now we add up the numbers which the author of the book of *Judges* assigns to the various oppressions and judgeships, allowing forty years for Samuel, to whom he assigns no period, they amount to 429 years. This includes, however, the years assigned to five judges by a later priestly writer, who, in *Judges* 10:1–5 and 12:8–15, personifies certain clans and cities as men and conceives them as judges who succeeded one another regularly like the kings of a dynasty. This is, of course, all a mistake. If we deduct the 70 years assigned to these imaginary judges, we have 359 years left; or, in round numbers, 360 years. If Saul became king about 1020 B.C., as is probable, 360 years before that would be 1380 B.C., or just the time when we have evidence that the Habiri began to invade Palestine. The author's conception of the length of the period is, then, correct. It is only those who insist that there was but one settlement of Hebrews in Canaan, and that that occurred about 1200 B.C., who find the Biblical chronology too long.

The book of *Judges* records in chapters 3–16 the doughty deeds of several heroes; then in chapters 17–21 he recounts two undated stories of events which took place during the period, and which illustrate the disordered life of the times. The second of these stories (that recorded in chapters 19–21) relates how in the tribe of Benjamin a great sin was committed, how in avenging it the tribe was nearly blotted out, and the means that were taken to perpetuate it. The account has been expanded by later writers and is too long to quote here. It will be remembered that it was suggested earlier, in chapter II, that the tribe of Benjamin was not separated from Ephraim until after the settlement in Palestine. We suspect that it was some such event as that recorded in the chapters under consideration, which first gave the Benjaminites a consciousness of separateness from their brethren the Ephraimites, which led to their being regarded as a distinct tribe. If this suspicion is right, this story should be dated not many decades after 1200 B.C.

Six of the judges mentioned in the book of *Judges* may be regarded as historical characters. Four of these expelled invasions from tribes which, according to the hypothesis of this book, entered Palestine with the first invasion of the Hebrews about 1380–1370 B.C. The two who delivered Rachel-tribes cannot be supposed to have lived until after those tribes had entered the country, about 1200 B.C. There is also reason to believe that Jephthah and Samson did not live earlier than about 1100 B.C. Othniel and Deborah belonged, in our judgment, to the time before 1200. It cannot, however, be too strongly emphasized that with our present information no certainty is possible on this point.

THE EDOMITE (?) OPPRESSION, *Jud.* 3:7–11

Jud. 3. 7] And the children of Israel did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, and forgat the LORD their God, and served the Baalim and [1] the Ashe-
8] roth. Therefore the anger of the LORD was kindled against Israel, and he sold

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[1] See *Ex.* 34:13.

them into the hand of Cushan-rishathaim
king of [2]Mesopotamia: and the children of Israel served Cushan-rishathaim
9] eight years. And when the children
of Israel cried unto the LORD, the LORD
raised up a saviour to the children of
Israel, who saved them, even Othniel
the son of Kenaz, Caleb's younger
10] brother. And the spirit of the LORD
came upon him, and he judged Israel;
and he went out to war, and the LORD
delivered Cushan-rishathaim king of
[3]Mesopotamia into his hand: and his
hand prevailed against Cushan-rishathaim.
11] thaim. And the land had rest forty
years. And Othniel the son of Kenaz
died.

This passage, which is the free composition of the Deuteronomic editor, seems to state that a king of Mesopotamia, named Cushan, invaded Judah. Had a king of Mesopotamia come into the land, his hand would have been felt by the tribes in the far north long before he reached Judah. Some scholars have accordingly refused to believe that there is any historical kernel in it. Others have pointed out that in Hebrew characters Edom and Aram (the Hebrew for "Mesopotamia") are easily confused, and that in Edom there was a King Husham (*Gen.* 36:34, 35), whose name might easily be corrupted to Cushan. An invasion of Judah by the Edomites, who lived to the southeast of Judah, is very probable. We know that centuries later they did this very thing. Probably, therefore, the passage gives us a bit of history from the period 1350–1300 B.C.

THE CANAANITE OPPRESSION

Another invasion which occurred in this period affected Galilee and the Plain of Jezreel. Sisera was the oppressor and the deliverer was Deborah, a sort of prophetess who, sitting under a palm tree, gave oracles. Two accounts of the deliverance are preserved in the book of *Judges:* the older and more historical is a poem written not long after the event, which we find in *Judges* 5; the other is from the E Document, written about 750 B.C., and gives quite a different representation. They are as follows:

THE POETICAL ACCOUNT

Jud. 5. Then sang Deborah and Barak the son of Abinoam on that day, saying,

2] For that the leaders took the lead in Israel,
For that the people offered themselves willingly,
Bless ye the LORD.
3] Hear, O ye kings; give ear, O ye princes;
I, *even* I, will sing unto the LORD;

THE LATER E-DOCUMENT ACCOUNT

Jud. 4. And the children of Israel
again did that which was evil in the
sight of the LORD, when Ehud was dead.
2] And the LORD sold them into the hand
of Jabin king of Canaan, that reigned
in Hazor; the captain of whose host
was Sisera, which dwelt in Harosheth
3] of the [4]Gentiles. And the children
of Israel cried unto the LORD: for he had
nine hundred chariots of iron; and

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[2] Heb. *Aramnaharaim.*
[3] Heb. *Aram.*
[4] Or, *nations.*

I will sing praise to the Lord, the God of Israel.
4] Lord, when thou wentest forth out of Seir,
When thou marchedst out of the field of Edom,
The earth trembled, the heavens also dropped,
Yea, the clouds dropped water.
5] The mountains [5] flowed down at the presence of the Lord,
Even yon Sinai at the presence of the Lord, the God of Israel.
6] In the days of Shamgar the son of Anath,
In the days of Jael [6] the high ways were unoccupied,
And the travellers walked through [7] byways.
7] [8] The rulers ceased in Israel, they ceased,
Until that I Deborah arose,
That I arose a mother in Israel.
8] They chose new gods;
Then was war in the gates:
Was there a shield or spear seen
Among forty thousand in Israel?
9] My heart is toward the governors of Israel,
[9] That offered themselves willingly among the people:
Bless ye the Lord.
10] Tell *of it,* ye that ride on white asses,
Ye that sit on rich carpets,
And ye that walk by the way.
11] [10] Far from the noise of archers, in the places of drawing water,
There shall they rehearse the righteous acts of the Lord,
Even the righteous acts [11] of his rule in Israel.
Then the people of the Lord went down to the gates.
12] Awake, awake, Deborah;
Awake, awake, utter a song:
Arise, Barak, and lead thy captivity captive, thou son of Abinoam.

twenty years he mightily oppressed the children of Israel.

4] Now Deborah, a prophetess, the wife of Lappidoth, she judged Israel at
5] that time. And she [12] dwelt under the palm tree of Deborah between Ramah and Beth-el in the hill country of Ephraim: and the children of Israel
6] came up to her for judgement. And she sent and called Barak the son of Abinoam out of Kedesh-naphtali, and said unto him, Hath not the Lord, the God of Israel, commanded, *saying,* Go and draw unto mount Tabor, and take with thee ten thousand men of the children of Naphtali and of the children of
7] Zebulun? And I will draw unto thee to the river Kishon Sisera, the captain of Jabin's army, with his chariots and his multitude; and I will deliver him
8] into thine hand. And Barak said unto her, If thou wilt go with me, then I will go: but if thou wilt not go with me,
9] I will not go. And she said, I will surely go with thee: notwithstanding the journey that thou takest shall not be for thine honour; for the Lord shall sell Sisera into the hand of a woman. And Deborah arose, and went with
10] Barak to Kedesh. And Barak called Zebulun and Naphtali together to Kedesh; and there went up ten thousand men at his feet: and Deborah went up
11] with him. Now Heber the Kenite had severed himself from [13] the Kenites, even from the children of Hobab the [14] brother in law of Moses, and had pitched his tent as far as the [15] oak in [16] Zaanannim, which is by Kedesh.
12] And they told Sisera that Barak the son of Abinoam was gone up to mount
13] Tabor. And Sisera gathered together all his chariots, even nine hundred chariots of iron, and all the people that were with him, from Harosheth of the [17] Gen-
14] tiles, unto the river Kishon. And Deborah said unto Barak, Up; for this is the day in which the Lord hath de-

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[5] Or, *quaked.*
[6] Or, *the caravans ceased.*
[7] Heb. *crooked ways.*
[8] Or, *The villages were unoccupied.*
[9] Or, *Ye that offered yourselves willingly among the people, bless &c.*
[10] Or, *Because of the voice of the archers . . . there let them rehearse.*

[11] Or, *toward his villages.*
[12] Or, *sat.*
[13] Heb. *Kain.* See *Num.* 24: 22.
[14] Or, *father in law.*
[15] Or, *terebinth.*
[16] See *Josh.* 19: 33.
[17] Or, *nations.*

13] [18] Then came down a remnant of the nobles [19] *and* the people;
The LORD came down for me [20] against the mighty.
14] Out of Ephraim *came down* [21] they whose root is in Amalek;
After thee, Benjamin, among thy peoples;
Out of Machir came down [22] governors,
And out of Zebulun they that handle [23] the marshal's staff.
15] And [24] the princes of Issachar were with Deborah;
As was Issachar, so was Barak;
Into the valley they rushed forth at his feet.
By the watercourses of Reuben
There were great resolves of heart.
16] Why satest thou among the sheepfolds,
To hear the pipings for the flocks?
At the watercourses of Reuben
There were great searchings of heart.
17] Gilead abode beyond Jordan:
And Dan, why did he remain in ships?
Asher sat still at the [25] haven of the sea,
And abode by his creeks.
18] Zebulun was a people that jeoparded their lives unto the death,
And Naphtali, upon the high places of the field.
19] The kings came and fought;
Then fought the kings of Canaan,
In Taanach by the waters of Megiddo:
They took no gain of money.
20] They fought from heaven,
The stars in their courses fought against Sisera.
21] The river Kishon swept them away,
That ancient river, the river Kishon.
O my soul, [26] march on with strength.
22] Then did the horsehoofs stamp
By reason of the pransings, the pransings of their strong ones.

livered Sisera into thine hand: is not
the LORD gone out before thee? So Barak
went down from mount Tabor, and ten
15] thousand men after him. And the
LORD discomfited Sisera, and all his
chariots, and all his host, with the edge
of his sword before Barak; and Sisera
lighted down from his chariot, and fled
16] away on his feet. But Barak pursued
after the chariots, and after the
host, unto Harosheth of the [17] Gentiles:
and all the host of Sisera fell by the
edge of the sword; there was not a man
left.

17] Howbeit Sisera fled away on his
feet to the tent of Jael the wife of Heber
the Kenite: for there was peace between
Jabin the king of Hazor and the house
18] of Heber the Kenite. And Jael went
out to meet Sisera, and said unto him,
Turn in, my lord, turn in to me; fear
not. And he turned in unto her into the
tent, and she covered him with a rug.
19] And he said unto her, Give me, I
pray thee, a little water to drink; for I
am thirsty. And she opened a bottle of
milk, and gave him drink, and covered
20] him. And he said unto her, Stand in
the door of the tent, and it shall be, when
any man doth come and inquire of thee,
and say, Is there any man here? that
21] thou shalt say, No. Then Jael Heber's
wife took a tent-pin, and took an
hammer in her hand, and went softly
unto him, and smote the pin into his
temples, and it pierced through into the
ground; for he was [27] in a deep sleep;
22] so he swooned and died. And, behold,
as Barak pursued Sisera, Jael
came out to meet him, and said unto
him, Come, and I will shew thee the man
whom thou seekest. And he came unto
her; and, behold, Sisera lay dead, and
23] the tent-pin was in his temples. So
God subdued on that day Jabin the king
of Canaan before the children of Israel.
24] And the hand of the children of

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[18] Or, *Then made he a remnant to have dominion over the nobles* and *the people; the LORD made me have dominion over the mighty.*
[19] Or, as otherwise read, *the people of the LORD came down for me against* (or, *among*) *the mighty.*
[20] Or, *among.*
[21] See ch. 12: 15.
[22] Or, *lawgivers.*
[23] Or, *the staff of the scribe.*
[24] Or, *my princes in Issachar.*
[25] Or, *shore.*
[26] Or, *thou hast trodden down strength.*
[27] Or, *in a deep sleep and weary; so he died.*

23] Curse ye Meroz, said the angel of the LORD,
Curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof;
Because they came not to the help of the LORD,
To the help of the LORD [13] against the mighty.
24] Blessed [28] above women shall Jael be,
The wife of Heber the Kenite,
Blessed shall she be [28] above women in the tent.
25] He asked water, *and* she gave him milk;
She brought him butter in a lordly dish.
26] She put her hand to the [29] nail,
And her right hand to the workmen's hammer;
And with the hammer she smote Sisera, she smote through his head,
Yea, she pierced and struck through his temples.
27] At her feet he bowed, he fell, he lay:
At her feet he bowed, he fell:
Where he bowed, there he fell down [30] dead.

Israel prevailed more and more against Jabin the king of Canaan, until they had destroyed Jabin king of Canaan.

28] Through the window she looked forth, and cried,
The mother of Sisera *cried* through the lattice,
Why is his chariot so long in coming?
Why tarry the [31] wheels of his chariots?
29] Her wise ladies answered her,
[32] Yea, she returned answer to herself,
30] Have they not found, have they not divided the spoil?
A damsel, two damsels to every man;
To Sisera a spoil of [33] divers colours,
A spoil of [33] divers colours of embroidery,
Of [33] divers colours of embroidery on both sides, on the necks of the spoil?
31] So let all thine enemies perish, O LORD:
But let them that love him be as the sun when he goeth forth in his might.
And the land had rest forty years.

As might be anticipated, in narratives written at dates so far apart and in different localities, there are some important differences. The poem assumes that the oppressor was Sisera, who seems to have had a predecessor named Shamgar (*Jud.* 5:6)—names that suggest connection with the Hurri or Hittite peoples; while the prose account makes the real oppressor Jabin, king of Hazor, a king said by the book of *Joshua* (ch. 11) to have been overthrown at the time of the conquest, the commander of whose army was Sisera. If this be true, the episode was historically connected with the settlement of the Leah-tribes in Palestine. In any event the poem cannot have been written until about 1150 B.C., for the tribe of Ephraim is represented as taking part in the war. In reality we do not know with certainty the identity of the oppressor nor the portion of the period of the judges in which the events occurred. The battle itself by the river Kishon in the great Plain of Jezreel and the decisive victory are, however, undoubted historic facts. The death of Sisera is differently portrayed in the two sources. In the poem Jael, the wife of a nomadic Kenite who was camping in the land, struck down Sisera, like a good Amazon, while he was standing drinking the milk she had given him; in the later prose narrative she treacherously drives the tent-peg into his head while he sleeps. The one thing certain is that she killed him. Even in modern times different reports of such events circulate.

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[28] Or, *of*.
[29] Or, *tent-pin*.
[30] Or, *overpowered*.
[31] Heb. *steps*.
[32] Or, (*Yet she repeateth her words unto herself,*).
[33] Or, *dyed garments*.

This deliverance established the reputation of Deborah, and as long as she lived cases were brought to her to settle.

THE MOABITE OPPRESSION

Another episode of the period of the judges was the oppression of the tribe of Benjamin by Eglon, king of Moab. Moab lay east of the Jordan and south of the Arnon, but its king had apparently subdued the tribe of Reuben, pushed across the Jordan near Jericho, and exacted tribute of the Benjaminites. How Ehud, a Benjaminite, delivered his people from this oppressor is told in *Judges* 3: 12–30. The opening of the story (verses 12–15) is from the hand of the compiler of the book; the account of the deliverance (verses 16–30) is probably from the J source. The account is as follows:

Jud. 3. 12] And the children of Israel
again did that which was evil in the
sight of the Lord: and the Lord strength-
ened Eglon the king of Moab against
Israel, because they had done that which
was evil in the sight of the Lord.
13] And he gathered unto him the chil-
dren of Ammon and Amalek; and he
went and smote Israel and they possessed
14] the city of palm trees. And the chil-
dren of Israel served Eglon the king
15] of Moab eighteen years. But when
the children of Israel cried unto the
Lord, the Lord raised them up a sav-
iour, Ehud the son of Gera, the Ben-
jamite, a man left-handed: and the chil-
dren of Israel sent a present by him unto
16] Eglon the king of Moab. And Ehud
made him a sword which had two edges,
of a cubit length; and he girded it under
17] his raiment upon his right thigh. And
he offered the present unto Eglon king
of Moab: now Eglon was a very fat
18] man. And when he had made an end
of offering the present, he sent away
19] the people that bare the present. But
he himself turned back from the [34] quar-
ries that were by Gilgal, and said, I have
a secret errand unto thee, O king. And
he said, Keep silence. And all that stood
20] by him went out from him. And
Ehud came unto him; and he was sit-
ting by himself alone in his [35] summer
parlour. And Ehud said, I have a mes-
sage from God unto thee. And he arose
21] out of his seat. And Ehud put forth
his left hand, and took the sword from
his right thigh, and thrust it into his
22] belly: and the haft also went in after
the blade; and the fat closed upon the
blade, for he drew not the sword out of
his belly; and [36] it came out behind.
23] Then Ehud went forth into the
porch, and shut the doors of the parlour
24] upon him, and locked them. Now
when he was gone out, his servants came;
and they saw, and, behold, the doors of
the parlour were locked; and they said,
Surely he covereth his feet in his sum-
25] mer chamber. And they tarried till
they were ashamed: and, behold, he
opened not the doors of the parlour;
therefore they took the key, and opened
them: and, behold, their lord was fallen
26] down dead on the earth. And Ehud
escaped while they tarried, and passed
beyond the [34] quarries, and escaped unto
27] Seirah. And it came to pass, when he
was come, that he blew a trumpet in
the hill country of Ephraim, and the chil-

[34] Or, *graven images.*
[35] Heb. *upper chamber of cooling.*
[36] Or, *he went out into the ante-chamber.*

dren of Israel went down with him from the hill country, and he before them. 28] And he said unto them, Follow after me: for the LORD hath delivered your enemies the Moabites into your hand. And they went down after him, and took the fords of Jordan [37] against the Moabites, and suffered not a man to pass 29] over. And they smote of Moab at that time about ten thousand men, every lusty man, and every man of valour; 30] and there escaped not a man. So Moab was subdued that day under the hand of Israel. And the land had rest fourscore years.

This story reveals the low moral level of the Hebrews of the period. Ehud at first led no army; he engaged in no war. By an act of cold-blooded treachery he murdered the oppressor and so delivered his people. War may be regarded as murder, but, when two bodies of men in open combat kill one another, men have always regarded it as more excusable than to kill treacherously and without warning. Because they were relieved of the oppression, however, the countrymen of Ehud regarded him as a hero; they treasured the memory of his deed and passed the story on as one of the heroic exploits of their race.

THE OPPRESSION OF THE MIDIANITES AND THE JUDGESHIP OF GIDEON

The next oppression of this period was inflicted on the tribes whose territory bordered on the Plain of Jezreel, by the nomadic Midianites. These wanderers of the Arabian desert would, as the crops of the Hebrews were ripe and the harvest drew near, rush in from the desert on their camels in hordes, cross the Jordan, reap the crops, and depart with the grain for their booty as they came. The story of their overthrow by a man of Manasseh whose name was Jerubbaal, but who, because of this victory, was given the name Gideon, which means "Tree-feller" or "Cutter-down" (just as Oliver Cromwell was, for his victories, called "Ironsides"), and how Gideon became a judge, is told in *Judges* 6–8. Its main thread is as follows.

Jud. 6. And the children of Israel did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD: and the LORD delivered them into 2] the hand of Midian seven years. And the hand of Midian prevailed against Israel: and because of Midian the children of Israel made them the dens which are in the mountains, and the caves, and 3] the strong holds. And so it was, when Israel had sown, that the Midianites came up, and the Amalekites, and the children of the east; they came up 4] against them; and they encamped against them, and destroyed the increase of the earth, till thou come unto Gaza, and left no sustenance in Israel, neither 5] sheep, nor ox, nor ass. For they came up with their cattle and their tents, they came in as locusts for multitude; both they and their camels were without number: and they came into the land to de-6] stroy it. And Israel was brought very low because of Midian; and the children of Israel cried unto the LORD.

. . . .

11] And the angel of the LORD came, and sat under the [38] oak which was in Ophrah, that pertained unto Joash the

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[37] Or, *toward Moab.*

[38] Or, *terebinth.*

Abiezrite: and his son Gideon was beating
out wheat in the winepress, to hide
12] it from the Midianites. And the angel
of the Lord appeared unto him, and
said unto him, The Lord is with thee,
13] thou mighty man of valour. And
Gideon said unto him, Oh my lord, if the
Lord be with us, why then is all this befallen
us? and where be all his wondrous
works which our fathers told us
of, saying, Did not the Lord bring us up
from Egypt? but now the Lord hath
cast us off, and delivered us into the
14] hand of Midian. And the Lord
[39] looked upon him, and said, Go in this
thy might, and save Israel from the
hand of Midian: have not I sent thee?
15] And he said unto him, Oh Lord,
wherewith shall I save Israel? behold,
my [40] family is the poorest in Manasseh,
and I am the least in my father's house.
16] And the Lord said unto him, Surely
I will be with thee, and thou shalt smite
17] the Midianites as one man. And he
said unto him, If now I have found grace
in thy sight, then shew me a sign that it
18] is thou that talkest with me. Depart
not hence, I pray thee, until I come unto
thee, and bring forth my [41] present, and
lay it before thee. And he said, I will
19] tarry until thou come again. And
Gideon went in, and made ready a kid,
and unleavened cakes of an ephah of
meal: the flesh he put in a basket, and
he put the broth in a pot, and brought
it out unto him under the [38] oak, and presented
20] it. And the angel of God said
unto him, Take the flesh and the unleavened
cakes, and lay them upon this rock,
21] and pour out the broth. And he did
so. Then the angel of the Lord put forth
the end of the staff that was in his hand,
and touched the flesh and the unleavened
cakes; and there went up fire out of the
rock, and consumed the flesh and the unleavened
cakes; and the angel of the
22] Lord departed out of his sight. And
Gideon saw that he was the angel of
the Lord; and Gideon said, Alas, O
Lord God! forasmuch as I have seen the
23] angel of the Lord face to face. And
the Lord said unto him, Peace be unto
thee; fear not: thou shalt not die.
24] Then Gideon built an altar there
unto the Lord, and called it [42] Jehovah-shalom:
unto this day it is yet in Ophrah
of the Abiezrites.

. . . . . .

33] Then all the Midianites and the
Amalekites and the children of the east
assembled themselves together; and they
passed over, and pitched in the valley of
34] Jezreel. But the spirit of the Lord
[13] came upon Gideon; and he blew a
trumpet; and Abiezer was gathered together
35] after him. And he sent messengers
throughout all Manasseh; and
they also were gathered together after
him: and he sent messengers unto Asher,
and unto Zebulun, and unto Naphtali;
36] and they came up to meet them. And
Gideon said unto God, If thou wilt save
Israel by mine hand, as thou hast spoken,
37] behold, I will put a fleece of wool
on the threshing-floor; if there be dew
on the fleece only, and it be dry upon all
the ground, then shall I know that thou
wilt save Israel by mine hand, as thou
38] hast spoken. And it was so: for he
rose up early on the morrow, and pressed
the fleece together, and wringed the
dew out of the fleece, a bowlful of water.
39] And Gideon said unto God, Let not
thine anger be kindled against me, and
I will speak but this once: let me prove,
I pray thee, but this once with the fleece;
let it now be dry only upon the fleece,
and upon all the ground let there be dew.
40] And God did so that night: for it
was dry upon the fleece only, and there
was dew on all the ground.

7. Then Jerubbaal, who is Gideon, and
all the people that were with him, rose
up early, and pitched beside the spring
of [43] Harod: and the camp of Midian
was on the north side of them, [44] by the
hill of Moreh, in the valley.

2] And the Lord said unto Gideon,
The people that are with thee are too
many for me to give the Midianites into
their hand, lest Israel vaunt themselves
against me, saying, Mine own hand hath

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[39] Or, *turned towards.*
[40] Heb. *thousand.*
[41] Or, *offering.*
[42] That is, *The LORD is peace.*
[43] That is, *Trembling.* See ver. 3.
[44] Or, *from the hill of Moreh onwards in the valley.*

3] saved me. Now therefore go to, proclaim
in the ears of the people saying,
Whosoever is fearful and trembling, let
him return and [45] depart from mount
Gilead. And there returned of the people
twenty and two thousand; and there
remained ten thousand.

4] And the Lord said unto Gideon,
The people are yet too many; bring
them down unto the water, and I will try
them for thee there: and it shall be, that
of whom I say unto thee, This shall go
with thee, the same shall go with thee;
and of whomsoever I say unto thee, This
shall not go with thee, the same shall
5] not go. So he brought down the people
unto the water: and the Lord said
unto Gideon, Every one that lappeth of
the water with his tongue, as a dog lappeth,
him shalt thou set by himself; likewise
every one that boweth down upon
6] his knees to drink. And the number
of them that lapped, putting their
hand to their mouth, was three hundred
men: but all the rest of the people bowed
down upon their knees to drink water.
7] And the Lord said unto Gideon, By
the three hundred men that lapped will
I save you, and deliver the Midianites
into thine hand: and let all the people go
8] every man unto his place. [46] So the
people took victuals in their hand, and
their trumpets: and he sent all the men
of Israel every man unto his tent, but
retained the three hundred men: and
the camp of Midian was beneath him in
the valley.

9] And it came to pass the same night,
that the Lord said unto him, Arise, get
thee down [47] into the camp; for I have
10] delivered it into thine hand. But if
thou fear to go down, go thou with
Purah thy servant down to the camp:
11] and thou shalt hear what they say:
and afterward shall thine hands be
strengthened to go down [47] into the
camp. Then went he down with Purah
his servant unto the outermost part of
the armed men that were in the camp.
12] And the Midianites and the Amalekites
and all the children of the east lay
along in the valley like locusts for multitude;
and their camels were without
number, as the sand which is upon the
13] sea shore for multitude. And when
Gideon was come, behold, there was a
man that told a dream unto his fellow,
and said, Behold, I dreamed a dream,
and, lo, a cake of barley bread tumbled
into the camp of Midian, and came unto
the tent, and smote it that it fell, and
turned it upside down, that the tent lay
14] along. And his fellow answered and
said, This is nothing else save the sword
of Gideon the son of Joash, a man of
Israel: into his hand God hath delivered
Midian, and all the host.

15] And it was so, when Gideon heard
the telling of the dream, and the interpretation
thereof, that he worshipped; and
he returned into the camp of Israel, and
said, Arise; for the Lord hath delivered
into your hand the host of Midian.
16] And he divided the three hundred
men into three companies, and he put
into the hands of all of them trumpets,
and empty pitchers, with torches within
17] the pitchers. And he said unto them,
Look on me, and do likewise: and, behold,
when I come to the outermost part
of the camp, it shall be that, as I do, so
18] shall ye do. When I blow the trumpet,
I and all that are with me, then
blow ye the trumpets also on every side
of all the camp, and say, For the Lord
and for Gideon.

19] So Gideon, and the hundred men
that were with him, came unto the outermost
part of the camp in the beginning
of the middle watch, when they had but
newly set the watch: and they blew the
trumpets, and brake in pieces the pitchers
20] that were in their hands. And the
three companies blew the trumpets, and
brake the pitchers, and held the torches
in their left hands, and the trumpets in
their right hands to blow withal: and
they cried, [48] The sword of the Lord
21] and of Gideon. And they stood every
man in his place round about the camp:
and all the host ran; and they shouted,
22] and [49] put *them* to flight. And they

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[45] Or, *go round about.*

[46] According to some ancient versions, *So they took the victuals of the people.*

[47] Or, *against.*

[48] Or, *A sword for &c.*

[49] Another reading is, *fled.*

blew the three hundred trumpets, and
the Lord set every man's sword against
his fellow, and against all the host: and
the host fled as far as Beth-shittah
toward Zererah, as far as the [50] border
of Abel-meholah, by Tabbath.

From this point onward two different narratives of the pursuit and capture of the Midianites have been woven into the book of *Judges*. According to the story of *Judges* 7:23—8:3 men of the tribe of Ephraim captured the Midianite chieftains at the ford of the Jordan and slew them. In this account the names of the Midianite chiefs were Oreb and Zeeb. This story is from the E Document. The other story, from the J Document, is preserved in *Judges* 8:4–21. According to it Gideon himself captured the Midianite chiefs, after a long pursuit, at Karkor, east of the Jordan, and killed them with his own hand. In this account the defeated chiefs are named Zebah and Zalmunna. Here are the two stories in parallel columns.

THE J ACCOUNT, *Jud.* 8:4–21

Jud. 8. 4] And Gideon came to Jor-
dan, [51] *and* passed over, he, and the
three hundred men that were with him,
5] faint, yet pursuing. And he said
unto the men of Succoth, Give, I pray
you, loaves of bread unto the people
that follow me; for they be faint, and
I am pursuing after Zebah and Zal-
6] munna, the kings of Midian. And the
princes of Succoth said, Are the hands
of Zebah and Zalmunna now in thine
hand, that we should give bread unto
7] thine army? And Gideon said, There-
fore when the Lord had delivered Zebah
and Zalmunna into mine hand, then I
will [52] tear your flesh with the thorns of
8] the wilderness and with briers. And
he went up thence to Penuel, and spake
unto them in like manner: and the men
of Penuel answered him as the men of
9] Succoth had answered. And he spake
also unto the men of Penuel, saying,
When I come again in peace, I will
break down this tower.

10] Now Zebah and Zalmunna were
in Karkor, and their hosts with them,
about fifteen thousand men, all that were
left of all the host of the children of the
east: for there fell an hundred and
twenty thousand men that drew sword.

THE E ACCOUNT, *Jud.* 7:23–8:3

Jud. 7:23. And the men of Israel
were gathered together out of Naphtali,
and out of Asher, and out of all Manas-
24] seh, and pursued after Midian. And
Gideon sent messengers throughout all
the hill country of Ephraim, saying,
Come down against Midian, and take
before them the waters, as far as Beth-
barah, [53] even Jordan. So all the men of
Ephraim were gathered together, and
took the waters as far as Beth-barah,
25] [53] even Jordan. And they took the
two princes of Midian, Oreb and Zeeb;
and they slew Oreb at the rock of Oreb,
and Zeeb they slew at the winepress of
Zeeb, and pursued Midian: and they
brought the heads of Oreb and Zeeb
to Gideon beyond Jordan.

8. And the men of Ephraim said unto
him, Why hast thou served us thus, that
thou calledst us not, when thou went-
est to fight with Midian? And they did
2] chide with him sharply. And he said
unto them, What have I now done in
comparison of you? Is not the gleaning
of the grapes of Ephraim better than
3] the vintage of Abiezer? God hath de-
livered into your hand the princes of
Midian, Oreb and Zeeb: and what was
I able to do in comparison of you? Then

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[50] Heb. *lip*.
[51] Or, *to pass*.
[52] Heb. *thresh*.
[53] Or, *and also*.

their [57] anger was abated toward him, when he had said that.

11] And Gideon went up by the way of
them that dwelt in tents on the east of
Nobah and Jogbehah, and smote the
12] host; for the host was secure. And
Zebah and Zalmunna, fled; and he pursued
after them; and he took the two
kings of Midian, Zebah and Zalmunna,
13] and [54] discomfited all the host. And
Gideon the son of Joash returned from
the battle from the ascent of Heres.
14] And he caught a young man of the
men of Succoth, and inquired of him:
and he [55] described for him the princes
of Succoth, and the elders thereof,
15] seventy and seven men. And he came
unto the men of Succoth, and said,
Behold Zebah and Zalmunna, concerning
whom ye did taunt me, saying,
Are the hands of Zebah and Zalmunna
now in thine hand, that we should
give bread unto thy men that are
16] weary? And he took the elders of
the city, and thorns of the wilderness
and briers, and with them he [56] taught
17] the men of Succoth. And he brake
down the tower of Penuel, and slew the
18] men of the city. Then said he unto
Zebah and Zalmunna, What manner of
men were they whom ye slew at Tabor?
And they answered, As thou art, so were
they; each one resembled the children
19] of a king. And he said, They were
my brethren, the sons of my mother: as
the LORD liveth, if ye had saved them
20] alive, I would not slay you. And he
said unto Jether his firstborn, Up, and
slay them. But the youth drew not his
sword: for he feared, because he was
21] yet a youth. Then Zebah and Zalmunna
said, Rise thou, and fall upon us:
for as the man is, so is his strength. And
Gideon arose, and slew Zebah and Zalmunna,
and took the crescents that were
on their camels' necks.

It is probable that the J account, in which Gideon kills the oppressors, is most in accordance with the facts. Only on this supposition can we account for the nickname Gideon, "Cutter-down," and for the wealth which he acquired and the judgeship which followed. The E writer, who lived in the tribe of Ephraim, naturally modified the original story, in which his tribe played no part, so as to glorify his auditors.

GIDEON'S JUDGESHIP, *Jud.* 8:22–32

Jud. 8. 22] Then the men of Israel
said unto Gideon, Rule thou over us,
both thou, and thy son, and thy son's son
also: for thou hast saved us out of the
23] hand of Midian. And Gideon said
unto them, I will not rule over you,
neither shall my son rule over you: the
24] LORD shall rule over you. And Gideon
said unto them, I would desire a
request of you, that ye would give me
every man the [58] earrings of his spoil.
(For they had golden earrings, because
25] they were Ishmaelites.) And they
answered, We will willingly give them.
And they spread a garment, and did cast
therein every man the earrings of his
26] spoil. And the weight of the golden
earrings that he requested was a thousand
and seven hundred *shekels* of gold;
beside the crescents, and the pendants,
and the purple raiment that was on the
kings of Midian, and beside the chains
that were about their camels' necks.
27] And Gideon made an ephod thereof,
and put it in his city, even in Ophrah:
and all Israel went a whoring after it
there: and it became a snare unto Gideon,
28] and to his house. So Midian was
subdued before the children of Israel,
and they lifted up their heads no more.
And the land had rest forty years in the
days of Gideon.

[54] Heb. *terrified.*

[55] Or, *wrote down.*

[56] Some ancient authorities read, *threshed.* See ver. 7.

[57] Heb. *spirit.*

[58] Or, *nose-rings.*

29] And Jerubbaal the son of Joash
went and dwelt in his own house.
30] And Gideon had threescore and ten
sons of his body begotten: for he had
31] many wives. And his concubine that
was in Shechem, she also bare him a
son, and he [59] called his name Abimelech.
32] And Gideon the son of Joash
died in a good old age, and was buried
in the sepulchre of Joash his father, in
Ophrah of the Abiezrites.

ISRAEL'S FIRST EXPERIMENT IN KINGSHIP

The preceding narrative has described how Gideon became great and rich, how during the rest of his life he was the first citizen or "judge" of his section of Palestine, and how he organized a more ornate and imposing ritual for the worship of Yahweh. Naturally his sons were influential. It is not surprising, therefore that one of them tried to be king. He persuaded the people of Shechem in the tribe of Ephraim to make him their sovereign, and ruled over a small territory around the city for three years. What appear to be the ruins of the palace which he occupied and the ruins of the temple of Elberith have been uncovered at Balata just east of the modern city of Nablous. The complete story is as follows: [60]

Jud. 9. And Abimelech the son of Jerubbaal went to Shechem unto his mother's brethren, and spake with them, and
with all the family of the house of his
2] mother's father, saying, Speak, I pray
you, in the ears of all the men of Shechem, Whether is better for you, that
all the sons of Jerubbaal, which are
threescore and ten persons, rule over
you, or that one rule over you? remember also that I am your bone and your
3] flesh. And his mother's brethren spake
of him in the ears of all the men of
Shechem all these words: and their
hearts inclined to follow Abimelech; for
4] they said, He is our brother. And
they gave him threescore and ten *pieces*
of silver out of the house of Baal-berith,
wherewith Abimelech hired vain and
light fellows, which followed him.
5] And he went unto his father's house
at Ophrah, and slew his brethren the
sons of Jerubbaal, being threescore and
ten persons, upon one stone: but Jotham
the youngest son of Jerubbaal was left;
for he hid himself.
6] And all the men of Shechem assembled themselves together, and all [61] the
house of Millo, and went and made
Abimelech king, by the [62] oak of the
7] [63] pillar that was in Shechem And
when they told it to Jotham, he went and
stood in the top of mount Gerizim, and
lifted up his voice, and cried, and said
unto them, Hearken unto me, ye men
of Shechem, that God may hearken unto
8] you. The trees went forth on a time to
anoint a king over them; and they said
unto the olive tree, Reign thou over us.
9] But the olive tree said unto them,
Should I leave my fatness, [64] wherewith
by me they honour God and man, and
go to wave to and fro over the trees?
10] And the trees said to the fig tree,
11] Come thou, and reign over us. But
the fig tree said unto them, Should I
leave my sweetness, and my good fruit,
and go to wave to and fro over the
12] trees? And the trees said unto the
vine, Come thou, and reign over us.
13] And the vine said unto them, Should
I leave my wine, which cheereth God
and man, and go to wave to and fro over
14] the trees? Then said all the trees

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[59] Heb. *set.*

[60] See G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., Philadelphia, 1927, p. 549 f. and Figs. 314, 315.

[61] Or, *Bethmillo.*

[62] Or, *terebinth.*

[63] Or, *garrison.*

[64] Or, *which God and man honour in me.*

unto the [65] bramble, Come thou, and
15] reign over us. And the [65] bramble
said unto the trees, If in truth ye anoint
me king over you, then come and put
your trust in my shadow: and if not,
let fire come out of the [65] bramble, and
16] devour the cedars of Lebanon. Now
therefore, if ye have dealt truly and uprightly,
in that ye have made Abimelech
king, and if ye have dealt well
with Jerubbaal and his house, and have
done unto him according to the deserving
17] of his hands; (for my father
fought for you, and [66] adventured his
life, and delivered you out of the hand
18] of Midian: and ye are risen up
against my father's house this day, and
have slain his sons, threescore and ten
persons, upon one stone, and have made
Abimelech, the son of his maidservant,
king over the men of Shechem, because
19] he is your brother;) if ye then have
dealt truly and uprightly with Jerubbaal
and with his house this day, then rejoice
ye in Abimelech, and let him also
20] rejoice in you: but if not, let fire
come out from Abimelech, and devour
the men of Shechem, and the house of
Millo; and let fire come out from the
men of Shechem, and from the house
21] of Millo, and devour Abimelech. And
Jotham ran away, and fled, and went to
Beer, and dwelt there, for fear of
Abimelech his brother.

22] And Abimelech was prince over
23] Israel three years. And God sent an
evil spirit between Abimelech and the
men of Shechem; and the men of Shechem
dealt treacherously with Abimelech:
24] that the violence done to the
threescore and ten sons of Jerubbaal
might come, and that their blood might
be laid upon Abimelech their brother,
which slew them, and upon the men of
Shechem, which strengthened his hands
25] to slay his brethren. And the men
of Shechem set liers in wait for him on
the tops of the mountains, and they
robbed all that came along that way
by them: and it was told Abimelech.

26] And Gaal the son of Ebed came
with his brethren, and went over to
Shechem: and the men of Shechem put
27] their trust in him. And they went out
into the field, and gathered their vineyards,
and trode *the grapes,* and [67] held
festival, and went into the house of their
god, and did eat and drink, and cursed
28] Abimelech. And Gaal the son of
Ebed said, Who is Abimelech, and who
is Shechem, that we should serve him?
is not he the son of Jerubbaal? and Zebul
his officer? serve ye the men of Hamor
the father of Shechem: but why should
29] we serve him? And would to God
this people were under my hand! then
would I remove Abimelech. And he said
[68] to Abimelech, Increase thine army,
30] and come out. And when Zebul the
ruler of the city heard the words of
Gaal the son of Ebed, his anger was kindled.
31] And he sent messengers unto
Abimelech [69] craftily, saying, Behold,
Gaal the son of Ebed and his brethren
are come to Shechem; and, behold, they
[70] constrain the city *to take part* against
32] thee. Now therefore, up by night,
thou and the people that is with thee,
33; and lie in wait in the field: and it
shall be, that in the morning, as soon as
the sun is up, thou shalt rise early, and
set upon the city: and, behold, when he
and the people that is with him come out
against thee, then mayest thou do to
them [71] as thou shalt find occasion.

34] And Abimelech rose up, and all
the people that were with him, by night,
and they laid wait against Shechem in
35] four companies. And Gaal the son
of Ebed went out, and stood in the entering
of the gate of the city: and Abimelech
rose up, and the people that were
with him, from the ambushment.
36] And when Gaal saw the people, he
said to Zebul, Behold, there come people
down from the tops of the mountains.
And Zebul said unto him, Thou seest
the shadow of the mountains as if they

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[65] Or, *thorn.*
[66] Heb. *cast his life before him.*
[67] Or, *offered a praise offering.*
[68] Or, *of.*
[69] Or, *in Tormah.*
[70] Or, *oppress the city on thy account.*
[71] Heb. *as thine hand shall find.*

37] were men. And Gaal spake again
and said, See, there come people down
by the [72] middle of the land, and one
company cometh by the way of [73] the
38] oak of Meonenim. Then said Zebul
unto him, Where is now thy mouth, that
thou saidst, Who is Abimelech, that we
should serve him? is not this the people
that thou hast despised? go out now, I
39] pray, and fight with them. And Gaal
went out before the men of Shechem,
40] and fought with Abimelech. And
Abimelech chased him, and he fled before
him, and there fell many wounded,
even unto the entering of the gate.
41] And Abimelech dwelt at Arumah:
and Zebul drave out Gaal and his brethren,
that they should not dwell in Shechem.
42] And it came to pass on the
morrow, that the people went out into
the field; and they told Abimelech.
43] And he took the people, and divided
them into three companies, and laid wait
in the field; and he looked, and, behold,
the people came forth out of the city;
and he rose up against them, and smote
44] them. And Abimelech, and the companies
that were with him, rushed forward,
and stood in the entering of the
gate of the city: and the two companies
rushed upon all that were in the field,
45] and smote them. And Abimelech
fought against the city all that day;
and he took the city, and slew the people
that was therein: and he beat down the
city, and sowed it with salt.

46] And when all the men of the tower
of Shechem heard thereof, they entered
into the hold of the house of [74] El-berith.
47] And it was told Abimelech that all
the men of the tower of Shechem were
48] gathered together. And Abimelech
gat him up to mount Zalmon, he and all
the people that were with him; and
Abimlech took [75] an axe in his hand,
and cut down a bough from the trees,
and took it up, and laid it on his shoulder:
and he said unto the people that were
with him, What ye have seen me do,
make haste, and do as I have done.
49] And all the people likewise cut down
every man his bough, and followed
Abimelech, and put them to the hold,
and set the hold on fire upon them; so
that all the men of the tower of Shechem
died also, about a thousand men and
women.

50] Then went Abimelech to Thebez,
and encamped against Thebez, and took
51] it. But there was a strong tower
within the city, and thither fled all the
men and women, and all they of the city,
and shut themselves in, and gat them up
52] to the roof of the tower. And
Abimelech came unto the tower, and
fought against it, and went hard unto
the door of the tower to burn it with
53] fire. And a certain woman cast an
upper millstone upon Abimelech's head,
54] and brake his skull. Then he called
hastily unto the young man his armourbearer,
and said unto him. Draw thy
sword, and kill me, that men say not of
me, A woman slew him. And his young
man thrust him through, and he died.
55] And when the men of Israel saw that
Abimelech was dead, they departed every
56] man unto his place. Thus God requited
the wickedness of Abimelech,
which he did unto his father, in slaying
57] his seventy brethren: and all the
wickedness of the men of Shechem did
God requite upon their heads: and upon
them came the curse of Jotham the son
of Jerubbaal.

Thebez, the modern Tubas,[76] a town twelve or fifteen miles northeast of Shechem, where Abimelech met his death, was outside his territory, and he tried in vain to conquer it. From this fact the diminutive size of his short-lived kingdom may be inferred.

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[72] Heb. *navel.*

[73] That is, *the augurs' oak* or *terebinth.*

[74] See ch. 8: 33.

[75] Heb. *the axes.*

[76] For a picture of the modern town, see G. A. Barton, *A Year's Wandering in Bible Lands,* Philadelphia, 1904, p. 173.

THE JUDGESHIP OF JEPHTHAH

The book of *Judges*, when next it gives us historical material, takes us to the land of Gilead, east of the Jordan—the home of the tribe of Gad. Between the Hebrews and the desert, along the eastern border of the watered land, lived the Ammonites, who were for two or three hundred years a thorn in the side of the Hebrews. Jephthah was remembered because of his victory over them. The parts of the story which have to do with this war are as follows:

Jud. 11. Now Jephthah the Gileadite was a mighty man of valour, and he was the son of an harlot: and Gilead be-
2] gat Jephthah. And Gilead's wife bare him sons; and when his wife's sons grew up, they drave out Jephthah, and said unto him, Thou shalt not inherit in our father's house; for thou art the son of
3] another woman. Then Jephthah fled from his brethren, and dwelt in the land of Tob: and there were gathered vain fellows to Jephthah, and they went out with him.

4] And it came to pass after a while, that the children of Ammon made war
5] against Israel. And it was so, that when the children of Ammon made war against Israel, the elders of Gilead went to fetch Jephthah out of the land of
6] Tob: and they said unto Jephthah, Come and be our chief, that we may fight with the children of Ammon.
7] And Jephthah said unto the elders of Gilead, Did not ye hate me, and drive me out of my father's house? and why are ye come unto me now when ye are
8] in distress? And the elders of Gilead said unto Jephthah, Therefore are we turned again to thee now, that thou mayest go with us, and fight with the children of Ammon, and thou shalt be our head over all the inhabitants of
9] Gilead. And Jephthah said unto the elders of Gilead, If ye bring me home again to fight with the children of Ammon, and the Lord deliver them before
10] me, shall I be your head? And the elders of Gilead said unto Jephthah, The Lord shall be [77] witness between us; surely according to thy word so will we
11] do. Then Jephthah went with the elders of Gilead, and the people made him head and chief over them: and Jephthah spake all his words before the Lord in Mizpah.

. . . . . .

29] Then the spirit of the Lord came upon Jephthah, and he passed over Gilead and Manasseh, and passed over Mizpeh of Gilead, and from Mizpeh of Gilead he passed over unto the children
30] of Ammon. And Jephthah vowed a vow unto the Lord, and said, If thou wilt indeed deliver the children of Ammon
31] into mine hand, then it shall be, that [78] whatsoever cometh forth of the doors of my house to meet me, when I return in peace from the children of Ammon, it shall be the Lord's, and I will offer
32] it up for a burnt offering. So Jephthah passed over unto the children of Ammon to fight against them; and the Lord delivered them into his hand.
33] And he smote them from Aroer until thou come to Minnith, even twenty cities, and unto [79] Abel-cheramim, with a very great slaughter. So the children of Ammon were subdued before the children of Israel.

34] And Jephthah came to Mizpah unto his house, and behold, his daughter came out to meet him with timbrels and with dances: and she was his only child; beside her he had neither son nor daugh-
35] ter. And it came to pass, when he saw her, that he rent his clothes, and said, Alas, my daughter! thou hast brought me very low, and thou art one of them that trouble me: for I have opened my mouth unto the Lord, and I

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[77] Heb. *hearer.*
[78] Or, *whosoever.*
[79] That is, *The meadow of vineyards.*

36] cannot go back. And she said unto
him, My father, thou hast opened thy
mouth unto the LORD; do unto me according
to that which hath proceeded out
of thy mouth; forasmuch as the LORD
hath taken vengeance for thee of thine
enemies, even of the children of Ammon.
37] And she said unto her father, Let
this thing be done for me: let me alone
two months, that I may depart and go
down upon the mountains, and bewail
my virginity, I and my companions.
38] And he said, Go. And he sent her
away for two months: and she departed,
she and her companions, and bewailed
her virginity upon the mountains.
39] And it came to pass at the end of
two months, that she returned unto her
father, who did with her according to
his vow which he had vowed: and she
had not known man. And it was [80] a
40] custom in Israel, that the daughters
of Israel went yearly to [81] celebrate the
daughter of Jephthah the Gileadite four
days in a year.

12. And the men of Ephraim were
gathered together, and passed [82] northward:
and they said unto Jephthah,
Wherefore passedst thou over to fight
against the children of Ammon, and didst
not call us to go with thee? we will burn
2] thine house upon thee with fire. And
Jephthah said unto them, I and my people
were at great strife with the children
of Ammon; and when I called you, ye
3] saved me not out of their hand. And
when I saw that ye saved me not, I put
my life in my hand, and passed over
against the children of Ammon, and the
LORD delivered them into my hand:
wherefore then are ye come up unto me
4] this day, to fight against me? Then
Jephthah gathered together all the men
of Gilead, and fought with Ephraim:
and the men of Gilead smote Ephraim,
because they said, Ye are fugitives of
Ephraim, ye Gileadites, in the midst of
Ephraim, *and* in the midst of Manasseh.
5] And the Gileadites took the fords of
Jordan [83] against the Ephraimites: and
it was so, that when *any of* the fugitives
of Ephraim said, Let me go over, the
men of Gilead said unto him, Art thou
6] an Ephraimite? If he said, Nay; then
said they unto him, Say now Shibboleth;
and he said Sibboleth; for he could not
frame to pronounce it right; then they
laid hold on him, and slew him at the
fords of Jordan: and there fell at that
time of Ephraim forty and two thousand.

7] And Jephthah judged Israel six
years. Then died Jephthah the Gileadite,
and was buried in *one of* the cities of
Gilead.

Besides giving us a glimpse of the history of Transjordania at this early time, it gives evidence of the ambition of the tribe of Ephraim to dominate their neighbors—a tendency which produced serious consequences, as we shall see, at a later stage of the history. It also reveals the existence of dialectical differences of pronunciation between different tribes (the Ephraimites pronounced *sh* as *s*), and throws light on the conception which they entertained of their God. It was thought that Yahweh would be pleased to have Jephthah keep his vow even at the cost of taking the life of his daughter, rather than break his vow by sparing her life.

SAMSON AND THE PHILISTINES

About 1200 B.C. a people whom the Bible calls Philistines came from over the sea and tried to invade Egypt. Unsuccessful in this attempt, they gained a foothold along the seacoast of Palestine. Here they multiplied, and toward the end of the period of the judges they began to try to push their way into the hill country of the central mountain range. This created friction between them and the tribe of Dan, which lived in the neighborhood of Beth-shemesh, where now the railroad to Jerusalem enters the hill-country. The book of *Judges* has preserved for us some episodes of this friction in the stories of Samson, a champion who in single combat frequently worsted the Philistines. Samson never led an army and, as he died in captivity, it is difficult to see in what sense he could be said to have "judged" Israel. The tales of his exploits were, however, too popular to suppress, so, though they have no religious content, the compiler of the book of *Judges* included them. They are valuable documents since they reveal to us something of the manners of a rough and crude age. The important parts of the narrative are as follows:

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[80] Or, *an ordinance.*
[81] Or, *lament.*
[82] Or, *to Zaphon.*
[83] Or, *toward Ephraim.*

Jud. 13. And the children of Israel
again did that which was evil in the sight
of the Lord; and the Lord delivered them
into the hand of the Philistines forty
years.
2] And there was a certain man of
Zorah, of the family of the Danites,
whose name was Manoah; and his wife
3] was barren, and bare not. And the
angel of the Lord appeared unto the
woman, and said unto her, Behold now,
thou art barren, and bearest not: but
thou shalt conceive, and bear a son.

. . . . . .

24] And the woman bare a son, and
called his name [84] Samson: and the
child grew, and the Lord blessed him.
25] And the spirit of the Lord began to
move him in [85] Mahaneh-dan, between
Zorah and Eshtaol.
14. And Samson went down to Timnah, and saw a woman in Timnah of
2] the daughters of the Philistines. And
he came up, and told his father and his
mother, and said, I have seen a woman in
Timnah of the daughters of the Philistines: now therefore get her for me to
3] wife. Then his father and his mother
said unto him, Is there never a woman
among the daughters of thy brethren,
or among all my people, that thou goest
to take a wife of the uncircumcised
Philistines? And Samson said unto his
father, Get her for me; for she pleaseth
4] me well. But his father and his mother
knew not that it was of the Lord; for
he sought an occasion against the Philistines. Now at that time the Philistines
had rule over Israel.
5] Then went Samson down, and his
father and his mother, to Timnah, and
came to the vineyards of Timnah: and,
behold, a young lion roared against him.
6] And the spirit of the Lord came
mightily upon him, and he rent him as he
would have rent a kid, and he had nothing in his hand: but he told not his father
7] or his mother what he had done. And
he went down, and talked with the
woman; and she pleased Samson well.
8] And after a while he returned to
take her, and he turned aside to see
the carcase of the lion: and behold,
there was a swarm of bees in the body
9] of the lion, and honey. And he took
it into his hands, and went on, eating as
he went, and he came to his father and
mother, and gave unto them, and they
did eat: but he told them not that he
had taken the honey out of the body of
10] the lion. And his father went down
unto the woman: and Samson made
there a feast; for so used the young men
11] to do. And it came to pass, when they
saw him, that they brought thirty companions to be with him. And Sam-
12] son said unto them, Let me now put
forth a riddle unto you: if ye can declare it me within the seven days of the
feast, and find it out, then I will give you

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[84] Heb. *Shimshon.*

[85] That is, *The camp of Dan.* See ch. 18: 12.

thirty linen garments and thirty changes
13] of raiment: but if ye cannot declare
it me, then shall ye give me thirty linen
garments and thirty changes of raiment.
And they said unto him, Put forth
14] thy riddle, that we may hear it. And
he said unto them,

Out of the eater came forth meat,
And out of the strong came forth
sweetness.

And they could not in three days declare
15] the riddle. And it came to pass on
the [86] seventh day, that they said unto
Samson's wife, Entice thy husband, that
he may declare unto us the riddle, lest
we burn thee and thy father's house with
fire: have ye called us to [87] impoverish
16] us? is it not *so?* And Samson's wife
wept before him, and said, Thou dost
but hate me, and lovest me not: thou
hast put forth a riddle unto the children
of my people, and hast not told it me.
And he said unto her, Behold, I have not
told it my father nor my mother, and
17] shall I tell thee? And she wept before
him the seven days, while their
feast lasted: and it came to pass on the
seventh day, that he told her, because she
pressed him sore: and she told the riddle
18] to the children of her people. And
the men of the city said unto him on
the seventh day before the sun went
down, What is sweeter than honey? and
what is stronger than a lion? And he said
unto them.

If ye had not plowed with my heifer,
Ye had not found out my riddle.

19] And the spirit of the Lord came
mightily upon him, and he went down
to Ashkelon, and smote thirty men of
them, and took their [88] spoil, and gave
the changes *of raiment* unto them that
declared the riddle. And his anger was
kindled, and he went up to his father's
20] house. But Samson's wife was *given*
to his companion, whom he had used as
his friend.

15. But it came to pass after a while,
in the time of wheat harvest, that Samson
visited his wife with a kid; and he
said, I will go in to my wife into the
chamber. But her father would not suffer
2] him to go in. And her father said,
I verily thought that thou hadst utterly
hated her; therefore I gave her to thy
companion: is not her younger sister
fairer than she? take her, I pray thee,
3] instead of her. And Samson said unto
them, This time [89] shall I be blameless
in regard of the Philistines, when I do
4] them a mischief. And Samson went
and caught three hundred [90] foxes, and
took [91] firebrands, and turned tail to
tail, and put a firebrand in the midst between
5] every two tails. And when he
had set the brands on fire, he let them
go into the standing corn of the Philistines,
and burnt up both the shocks and
the standing corn, and also the oliveyards.
6] Then the Philistines said, Who
hath done this? And they said, Samson,
the son in law of the Timnite, because
he hath taken his wife, and given her to
his companion. And the Philistines came
up, and burnt her and her father with
7] fire. And Samson said unto them, If
ye do after this manner, surely I will
be avenged of you, and after that I will
8] cease. And he smote them hip and
thigh with a great slaughter: and he went
down and dwelt in the cleft of the rock
of Etam.

9] Then the Philistines went up, and
pitched in Judah, and spread themselves
10] in Lehi. And the men of Judah said,
Why are ye come up against us? And
they said, To bind Samson are we come
up, to do to him as he hath done to us.
11] Then three thousand men of Judah
went down to the cleft of the rock of
Etam, and said to Samson, Knowest
thou not that the Philistines are rulers
over us? what then is this that thou hast
done unto us? And he said unto them,
As they did unto me, so have I done
12] unto them. And they said unto him,
We are come down to bind thee, that
we may deliver thee into the hand of the
Philistines. And Samson said unto them,
Swear unto me, that ye will not fall
13] upon me yourselves. And they spake
unto him, saying, No; but we will bind

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[86] The Sept. and Syriac have, *fourth.*

[87] Or, *take that we have,*

[88] Or, *apparel,*

[89] Or, *shall I be quits with.*

[90] Or, *jackals.*

[91] Or, *torches.*

thee fast, and deliver thee into their
hand: but surely we will not kill thee.
And they bound him with two new
ropes, and brought him up from the
14] rock. When he came unto Lehi, the
Philistines shouted as they met him:
and the spirit of the LORD came mightily
upon him, and the ropes that were upon
his arms became as flax that was burnt
with fire, and his bands [92] dropped from
15] off his hands. And he found a new
jawbone of an ass, and put forth his
hand, and took it, and smote a thousand
16] men therewith. And Samson said,

With the jawbone of an ass, [93] heaps upon heaps,
With the jawbone of an ass have I smitten a thousand men.

17] And it came to pass, when he had
made an end of speaking, that he cast
away the jawbone out of his hand; and
[94] that place was called [95] Ramath-lehi.
18] And he was sore athirst, and called
on the LORD, and said, Thou hast given
this great deliverance by the hand of
thy servant: and now shall I die for
thirst, and fall into the hand of the uncircumcised.
19] But God clave the hollow
place that is in [96] Lehi, and there
came water thereout; and when he had
drunk, his spirit came again, and he revived:
wherefore [97] the name thereof
was called [98] En-hakkore, which is in
20] Lehi, unto this day. And he judged
Israel in the days of the Philistines
twenty years.

16. And Samson went to Gaza, and
saw there an harlot, and went in unto
2] her. *And it was told* the Gazites, saying,
Samson is come hither. And they
compassed him in, and laid wait for him
all night in the gate of the city, and were
quiet all the night, saying, [99] *Let be* till
morning light, then we will kill him.
3] And Samson lay till midnight, and
arose at midnight, and laid hold of the
doors of the gate of the city, and the
two posts, and plucked them up, bar
and all, and put them upon his shoulders,
and carried them up to the top of the
mountain that is before Hebron.
4] And it came to pass afterward, that
he loved a woman [100] in the valley of
5] Sorek, whose name was Delilah. And
the lords of the Philistines came up
unto her, and said unto her, Entice him,
and see wherein his great strength lieth,
and by what means we may prevail
against him, that we may bind him to
[101] afflict him: and we will give thee
every one of us eleven hundred *pieces* of
6] silver. And Delilah said to Samson,
Tell me, I pray thee, wherein thy great
strength lieth, and wherewith thou
7] mightest be bound to afflict thee. And
Samson said unto her, If they bind me
with seven [102] green withes that were
never dried, then shall I become weak,
8] and be as another man. Then the
lords of the Philistines brought up to
her seven green withes which had not
been dried, and she bound him with them.
9] Now she had liers in wait abiding in
the inner chamber. And she said unto
him, The Philistines be upon thee, Samson.
And he brake the withes, as a string
of tow is broken when it [103] toucheth the
fire. So his strength was not known.
10] And Delilah said unto Samson, Behold,
thou hast mocked me, and told me
lies: now tell me, I pray thee, wherewith
11] thou mightest be bound. And he
said unto her, If they only bind me with
new ropes wherewith no work hath been
done, then shall I become weak, and be
12] as another man. So Delilah took new
ropes, and bound him therewith, and
said unto him, The Philistines be upon
thee, Samson. And the liers in wait
were abiding in the inner chamber. And
he brake them from off his arms like a
13] thread. And Delilah said unto Samson,
Hitherto thou hast mocked me,
and told me lies: tell me wherewith
thou mightest be bound. And he said
unto her, If thou weavest the seven locks
14] of my head with the web. And she
fastened it with the pin, and said unto

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[92] Heb. *were melted.*
[93] Heb. *an heap, two heaps.*
[94] Or, *he called that place.*
[95] That is, *The hill of the jawbone.*
[96] Or, *the jawbone.*
[97] Or, *he called the name thereof.*
[98] That is, *The spring of him that called.*
[99] Or, *When* (or *Before*) *the morning is light.*
[100] Or, *by the brook.*
[101] Or, *humble.*
[102] Or, *new bow strings.*
[103] Heb. *smelleth.*

him, The Philistines be upon thee, Samson.
son. And he awaked out of his sleep,
and plucked away the pin of the beam,
15] and the web. And she said unto him,
How canst thou say, I love thee, when
thine heart is not with me? thou hast
mocked me these three times, and hast
not told me wherein thy great strength
16] lieth. And it came to pass, when she
pressed him daily with her words, and
urged him, that his soul was vexed unto
17] death. And he told her all his heart,
and said unto her. There hath not come
a razor upon mine head: for I have been
a Nazirite unto God from my mother's
womb: if I be shaven, then my strength
will go from me, and I shall become
18] weak, and be like any other man. And
when Delilah saw that he had told her
all his heart, she sent and called for the
lords of the Philistines, saying, Come
up this once, for [104] he hath told me
all his heart. Then the lords of the
Philistines came up unto her, and
19] brought the money in their hand. And
she made him sleep upon her knees;
and she called for [105] a man, and shaved
off the seven locks of his head; and she
began to afflict him, and his strength went
20] from him. And she said, The Philistines
tines be upon thee, Samson. And he
awoke out of his sleep, and said, I will
go out as at other times, and shake myself.
self. But he wist not that the Lord was
21] departed from him. And the Philistines
tines laid hold on him, and put out his
eyes; and they brought him down to
Gaza, and bound him with fetters of
brass; and he did grind in the prison
22] house. Howbeit the hair of his head
began to grow again after he was shaven.

23] And the lords of the Philistines
gathered them together for to offer a
great sacrifice unto Dagon their god,
and to rejoice: for they said, Our god
hath delivered Samson our enemy into
24] our hand. And when the people saw
him, they praised their god: for they
said, Our god hath delivered into our
hand our enemy, and the destroyer of
our country, which hath slain many of
25] us. And it came to pass, when their
hearts were merry, that they said, Call
for Samson, that he may make us sport.
And they called for Samson out of the
prison house; and he made sport before
them: and they set him between the pillars.
26] lars. And Samson said unto the lad
that held him by the hand, Suffer me
that I may feel the pillars whereupon
the house resteth, that I may lean upon
27] them. Now the house was full of
men and women; and all the lords of
the Philistines were there; and there
were upon the roof about three thousand
sand men and women, that beheld while
28] Samson made sport. And Samson
called unto the Lord, and said, O Lord
God, remember me, I pray thee, and
strengthen me, I pray thee, only this
once, O God, that I may [106] be at once
avenged of the Philistines for my two
29] eyes. And Samson took hold of the
two middle pillars upon which the house
rested, and leaned upon them, the one
with his right hand, and the other with
30] his left. And Samson said, Let me
die with the Philistines. And he bowed
himself with all his might; and the house
fell upon the lords, and upon all the
people that were therein. So the dead
which he slew at his death were more
31] than they which he slew in his life.
Then his brethren and all the house of
his father came down, and took him, and
brought him up, and buried him between
tween Zorah and Eshtaol in the burying-place
place of Manoah his father. And he
judged Israel twenty years.

These graphic descriptions of the life of the age of Samson are in the main historical, though there are probably exaggerations here and there. For example, the story that Samson killed a thousand men with the jaw-bone of an ass is, perhaps, a story which grew up to explain the place-name Lehi, which was understood to mean jaw-bone. Again, the story that Samson carried off the city-gates of Gaza and carried them up to Hebron some forty miles away and over 3,000 feet higher than Gaza, carrying them over precipitous cliffs up which there were no roads, is incredible. It is easy to see how it arose, however. Samson's name means "little sun." On many engraved objects from western Asia the sun-god is pictured stepping out of the gates of the underground tunnel by which it was thought the sun at night went from west to east. The meaning of Samson's name probably led some Hebrew to take this for a picture of Samson, and the story that he carried off the gates of Gaza grew up to explain it.

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[104] Or, according to another reading, *he had told her.*

[105] Or, *the men.*

[106] Or, *be avenged . . . for one of my two eyes.*

The manner of Samson's death is doubtless correctly told. The excavation of Gezer brought to light a building the roof of which seems to have been supported as the temple of Dagon is said to have been.[107]

THE MIGRATION OF THE DANITES, AND THE FORTUNES OF MOSES' GRANDSON

Following the stories of Samson, there is preserved in the book of *Judges* a story of how Jonathan the son of Gershom the son of Moses, who was born apparently in Bethlehem in Judah, started out to seek his fortune. He was called a Levite, which we have seen probably meant "adherer"—a name given in a religious crisis to those who with Moses stood faithful to Yahweh. Jonathan was employed by an Ephraimite named Micah, who had a private temple to Yahweh on his estate, to be his priest, but later was persuaded to run away with some Danites who were migrating to the sources of the Jordan, just under Mount Hermon, to be their priest; and, when he went, he stole the equipment of Micah's temple and carried it with him. He thus became the ancestor of the priests at the sanctuary of Dan, who through him, traced their ancestry back to Moses. The narrative is as follows:

Jud. 17. And there was a man of the hill country of Ephraim, whose name
2] was Micah. And he said unto his mother, The eleven hundred *pieces* of silver that were taken from thee, about which thou didst utter [108] a curse, and didst also speak it in mine ears, behold, the silver is with me; I took it. And his mother said, Blessed be my son of
3] the LORD. And he restored the eleven hundred *pieces* of silver to his mother, and his mother said, I verily [109] dedicate the silver unto the LORD from my hand for my son, to make a graven image and a molten image: now therefore I will
4] restore it unto thee. And when he restored the money unto his mother, his mother took two hundred *pieces* of silver, and gave them to the founder, who made thereof a graven image and a molten image: and it was in the house
5] of Micah. And the man Micah had an house of [110] gods, and he made an ephod, and teraphim, and [111] consecrated one of his sons, who became his priest.
6] In those days there was no king in

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[107] See G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible,* 5th ed., Philadelphia, 1927, p. 192 and Fig. 220.

[108] Or, *an adjuration.*

[109] Or, *had dedicated.*

[110] Or, *God.*

[111] Heb. *filled the hand of.*

Israel: every man did that which was
right in his own eyes.
7] And there was a young man out of
Beth-lehem-judah, of the family of
Judah, who was a Levite, and he sojourned
8] there. And the man departed
out of the city, out of Beth-lehem-judah,
to sojourn where he could find *a place:*
and he came to the hill country of
Ephraim to the house of Micah, as he
9] journeyed. And Micah said unto him,
Whence comest thou? And he said unto
him, I am a Levite of Beth-lehem-judah,
and I go to sojourn where I may find *a*
10] *place.* And Micah said unto him,
Dwell with me, and be unto me a father
and a priest, and I will give thee ten
pieces of silver by the year, and a suit
11] of apparel, and thy victuals. So the
Levite went in. And the Levite was content
to dwell with the man; and the young
man was unto him as one of his sons.
12] And Micah consecrated the Levite,
and the young man became his priest,
13] and was in the house of Micah. Then
said Micah, Now know I that the Lord
will do me good, seeing I have a Levite
to my priest.

18. In those days there was no king
in Israel: and in those days the tribe of
the Danites sought them an inheritance
to dwell in; for unto that day *their* inheritance
had not fallen unto them
2] among the tribes of Israel. And the
children of Dan sent of their family five
men from their whole number, men of
valour, from Zorah, and from Eshtaol,
to spy out the land, and to search it; and
they said unto them, Go, search the land:
and they came to the hill country of
Ephraim, unto the house of Micah, and
3] lodged there. When they were by the
house of Micah, they knew the voice of
the young man the Levite: and they
turned aside thither, and said unto him,
Who brought thee hither? and what
doest thou in this place? and what hast
4] thou here? And he said unto them,
Thus and thus hath Micah dealt with
me, and he hath hired me, and I am become
5] his priest. And they said unto
him, Ask counsel, we pray thee, of God,
that we may know whether our way
6] which we go shall be prosperous. And
the priest said unto them, Go in peace:
before the Lord is your way wherein
ye go.
7] Then the five men departed, and
came to Laish, and saw the people that
were therein, how they dwelt in security,
after the manner of the Zidonians, quiet
and secure: for there was none in the
land, possessing [112] authority, [113] that
might put *them* to shame in any thing,
and they were far from the Zidonians,
and had no dealings with any man.
8] And they came unto their brethren
to Zorah and Eshtaol: and their brethren
9] said unto them, What *say* ye? And
they said, Arise, and let us go up against
them: for we have seen the land, and,
behold, it is very good: and are ye still?
be not slothful to go and to enter in to
10] possess the land. When ye go, ye
shall come unto a people secure, and
the land is large: for God hath given it
into your hand; a place where there is
no want of any thing that is in the
earth.
11] And there set forth from thence
of the family of the Danites, out of
Zorah and out of Eshtaol, six hundred
12] men girt with weapons of war. And
they went up, and encamped in Kiriath-jearim,
in Judah: wherefore they called
that place [114] Mahaneh-dan, unto this
day: behold, it is behind Kiriath-jearim.
13] And they passed thence unto the
hill country of Ephraim, and came unto
14] the house of Micah. Then answered
the five men that went to spy out the
country of Laish, and said unto their
brethren, Do ye know that there is in
these houses an ephod, and teraphim, and
a graven image, and a molten image?
now therefore consider what ye have to
15] do. And they turned aside thither,
and came to the house of the young man
the Levite, even unto the house of Micah,
16] and asked him of his welfare. And
the six hundred men girt with their
weapons of war, who were of the children
of Dan, stood by the entering of
17] the gate. And the five men that went

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[112] Heb. *power of restraint.*

[113] Or, *that might do any hurt.*

[114] See ch. 13: 25.

to spy out the land went up, and came
in thither, and took the graven image,
and the ephod, and the teraphim, and the
molten image: and the priest stood by
the entering of the gate with the six
hundred men girt with weapons of war.
18] And when these went into Micah's
house, and fetched the graven image, the
ephod, and the teraphim, and the molten
image, the priest said unto them, What
19] do ye? And they said unto him, Hold
thy peace, lay thine hand upon thy mouth,
and go with us, and be to us a father
and a priest: is it better for thee to be
priest unto the house of one man, or to
be priest unto a tribe and a family in
20] Israel? And the priest's heart was
glad, and he took the ephod, and the
teraphim, and the graven image, and
21] went in the midst of the people. So
they turned and departed, and put the
little ones and the cattle and the goods
22] before them. When they were a good
way from the house of Micah, the men
that were in the houses near to Micah's
house were gathered together, and over-
23] took the children of Dan. And they
cried unto the children of Dan. And they
turned their faces, and said unto Micah,
What aileth thee, [115] that thou comest
24] with such a company? And he said,
Ye have taken away my gods which I
made, and the priest, and are gone away,
and what have I more? and how then say
25] ye unto me, What aileth thee? And
the children of Dan said unto him, Let
not thy voice be heard among us, lest
[116] angry fellows fall upon you, and
thou lose thy life, with the lives of thy
26] household. And the children of Dan
went their way: and when Micah saw
that they were too strong for him, he
turned and went back unto his house.
27] And they took that which Micah had
made, and the priest which he had, and
came unto Laish, unto a people quiet and
secure, and smote them with the edge
of the sword; and they burnt the city
28] with fire. And there was no de-
liverer, because it was far from Zidon,
and they had no dealings with any man;
and it was in the valley that lieth by
Beth-rehob. And they built the city, and
29] dwelt therein. And they called the
name of the city Dan, after the name of
Dan their father, who was born unto
Israel: howbeit the name of the city was
30] Laish at the first. And the children
of Dan set up for themselves the graven
image: and Jonathan, the son of Ger-
shom, the son of [117] Moses, he and his
sons were priests to the tribe of the
Danites until the day of the captivity of
31] the land. So they set them up Micah's
graven image which he made, all the
time that the house of God was in
Shiloh.

This account, which so clearly reflects the religious conditions of the period, makes it obvious that the elaborate religious organization of the books of *Exodus, Leviticus,* and *Numbers* was unknown. All that, as we shall see, came much later. While it was thought better to have a Levite for a priest, Micah, the Ephraimite, acted as his own priest without consciousness of wrongdoing. The temple of Micah contained a "graven image," apparently of Yahweh, which Jonathan stole and carried off to Dan, where apparently it adorned the temple of the Danites.

This was in accord with that form of the Decalogue which we have with probability traced back to Moses. That Decalogue prohibited only molten gods. It was in the time of Micah and Jonathan still thought quite proper to employ an idol cut out of wood to aid the imagination in worship.

The migration of a part of the Danites was caused by the pressure of the Philistines. As time passed the Danites multiplied. The Philistines had so filled up the maritime plain that there was no room for the Danites to expand in that direction. Judah and other powerful tribes occupied the hill country which bordered on their original home. The details of this migration remind us of many analogous migrations of people in the settlement and early history of America. In consequence of it there were two groups of Danites during later periods of Hebrew history.

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[115] Heb. *that thou art gathered together.*
[116] Heb. *bitter of soul.*
[117] Another reading is, *Manasseh.*

THE JUDGESHIP OF ELI

The next judge of a part of the Hebrews was not a warrior, like Gideon or Jephthah, nor an assassin like Ehud, nor a champion heavyweight like Samson; he was a priest. Eli, the priest of a temple at Shiloh in the southern part of the tribe of Ephraim, gained his influence because of his sacred office, his saintly life, and his long service. While there is no evidence that his influence was felt by all the tribes, Ephraimites, Benjaminites, and the tribes nearest to them, brought their differences to him for settlement. He became the leading citizen of this part of the country. The story of his time begins with some charming scenes of religious and personal life; it then passes on to describe a war with the Philistines, who, as in the time of Samson, were trying to push up from the maritime plain into the hill country. The Bible tells the story thus:

1 Sam. 1. Now there was a certain
man of Ramathaim-zophim, of the hill
country of Ephraim, and his name was
Elkanah, the son of Jeroham, the son
of Elihu, the son of Tohu, the son of
2] Zuph, an Ephraimite: and he had two
wives; the name of the one was Hannah,
and the name of the other Peninnah:
and Peninnah had children, but
3] Hannah had no children. And this man
went up out of his city from year to
year to worship and to sacrifice unto the
LORD of hosts in Shiloh. And the two
sons of Eli, Hophni and Phinehas,
priests unto the the LORD, were there.
4] And when the day came that Elkanah
sacrificed, he gave to Peninnah his wife,
and to all her sons and her daughters,
5] portions: but unto Hannah gave [118] a
double portion: for he loved Hannah,
but the LORD had shut up her womb.
6] And her rival provoked her sore, for
to make her fret, because the LORD had
7] shut up her womb. And *as* he did so
year by year, when she went up to the
house of the LORD, so she provoked her;
therefore she wept, and did not eat.
8] And Elkanah her husband said unto
her, Hannah, why weepest thou? and
why eatest thou not? and why is thy
heart grieved? am not I better to thee
9] than ten sons? So Hannah rose up
after they had eaten in Shiloh, and after
they had drunk. Now Eli the priest sat
upon his seat by the door post of the
10] temple of the LORD. And she was in
bitterness of soul, and prayed unto the
11] LORD, and wept sore. And she vowed
a vow, and said, O LORD of hosts, if
thou wilt indeed look on the affliction of
thine handmaid, and remember me, and
not forget thine handmaid, but wilt give
unto thine handmaid [119] a man child,
then I will give him unto the LORD all
the days of his life, and there shall no
12] razor come upon his head. And it
came to pass, as she continued praying
before the LORD, that Eli marked her

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[118] The Sept. reads, *a single portion, because she had no child; howbeit Elkanah loved &c.*

[119] Heb. *seed of men.*

13] mouth. Now Hannah, she spake in
her heart; only her lips moved, but her
voice was not heard: therefore Eli
14] thought she had been drunken. And
Eli said unto her. How long wilt thou
be drunken? put away thy wine from
15] thee. And Hannah answered and
said, No, my lord, I am a woman of a
sorrowful spirit: I have drunk neither
wine nor strong drink, but I poured out
16] my soul before the Lord. Count not
thine handmaid for [120] a daughter of
[121] Belial: for out of the abundance of
my complaint and my provocation have I
17] spoken hitherto. Then Eli answered
and said, Go in peace: and the God of
Israel grant thy petition that thou hast
18] asked of him. And he said, Let
thy servant find grace in thy sight. So
the woman went her way, and did eat,
and her countenance was no more *sad.*
19] And they rose up in the morning
early, and worshipped before the Lord,
and returned, and came to their house
to Ramah: and Elkanah knew Hannah
his wife; and the Lord remembered her.
20] And it came to pass, when the time
was come about, that Hannah conceived,
and bare a son; and she called his name
Samuel, *saying,* Because I have asked
21] him of the Lord. And the man
Elkanah, and all his house, went up to
offer unto the Lord the yearly sacrifice,
22] and his vow. But Hannah went not
up; for she said unto her husband, *I
will not go up* until the child be weaned,
and then I will bring him, that he may
appear before the Lord, and there abide
23] for ever. And Elkanah her husband
said unto her, Do what seemeth thee
good; tarry until thou have weaned him;
only the Lord establish his word. So
the woman tarried and gave her son
24] suck, until she weaned him. And
when she had weaned him, she took him
up with her, with [122] three bullocks, and
one ephah of meal, and a [123] bottle of
wine, and brought him unto the house
of the Lord in Shiloh: and the child was
25] young. And they slew the bullock,
26] and brought the child to Eli. And she
said, Oh my lord, as thy soul liveth, my
lord, I am the woman that stood by
27] thee here, praying unto the Lord. For
this child I prayed; and the Lord hath
given me my petition which I asked of
28] him: therefore I also have [124] granted
him to the Lord; as long as he liveth
he is granted to the Lord. And [125] he
worshipped the Lord there.

In this passage we have an interesting picture of a religious festival-sacrifice in the interest of the worshipers, of a kind quite unprovided for in the Levitical law. The way the priests obtained their share of the sacrifice (by striking a three-pronged fork into the kettle when the meat was boiling) is quite unlike the provisions of that law. The unhappiness caused by polygamy is artlessly portrayed, as well as the simple piety of Hannah—a piety that, when sincere, is much the same in every land and age.

The narrative then describes the conditions of the service and personnel of the temple at Shiloh while Samuel served there as a neophyte.

1 Sam. 2. [126] 2] And Elkanah went
to Ramah to his house. And the child
did minister unto the Lord before Eli
the priest.

12] Now the sons of Eli were [127] sons
of [128] Belial; [129] they knew not the Lord.
13] And the custom of the priests with
the people was, that when any man of-

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[120] Or, *a wicked woman.*

[121] That is, *worthlessness.*

[122] The Sept. and Syriac have, *a bullock of three years old.*

[123] Or, *skin.*

[124] Or, *lent.*

[125] According to several ancient authorities, *they.*

[126] A later poet composed a poem called "The Song of Hannah" which now forms verses 1–10 of the second chapter of *I Samuel.*

[127] Or, *wicked men.*

[128] That is, *worthlessness.*

[129] Or, *they knew not the* Lord, *nor the due of the priests from the people. When any man &c.*

fered sacrifice, the priest's servant came,
while the flesh was in seething, with a
fleshhook of three teeth in his hand;
14] and he struck it into the pan, or
kettle, or caldron, or pot; all that the
fleshhook brought up the priest took
[130] therewith. So they did in Shiloh unto
all the Israelites that came thither.
15] Yea, before they burnt the fat, the
priest's servant came, and said to the
man that sacrificed, Give flesh to roast
for the priest; for he will not have sodden
16] flesh of thee, but raw. And if
the man said unto him, They will surely
burn the fat [131] presently, and then take
as much as thy soul desireth; then [132] he
would say, Nay, but thou shalt give it
me now: and if not, I will take it by
17] force. And the sin of the young
men was very great before the LORD: for
[133] men abhorred the offering of the
LORD.

18] But Samuel ministered before the
LORD, being a child, girded with a linen
19] ephod. Moreover his mother made
him a little robe, and brought it to him
from year to year, when she came up
with her husband to offer the yearly
20] sacrifice. And Eli blessed Elkanah
and his wife, and said, The LORD give
thee seed of this woman [134] for the loan
which was lent to the LORD. And they
21] went unto their own home. [135] And
the LORD visited Hannah, and she conceived,
and bare three sons and two
daughters. And the child Samuel grew
before the LORD.

22] Now Eli was very old; and he
heard all that his sons did unto all Israel,
and how that they lay with women that
[136] did service at the door of the tent
23] of meeting. And he said unto them,
Why do ye such things? for I hear of
your evil dealings from all this people.
24] Nay, my sons; for it is no good
report [137] that I hear: ye make the LORD's
25] people to transgress. If one man sin
against another, [138] God shall judge him:
but if a man sin against the LORD, who
shall intreat for him? Notwithstanding
they hearkened not unto the voice of
their father, because the LORD would
26] slay them. And the child Samuel
grew on, and was in favour both with the
LORD, and also with men.

Conduct like that of Eli's sons always leads to disaster of one sort or another. The story of the call of Samuel to be a prophet is told in the following words:

1 Sam. 3. And the child Samuel ministered
unto the LORD before Eli. And
the word of the LORD was [139] precious in
those days; there was no [140] open vision.
2] And it came to pass at that time, when
Eli was laid down in his place, (now his
eyes had begun to wax dim, that he
3] could not see,) and the lamp of God
was not yet gone out, and Samuel was
laid down *to sleep*, in the temple of the
LORD, where the ark of God was;
4] that the LORD called Samuel: and he
5] said, Here am I. And he ran unto
Eli, and said, Here am I; for thou
calledst me. And he said, I called not;
lie down again. And he went and lay
6] down. And the LORD called yet again,
Samuel. And Samuel arose and went to
Eli, and said, Here am I; for thou calledst
me. And he answered, I called not,
7] my son; lie down again. Now Samuel
did not yet know the LORD, neither was
the word of the LORD yet revealed unto
8] him. And the LORD called Samuel
again the third time. And he arose and
went to Eli, and said, Here am I; for
thou calledst me. And Eli perceived that
9] the LORD had called the child. Therefore
Eli said unto Samuel, Go, lie down:
and it shall be, if he call thee, that thou

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[130] Some ancient authorities read *for himself.*

[131] Or, *first.*

[132] Another reading is, *he would say unto him, Thou &c.*

[133] Or, *the men despised.*

[134] Or, *for the petition which was asked for the* LORD.

[135] The Heb. has. *For.*

[136] See *Ex.* 38: 8.

[137] Or, *which I hear the* LORD'S *people do spread abroad.*

[138] Or, *the judge.*

[139] Or, *rare.*

[140] Or, *frequent* Heb. *widely spread.*

shalt say, Speak, Lord; for thy servant
heareth. So Samuel went and lay down
10] in his place. And the Lord came, and
stood, and called as at other times,
Samuel, Samuel. Then Samuel said,
11] Speak; for thy servant heareth. And
the Lord said to Samuel, Behold, I will
do a thing in Israel, at which both the
ears of every one that heareth it shall
12] tingle. In that day I will perform
against Eli all that I have spoken concerning
his house, from the beginning
13] even unto the end. For I have told
him that I will judge his house for ever,
for the inquity which he knew, because
his sons [141] did bring a curse upon themselves,
and he restrained them not.
14] And therefore I have sworn unto
the house of Eli, that the iniquity of
Eli's house shall not be [142] purged with
15] sacrifice nor offering for ever. And
Samuel lay until the morning, and opened
the doors of the house of the Lord.
And Samuel feared to shew Eli the
16] vision. Then Eli called Samuel, and
said, Samuel, my son. And he said, Here
17] am I. And he said, What is the
thing that *the Lord* hath spoken unto
thee? I pray thee hide it not from me:
God do so to thee, and more also, if thou
hide any thing from me of all the things
18] that he spake unto thee. And Samuel
told him every whit, and hid nothing
from him. And he said, It is the Lord:
let him do what seemeth him good.
19] And Samuel grew, and the Lord
was with him, and did let none of his
20] words fall to the ground. And all
Israel from Dan even to Beersheba knew
that Samuel was established to be a
21] prophet of the Lord. And the Lord
appeared again in Shiloh: for the Lord
revealed himself to Samuel in Shiloh by
4. the word of the Lord. And the word
of Samuel came to all Israel.

For the true history of religious worship the story of Samuel's call is important. The author of the P Document thought Moses made an elaborate "Tabernacle" in the wilderness and that this was used as the only legitimate house of worship until Solomon built his Temple. Samuel served, however, in a real temple. It had doors and it was a part of Samuel's duty to open them each morning. Samuel, too, slept in the temple "where the ark of God was," but, according to *Leviticus* 16, the ark of God was to be in a holy of holies, into which no one could enter except the high priest, and he only once a year. The ark in the temple at Shiloh was the one made by Moses in the wilderness. It contained a sacred stone—probably a volcanic stone from the sacred mountain in Arabia. It symbolized Yahweh's presence. The magical power which was attributed to it is shown by the following story.

THE DEFEAT BY THE PHILISTINES, *1 Sam.* 4: 1b–22

1 Sam. 4. Now Israel went out against
the Philistines to battle, and pitched beside
[143] Eben-ezer: and the Philistines
2] pitched in Aphek. And the Philistines
put themselves in array against Israel:
and when [144] they joined battle, Israel
was smitten before the Philistines: and
they slew of the [145] army in the field
3] about four thousand men. And when
the people were come into the camp, the
elders of Israel said. Wherefore hath
the Lord smitten us to-day before the
Philistines? Let us fetch the ark of the
covenant of the Lord out of Shiloh unto
us, that it may come among us, and save
us out of the hand of our enemies.

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[141] The Sept. has, *speak evil of God.*
[142] Or, *expiated.*
[143] See ch. *7*: 12.
[144] Or, *the battle was spread.*
[145] Heb. *array.*

4] So the people sent to Shiloh, and they
brought from thence the ark of the covenant
of the LORD of hosts, which
[146] sitteth upon the cherubim: and the
two sons of Eli, Hophni and Phinehas,
were there with the ark of the covenant
5] of God. And when the ark of the
covenant of the LORD came into the camp,
all Israel shouted with a great shout, so
6] that the earth rang again. And when
the Philistines heard the noise of the
shout, they said, What meaneth the
noise of this great shout in the camp of
the Hebrews? And they understood that
the ark of the LORD was come into the
7] camp. And the Philistines were afraid,
for they said, God is come into the
camp. And they said, Woe unto us! for
there hath not been such a thing heretofore.
8] Woe unto us! who shall deliver
us out of the hand of these mighty
gods? these are the gods that smote the
Egyptians with all manner of [147] plagues
9] in the wilderness. Be strong, and
quit yourselves like men, O ye Philistines,
that ye be not servants unto the
Hebrews, as they have been to you: quit
10] yourselves like men, and fight. And
the Philistines fought and Israel was
smitten, and they fled every man to his
tent: and there was a very great slaughter;
for there fell of Israel thirty thousand
11] footmen. And the ark of God
was taken; and the two sons of Eli,
Hophni and Phinehas, were slain.
12] And there ran a man of Benjamin
out of the [148] army, and came to Shiloh
the same day with his clothes rent, and
13] with earth upon his head. And when
he came, lo, Eli sat upon his seat [149] by
the way side watching: for his heart
trembled for the ark of God. And when
the man came into the city, and told it,
14] all the city cried out. And when Eli
heard the noise of the crying, he said,
What meaneth the noise of this tumult?
And the man hasted, and came and told
15] Eli. Now Eli was ninety and eight
years old; and his eyes were [150] set, that
16] he could not see. And the man said
unto Eli, I am he that came out of the
[148] army, and I fled to-day out of the
[148] army. And he said, How went the
17] matter, my son? And he that brought
the tidings answered and said, Israel is
fled before the Philistines, and there hath
been also a great slaughter among the
people, and thy two sons also, Hophni
and Phinehas, are dead, and the ark of
18] God is taken. And it came to pass,
when he made mention of the ark of
God, that he fell from off his seat backward
by the side of the gate, and his neck
brake, and he died: for he was an old
man, and heavy. And he had judged
19] Israel forty years. And his daughter
in law, Phinehas' wife, was with child,
near to be delivered: and when she heard
the tidings that the ark of God was
taken, and that her father in law and
her husband were dead, she bowed herself
and brought forth; for her pains
20] came upon her. And about the time
of her death the women that stood by
her said unto her, Fear not; for thou hast
brought forth a son. But she answered
21] not, neither did she regard it. And
she named the child [151] Ichabod, saying,
The glory is departed from Israel:
because the ark of God was taken, and
because of her father in law and her husband.
22] And she said, The glory is
departed from Israel; for the ark of
God is taken.

Thus Eli's life and leadership ended in disaster. The Philistines had defeated Israel and were pushing up into her territory.

THE JUDGESHIP OF SAMUEL

Samuel in due time became a seer or prophet of note. He was apparently a priest also, having been trained to this calling in the temple at

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[146] Or, *dwelleth between.*

[147] Heb. *smiting.*

[148] Heb. *array.*

[149] The Sept. has, *beside the gate, watching the way.*

[150] See *I Kings* 14: 4.

[151] That is, There is *no glory.*

Shiloh. He removed to Ramah, about five miles north of Jerusalem, to live, and frequently officiated as a priest in a circuit of near-by cities. He became the first citizen of his part of the country and people looked to him for justice and leadership. The first part of his judgeship is occupied with the fortunes of the ark of God, which had been captured by the Philistines. The bubonic plague broke out among them and they attributed the affliction to the presence of the ark, so they sent it from city to city, but the plague followed. Finally they sent it back to Hebrew territory. The story, which so graphically portrays the religious ideas and superstitions of the time, is as follows:

1 Sam. 5. Now the Philistines had
taken the ark of God, and they brought
2] it from Eben-ezer unto Ashdod. And
the Philistines took the ark of God, and
brought it into the house of Dagon, and
3] set it by Dagon. And when they of
Ashdod arose early on the morrow, behold,
Dagon was fallen [152] upon his face
to the ground before the ark of the
LORD. And they took Dagon, and set
4] him in his place again. And when they
arose early on the morrow morning, behold,
Dagon was fallen [152] upon his
face to the ground before the ark of the
LORD; and the head of Dagon and both
the palms of his hands *lay* cut off upon
the threshold; only *the stump of* Dagon
5] was left to him. Therefore neither the
priests of Dagon, nor any that come into
Dagon's house, tread on the threshold
of Dagon in Ashdod, unto this day.

6] But the hand of the LORD was heavy
upon them of Ashdod, and he destroyed
them, and smote them with [153] tumours,
[154] even Ashdod and the borders thereof.
7] And when the men of Ashdod saw
that it was so, they said, The ark of the
God of Israel shall not abide with us:
for his hand is sore upon us, and upon
8] Dagon our god. They sent therefore
and gathered all the lords of the Philistines
unto them, and said, What shall we
do with the ark of the God of Israel?
And they answered, Let the ark of the
God of Israel be carried about unto
Gath. And they carried the ark of the
9] God of Israel about *thither*. And it
was so, that, after they had carried it
about, the hand of the LORD was against
the city with a very great discomfiture:
and he smote the men of the city, both
small and great, and tumours brake out
10] upon them. So they sent the ark of
God to Ekron. And it came to pass, as
the ark of God came to Ekron, that the
Ekronites cried out, saying, They have
brought about the ark of the God of
Israel to us, to slay us and our people.
11] They sent therefore and gathered
together all the lords of the Philistines,
and they said, Send away the ark of the
God of Israel, and let it go again to its
own place, that it slay us not, and our
people: for there was a deadly discomfiture
throughout all the city; the hand
12] of God was very heavy there. And
the men that died not were smitten with
the tumours: and the cry of the city
went up to heaven.

6. And the ark of the LORD was in the
[155] country of the Philistines seven
2] months.[156] And the Philistines called
for the priests and the diviners, saying,
What shall we do with the ark of the
LORD? shew us wherewith we shall send
3] it to its place. And they said, If ye
send away the ark of the God of Israel,
send it not empty; but in any wise return
him a [157] guilt offering: then ye
shall be healed, and it shall be known to
you why his hand is not removed from
4] you. Then said they, What shall be

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[152] Or, *before it.*

[153] Or, *plague boils.* As read by the Jews, *emerods.*

[154] The Sept. has instead, *and in the midst of the land thereof mice were brought forth, and there was a great and deadly destruction in the city.*

[155] Heb. *field.*

[156] The Sept. adds, *and their land swarmed with mice.*

[157] Or, *trespass offering.*

the guilt offering which we shall return
to him? And they said, Five golden
tumours, and five golden mice, *according
to* the number of the lords of the Philistines:
for one plague was on [158] you all,
5] and on your lords. Wherefore ye
shall make images of your tumours, and
images of your mice that mar the land;
and ye shall give glory unto the God
of Israel: peradventure he will lighten
his hand from off you, and from off your
6] gods, and from off your land. Wherefore
then do ye harden your hearts, as
the Egyptians and Pharaoh hardened
their hearts? when he had [159] wrought
wonderfully among them, did they not
let [160] the people go, and they departed?
7] Now therefore take and prepare you
a new cart, and two milch kine, on
which there hath come no yoke, and tie
the kine to the cart, and bring their
8] calves home from them: and take the
ark of the LORD, and lay it upon the cart;
and put the jewels of gold, which ye return
him for a guilt offering, in a coffer
by the side thereof; and send it away,
9] that it may go. And see, if it goeth
up by the way of its own border to Beth-shemesh,
then he hath done us this great
evil: but if not, then we shall know
that it is not his hand that smote us; it
was a chance that happened to us.
10] And the men did so; and took two
milch kine, and tied them to the cart,
and shut up their calves at home:
11] and they put the ark of the LORD
upon the cart, and the coffer with the mice
of gold and the images of their tumours.
12] And the kine took the straight way
by the way to Beth-shemesh; they went
along [161] the high way, lowing as they
went, and turned not aside to the right
hand or to the left; and the lords of
the Philistines went after them unto the
13] border of Beth-shemesh. And they
of Beth-shemesh were reaping their
wheat harvest in the valley: and they
lifted up their eyes, and saw the ark,
14] and rejoiced to see it. And the cart
came into the field of Joshua the Beth-shemite,
and stood there, where there
was a great stone: and they clave the
wood of the cart, and offered up the kine
for a burnt offering unto the LORD.
15] And the Levites took down the ark
of the LORD, and the coffer that was with
it, wherein the jewels of gold were, and
put them on the great stone: and the men
of Beth-shemesh offered burnt offerings
and sacrificed sacrifices the same day
16] unto the LORD. And when the five
lords of the Philistines had seen it, they
returned to Ekron the same day.

17] And these are the golden tumours
which the Philistines returned for a
guilt offering unto the LORD; for Ashdod
one, for Gaza one, for Ashkelon
one, for Gath one, for Ekron one;
18] and the golden mice, according to
the number of all the cities of the Philistines
belonging to the five lords, both of
fenced cities and country villages: even
unto the great [162] stone, whereon they
set down the ark of the LORD, *which stone
remaineth* unto this day in the field of
19] Joshua the Beth-shemite. [163] And he
smote of the men of Beth-shemesh, because
they had looked into the ark of
the LORD, even he smote of the people
seventy men, *and* fifty thousand men:
and the people mourned, because the
LORD had smitten the people with a great
20] slaughter. And the men of Beth-shemesh
said, Who is able to stand before
the LORD, this holy God? and to
21] whom shall he go up from us? And
they sent messengers to the inhabitants
of Kiriath-jearim, saying, The Philistines
have brought again the ark of the
LORD; come ye down, and fetch it up to
you.

7. And the men of Kiriath-jearim
came, and fetched up the ark of the
LORD, and brought it into the house of
Abinadab in [164] the hall, and sanctified
Eleazar his son to keep the ark of the
LORD.

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[158] Heb. *them.*

[159] Or, *made a mock of.*

[160] Heb. *them.*

[161] Heb. *one raised way.*

[162] So the Sept. and Targum. The Hebrew text has, *Abel* (that is, *a meadow*).

[163] The Sept. has, *And the sons of Jeconiah rejoiced not among the men of Bethshemesh, because they saw the ark of the* LORD; *and he smote among them seventy men, and fifty thousand men.*

[164] Or, *Gibeah.*

The judgeship of Samuel is summarized in *1 Sam. 7:2–17* as follows:

1 Sam. 7. 2] And it came to pass,
from the day that the ark abode in
Kiriath-jearim, that the time was long;
for it was twenty years: and all the
house of Israel [165] lamented after the
3] Lord. And Samuel spake unto all
the house of Israel, saying, If ye do return
unto the Lord with all your heart,
then put away the strange gods and the
Ashtaroth from among you, and [166] prepare
your hearts unto the Lord, and serve
him only: and he will deliver you out
4] of the hand of the Philistines. Then
the children of Israel did put away the
Baalim and the Ashtaroth, and served
the Lord only.
5] And Samuel said, Gather all Israel
to Mizpah, and I will pray for you
6] unto the Lord. And they gathered
together to Mizpah, and drew water, and
poured it out before the Lord, and fasted
on that day, and said there, We have
sinned against the Lord. And Samuel
judged the children of Israel in Mizpah.
7] And when the Philistines heard
that the children of Israel were gathered
together to Mizpah, the lords of the
Philistines went up against Israel. And
when the children of Israel heard it,
they were afraid of the Philistines.
8] And the children of Israel said to
Samuel, Cease not to cry unto the Lord
our God for us, that he will save us out
9] of the hand of the Philistines. And
Samuel took a sucking lamb, and offered
it for a whole burnt offering unto the
Lord: and Samuel cried unto the Lord
for Israel; and the Lord answered him.
10] And as Samuel was offering up the
burnt offering, the Philistines drew near
to battle against Israel: but the Lord
thundered with a great [167] thunder on
that day upon the Philistines, and discomfited
them; and they were smitten
11] down before Israel. And the men of
Israel went out of Mizpah, and pursued
the Philistines, and smote them, until
12] they came under Beth-car. Then
Samuel took a stone, and set it between
Mizpah and Shen, and called the name
of it [168] Eben-ezer, saying, Hitherto
13] hath the Lord helped us. So the Philistines
were subdued, and they came no
more within the border of Israel: and
the hand of the Lord was against the
Philistines all the days of Samuel.
14] And the cities which the Philistines
had taken from Israel were restored to
Israel, from Ekron even unto Gath; and
the border thereof did Israel deliver out
of the hand of the Philistines. And there
was peace between Israel and the Amorites.
15] And Samuel judged Israel all
16] the days of his life. And he went
from year to year in circuit to Beth-el,
and Gilgal, and Mizpah; and he judged
17] Israel in all those places. And his
return was to Ramah, for there was his
house; and there he judged Israel: and
he built there an altar unto the Lord.

At this point we may conclude our chapter on the period of the judges, for, although Samuel lived on, the rest of the facts recorded of him have to do with the time of King Saul. With Samuel the period of the judges merges into the time of the united kingdom.

The time of the judges was the formative period of the nation's history. The tribes had settled in Palestine and were gradually assimilating its previous population. They were unorganized; they had no central government; they were held together only by a general alliance under the name of kinship. They were the prey of enemies, from whom they were delivered by the initiative of public-spirited citizens. During the first part of the period the attacks of these enemies were fitful and sporadic, but, with the coming of the Philistines into the coastal plain, conditions changed. An energetic and hostile people, which quickly multiplied, was hemmed in between the Hebrews and the sea. There was no room for it to expand except into the Hebrews' country. There was thus begun a prolonged and mortal struggle between Israel and these wanderers from across the sea. The exigencies of this struggle produced in Israel a national consciousness and led to the establishment of the kingdom.

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[165] Or, *was drawn together.*
[166] Or, *direct.*
[167] Heb. *voice.*
[168] That is, *The stone of help.*

CHAPTER IX

THE REIGN OF KING SAUL

THE narrative of the first book of *Samuel* leads us gradually from the judgeship of Samuel to the reign of King Saul by telling us

HOW SAUL BECAME KING

Two accounts of how this was accomplished are woven together in these chapters. The earlier of these is from the hand of J or some kindred writer; the later has more the point of view of the E Document. We present them here side by side.

THE J STORY, *1 Sam.* 9:1—10:16, 11:1–15

1 Sam. 9. Now there was a man of
Benjamin, whose name was Kish, the
son of Abiel, the son of Zeror, the son
of Becorath, the son of Aphiah, the son
of a Benjamite, a mighty man of [1] val-
2] our. And he had a son, whose name
was Saul, a [2] young man and a goodly:
and there was not among the children of
Israel a goodlier person than he: from
his shoulders and upward he was higher
3] than any of the people. And the asses
of Kish Saul's father were lost. And
Kish said to Saul his son, Take now one
of the servants with thee, and arise, go
4] seek the asses. And he passed through
the hill country of Ephraim, and passed
through the land of Shalishah, but they
found them not: then they passed
through the land of Shaalim, and there
they were not: and he passed through
the land of the Benjamites, but they
5] found them not. When they were
come to the land of Zuph, Saul said to
his servant that was with him, Come and
let us return; lest my father leave car-
ing for the asses, and take thought for
6] us. And he said unto him, Behold
now, there is in this city a man of God,

THE E STORY, *1 Sam.* 8:1–22, 10:17–27, 12:1–25

1 Sam. 8. And it came to pass, when
Samuel was old, that he made his sons
2] judges over Israel. Now the name of
his firstborn was Joel; and the name of
his second, Abijah: they were judges
3] in Beer-sheba. And his sons walked
not in his ways, but turned aside after
lucre, and took bribes, and perverted
judgment.

4] Then all the elders of Israel gath-
ered themselves together, and came to
5] Samuel unto Ramah: and they said
unto him, Behold, thou art old, and thy
sons walk not in thy ways: now make
us a king to judge us like all the nations.
6] But the thing displeased Samuel,
when they said, Give us a king to judge
us. And Samuel prayed unto the LORD.
7] And the LORD said unto Samuel,
Hearken unto the voice of the people
in all that they say unto thee: for they
have not rejected thee, but they have
rejected me, that I should not be king
8] over them. According to all the works
which they have done since the day that
I brought them up out of Egypt even
unto this day, in that they have forsaken
me, and served other gods, so do they

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[1] Or, *wealth.*

[2] Or, *choice.*

and he is a man that is held in honour;
all that he saith cometh surely to pass:
now let us go thither; peradventure he
can tell us concerning our journey
7] whereon we go. Then said Saul to
his servant, But, behold, if we go, what
shall we bring the man? for the bread is
spent in our vessels, and there is not a
present to bring to the man of God: what
8] have we? And the servant answered
Saul again, and said, Behold, I have in
my hand the fourth part of a shekel of
silver: that will I give to the man of
9] God, to tell us our way. (Beforetime
in Israel, when a man went to inquire
of God, thus he said, Come and let us
go to the seer: for he that is now called
a Prophet was beforetime called a Seer.)
10] Then said Saul to his servant, Well
said; come, let us go. So they went unto
the city where the man of God was.
11] As they went up the ascent to the
city, they found young maidens going
out to draw water, and said unto them,
12] Is the seer here? And they answered
them, and said, He is; behold, *he is* before
thee: make haste now, for he is
come to-day into the city; for the people
have a sacrifice to-day in the high
13] place: as soon as ye be come into
the city, ye shall straightway find him,
before he go up to the high place to
eat: for the people will not eat until he
come, because he doth bless the sacrifice;
and afterwards they eat that be bidden.
Now therefore get you up; for at
14] this time ye shall find him. And they
went up to the city; *and* as they came
within the city, behold, Samuel came
out against them, for to go up to the
high place.

15] Now the Lord had [3] revealed unto
Samuel a day before Saul came, saying,
16] To-morrow about this time I will
send thee a man out of the land of Benjamin,
and thou shalt anoint him to be
[4] prince over my people Israel, and he
shall save my people out of the hand of
the Philistines: for I have looked upon
my people, because their cry is come
17] unto me. And when Samuel saw

9] also unto thee. Now therefore hearken
unto their voice: howbeit thou shalt
protest solemnly unto them, and shalt
shew them the manner of the king that
shall reign over them.

10] And Samuel told all the words of
the Lord unto the people that asked of
11] him a king. And he said, This will
be the manner of the king that shall
reign over you: he will take your sons,
and appoint them unto him, [5] for his
chariots, and to be his horsemen; and
they shall run before his chariots:
12] and he will appoint them unto him
for captains of thousands, and captains
of fifties; and *he will set some* to plow
his ground, and to reap his harvest, and
to make his instruments of war, and
13] the instruments of his chariots. And
he will take your daughters to be [6] confectionaries,
and to be cooks, and to be
14] bakers. And he will take your fields,
and your vineyards, and your oliveyards,
even the best of them, and give them to
15] his servants. And he will take the
tenth of your seed, and of your vineyards,
and give to his [7] officers, and to
16 his servants. And he will take your
menservants, and your maidservants,
and your goodliest [8] young men, and
your asses, and put them to his work.
17] He will take the tenth of your
flocks: and ye shall be his servants.
18] And ye shall cry out in that day because
of your king which ye shall have
chosen you; and the Lord will not answer
19] you in that day. But the people
refused to hearken unto the voice
of Samuel; and they said, Nay; but we
20] will have a king over us; that we
also may be like all the nations; and
that our king may judge us, and go out
21] before us, and fight our battles. And
Samuel heard all the words of the people,
and he rehearsed them in the ears
22] of the Lord. And the Lord said to
Samuel, Hearken unto their voice, and
make them a king. And Samuel said unto
the men of Israel, Go ye every man
unto his city.

10. 17] And Samuel called the people

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[3] Heb. *uncovered the ear of Samuel.*
[4] Or, *leader.*
[5] Or, *over his chariots, and over his horses.*
[6] Or, *perfumers.* See *Ex.* 30: 25.
[7] Or, *eunuchs.*
[8] The Sept. has, *herds,*

Saul, the Lord [9] said unto him, Behold
the man [10] of whom I spake to thee!
this same shall have authority over my
18] people. Then Saul drew near to
Samuel in the gate, and said, Tell me, I
pray thee, where the seer's house is.
19] And Samuel answered Saul, and
said, I am the seer; go up before me
unto the high place, for ye shall eat with
me to-day: and in the morning I will
let thee go, and will tell thee all that is
20] in thine heart. And as for thine
asses that were lost three days ago, set
not thy mind on them; for they are
found. And [11] for whom is all that is desirable
in Israel? Is it not for thee, and
21] for all thy father's house? And Saul
answered and said, Am not I a Benjamite,
of the smallest of the tribes of Israel?
and my family the least of all the
families of the [12] tribe of Benjamin?
wherefore then speakest thou to me after
22] this manner? And Samuel took Saul
and his servant, and brought them into
the guest-chamber, and made them sit
in the chiefest place among them that
were bidden, which were about thirty
23] persons. And Samuel said unto the
cook, Bring the portion which I gave
thee, of which I said unto thee, Set it
24] by thee. And the cook took up the
[13] thigh, and that which was upon it,
and set it before Saul. And *Samuel* said,
Behold that which hath been reserved!
set it before thee and eat; because unto
the appointed time hath it been kept for
thee, [14] for I said, I have invited the people.
So Saul did eat with Samuel that
25] day. And when they were come down
from the high place into the city, [15] he
communed with Saul upon the house-
26] top. And they arose early: and it
came to pass about the spring of the
day, that Samuel called to Saul on the
housetop, saying, Up, that I may send
thee away. And Saul arose, and they
together unto the Lord to Mizpah;
18] and he said unto the children of Israel,
Thus saith the Lord, the God of
Israel, I brought up Israel out of Egypt,
and I delivered you out of the hand of
the Egyptians, and out of the hand of
all the kingdoms that oppressed you:
19] but ye have this day rejected your
God, who himself saveth you out of all
your calamities and your distresses; and
ye have said unto him, *Nay*, but set a
king over us. Now therefore present
yourselves before the Lord by your
20] tribes, and by your thousands. So
Samuel brought all the tribes of Israel
near, and the tribe of Benjamin was
21] taken. And he brought the tribe of
Benjamin near by their families, and the
family of the Matrites was taken [16];
and Saul the son of Kish was taken;
but when they sought him, he could not
22] be found. Therefore they asked of
the Lord further, [17] Is there yet a man to
come hither? And the Lord answered,
Behold, he hath hid himself among the
23] stuff. And they ran and fetched him
thence; and when he stood among the
people, he was higher than any of the
people from his shoulders and upward.
24] And Samuel said to all the people,
See ye him whom the Lord hath chosen,
that there is none like him among all the
people? And all the people shouted, and
said, [18] God save the king.

25] Then Samuel told the people the
manner of the kingdom, and wrote it
in [19] a book, and laid it up before the
Lord. And Samuel sent all the people
26] away, every man to his house. And
Saul also went to his house to Gibeah;
and there went with him the [20] host,
27] whose hearts God had touched. But
certain [21] sons of [22] Belial said, How
shall this man save us? And they despised
him, and brought him no present.
[23] But he held his peace.

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[9] Heb. *answered him.*

[10] Or, *of whom I said unto thee, This same &c.*

[11] Or, *on whom is all the desire of Israel? Is it not on thee, and on all &c.?*

[12] Heb. *tribes.*

[13] Or, *shoulder.*

[14] Heb. *saying.*

[15] The Sept. has, *they spread a couch for Saul on the housetop, and he lay down. And it came to pass &c.*

[16] The Sept. adds, *and the family of the Matrites was brought near man by man.*

[17] Or, *Is the man yet come hither?*

[18] Heb. *Let the king live.*

[19] Or, *the.*

[20] Or, *men of valour.*

[21] Or, *base fellows.*

[22] That is, *worthlessness.*

[23] Or, *But he was as though he had been deaf.* The Sept. has, *And it came to pass after about a month, that Nahash &c.*

went out both of them, he and Samuel,
27] abroad. As they were going down
at the end of the city, Samuel said to
Saul, Bid the servant pass on before us,
(and he passed on,) but stand thou still
at this time, that I may cause thee to
hear the word of God.

10. Then Samuel took the vial of oil,
and poured it upon his head, and kissed
him, and said, Is it not that the Lord
hath anointed thee to be prince over his
2] inheritance? When thou art departed
from me to-day, then thou shalt find two
men by Rachel's sepulchre, in the border
of Benjamin at Zelzah; and they will
say unto thee, The asses which thou
wentest to seek are found: and, lo, thy
father hath left the care of the asses,
and taketh thought for you, saying,
3] What shall I do for my son? Then
shalt thou go on forward from thence,
and thou shalt come to the [24] oak of Tabor,
and there shall meet thee there
three men going up to God to Beth-el,
one carrying three kids, and another
carrying three loaves of bread, and another
carrying a [25] bottle of wine:
4] and they will salute thee, and give
thee two loaves of bread; which thou
5] shalt receive of their hand. After that
thou shalt come to [26] the hill of God,
where is the garrison of the Philistines:
and it shall come to pass, when thou art
come thither to the city, that thou shalt
meet a band of prophets coming down
from the high place with a psaltery, and
a timbrel, and a pipe, and a harp, before
them; and they shall be prophesying:
6] and the spirit of the Lord will
come mightily upon thee, and thou shalt
prophesy with them, and shalt be turned
7] into another man. And [27] let it be,
when these signs are come unto thee,
[28] that thou do as occasion serve thee;
8] for God is with thee. And thou shalt
go down before me to Gilgal; and, behold,
I will come down unto thee, to offer
burnt offerings, and to sacrifice sacrifices
of peace offerings: seven days

12. And Samuel said unto all Israel,
Behold, I have hearkened unto your
voice in all that ye said unto me, and
2] have made a king over you. And now,
behold, the king walketh before you:
and I am old and grayheaded; and, behold,
my sons are with you: and I have
walked before you from my youth unto
3] this day. Here I am: witness against
me before the Lord, and before his
anointed: whose ox have I taken? or
whose ass have I taken? or whom have
I defrauded? whom have I oppressed?
or of whose hand have I taken a [29] ransom
[30] to blind mine eyes therewith?
4] and I will restore it you. And they
said, Thou hast not defrauded us, nor
oppressed us, neither hast thou taken
5] aught of any man's hand. And he
said unto them, The Lord is witness
against you, and his anointed is witness
this day, that ye have not found aught in
my hand. And they said, He is witness.
6] And Samuel said unto the people, It
is the Lord that [31] appointed Moses and
Aaron, and that brought your fathers up
7] out of the land of Egypt. Now therefore
stand still, that I may plead with
you before the Lord concerning all the
righteous acts of the Lord, which he did
8] to you and to your fathers. When Jacob
was come into Egypt, and your fathers
cried unto the Lord, then the Lord
sent Moses and Aaron, who brought
forth your fathers out of Egypt, and
9] made them to dwell in this place. But
they forgat the Lord their God, and he
sold them into the hand of Sisera, captain
of the host of Hazor, and into the
hand of the Philistines, and into the
hand of the king of Moab, and they
10] fought against them. And they cried
unto the Lord, and said, We have sinned,
because we have forsaken the Lord, and
have served the Baalim and the Ashtaroth:
but now deliver us out of the hand
of our enemies, and we will serve thee.
11] And the Lord sent Jerubbaal, and
[32] Bedan, and Jephthah, and Samuel,

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[24] Or, *terebinth.*

[25] Or, *skin.*

[26] Or, *Gibeah.*

[27] Heb. *it shall come to pass, that when these signs &c.*

[28] Heb. *do for thee as thine hand shall find.*

[29] Or, *bribe.*

[30] Or, *that I should hide mine eyes at him.* The Sept. has, *even a pair of shoes? answer against me. and I will &c.* See *Ecclus.* 46: 19.

[31] Or, *made.*

[32] Some ancient authorities read, *Barak.*

shalt thou tarry, till I come unto thee,
and shew thee what thou shalt do.
9] And it was so, that when he had
turned his back to go from Samuel, God
[33] gave him another heart: and all those
signs came to pass that day.

10] And when they came thither to
[34] the hill, behold, a band of prophets met
him; and the spirit of God came mightily
upon him, and he prophesied among
11] them. And it came to pass, when all
that knew him beforetime saw that, behold,
he prophesied with the prophets,
then the people said one to another,
What is this that is come unto the son
of Kish? Is Saul also among the prophets?
12] ets? And one of the same place answered
and said, And who is their father?
Therefore it became a proverb, Is
13] Saul also among the prophets? And
when he had made an end of prophesying,
he came to the high place.

14] And Saul's uncle said unto him
and to his servant, Whither went ye?
And he said, To seek the asses: and
when we saw that they were not found,
15] we came to Samuel. And Saul's uncle
said, Tell me, I pray thee, what Samuel
16] said unto you. And Saul said
unto his uncle, He told us plainly that
the asses were found. But concerning
the matter of the kingdom, whereof
Samuel spake, he told him not.

11. Then Nahash the Ammonite came
up, and encamped against Jabesh-gilead:
and all the men of Jabesh said unto Nahash,
Make a covenant with us, and we
2] will serve thee. And Nahash the Ammonite
said unto them, On this condition
will I make it with you, that all
your right eyes be put out; and I will
lay it for a reproach upon all Israel.
3] And the elders of Jabesh said unto
him, Give us seven days' respite, that we
may send messengers unto all the borders
of Israel: and then, if there be
none to save us, we will come out to thee.
4] Then came the messengers to Gibeah
of Saul, and spake these words in the
ears of the people: and all the people
and delivered you out of the hand of
your enemies on every side, and ye
12] dwelled in safety. And when ye saw
that Nahash the king of the children of
Ammon came against you, ye said unto
me, Nay, but a king shall reign over us:
when the LORD your God was your king.
13] Now therefore behold the king
whom ye have chosen, and whom ye
have asked for: and, behold, the LORD
14] hath set a king over you. If ye will
fear the LORD, and serve him, and hearken
unto his voice, and not rebel against
the commandment of the LORD, [35] and
both ye and also the king that reigneth
over you be followers of the LORD your
15] God, *well*: but if ye will not hearken
unto the voice of the LORD, but rebel
against the commandment of the LORD,
then shall the hand of the LORD be against
you, [36] as it was against your fathers.
16] Now therefore stand still and see
this great thing, which the LORD will do
17] before your eyes. Is it not wheat
harvest to-day? I will call unto the
LORD, that he may send thunder and rain;
and ye shall know and see that your
wickedness is great, which ye have done
in the sight of the LORD, in asking you a
king. So Samuel called unto the LORD;
and the LORD sent thunder and rain that
day: and all the people greatly feared
19] the LORD and Samuel. And all the
people said unto Samuel, Pray for thy
servants unto the LORD thy God, that we
die not: for we have added unto all our
20] sins *this* evil, to ask us a king. And
Samuel said unto the people, Fear not:
ye have indeed done all this evil: yet
turn not aside from following the LORD,
but serve the LORD with all your heart;
21] [37] and turn ye not aside: for *then
should ye go* after vain things which cannot
profit nor deliver, for they are vain.
22] For the LORD will not forsake his
people for his great name's sake: because
it hath pleased the LORD to make
23] you a people unto himself. Moreover
as for me, God forbid that I should
sin against the LORD in ceasing to pray

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[33] Heb. *turned.*

[34] Or, *Gibeah.*

[35] Or, *then shall both ye . . . the LORD your God but &c.*

[36] The Sept. has, *and against your king.*

[37] The Sept. has, *and turn ye not aside after the vanities which &c.*

5] lifted up their voice, and wept. And,
behold, Saul came following the oxen
out of the field; and Saul said, What
aileth the people that they weep? And
they told him the words of the men of
6] Jabesh. And the spirit of God came
mightily upon Saul when he heard those
words, and his anger was kindled
7] greatly. And he took a yoke of oxen,
and cut them in pieces, and sent them
throughout all the borders of Israel by
the hand of messengers, saying, Whosoever
cometh not forth after Saul and
after Samuel, so shall it be done unto
his oxen. And [38] the dread of the LORD
fell on the people, and they came out as
8] one man. And he numbered them in
Bezek; and the children of Israel were
three hundred thousand, and the men of
9] Judah thirty thousand. And they said
unto the messengers that came, Thus
shall ye say unto the men of Jabesh-gilead,
To-morrow, by the time the sun
is hot, ye shall have deliverance. And
the messengers came and told the
men of Jabesh; and they were glad.
10] Therefore the men of Jabesh said,
To-morrow we will come out unto you,
and ye shall do with us all that seem-
11] eth good unto you. And it was so on
the morrow, that Saul put the people in
three companies; and they came into
the midst of the camp in the morning
watch, and smote the Ammonites until
the heat of the day: and it came to pass,
that they which remained were scattered,
so that two of them were not left
12] together. And the people said unto
Samuel, Who is he that said, Shall Saul
reign over us? bring the men, that we
13] may put them to death. And Saul
said, There shall not a man be put to
death this day: for to-day the LORD hath
wrought [39] deliverance in Israel.

14] Then said Samuel to the people,
Come and let us go to Gilgal, and re-
15] new the kingdom there. And all the
people went to Gilgal; and there they
made Saul king before the LORD in Gilgal;
and there they sacrificed sacrifices
of peace offerings before the LORD; and
there Saul and all the men of Israel rejoiced
greatly.

for you: but I will instruct you in the
24] good and the right way. Only fear
the LORD, and serve him in truth with
all your heart: for consider how great
25] things he hath done for you. But if
ye shall still do wickedly, ye shall be
consumed, both ye and your king.

Of these two accounts the older, which we have called the J story, is undoubtedly the more historical. Perhaps in the account of Saul's anointing by Samuel there may be some legendary elements, but it is quite in accord with probability that a young man like Saul, encouraged by a prophet like Samuel, should raise a force of men and go as a knight errant to deliver the besieged city of Jabesh in Gilead, on the east of the Jordan, from the straits into which their enemies the Ammonites (whom we have met before in the story of Jephthah) had brought it, that he should gain in that way a military reputation, and that a people harassed by enemies on every side should appreciate the value of having such a military leader and make Saul its king. In analogous ways other military leaders and kings have been elevated to command.

The other story was written by one who had lost the historical point of view. He was keenly alive to the disadvantages of the monarchy and far removed from the exigencies which called it into being. His point of view was exceedingly religious. All these things combined to make him regard the desire for a king as a sinful wish to be like other nations, and the choice of the monarch to have been made by casting lots. Kings are not chosen in that way in real life, at least among peoples of the grade of culture which the Hebrews had reached, but because of demonstrated fitness for leadership. The speech which this writer puts into the mouth of Samuel in *1 Samuel* 12 was probably intended by the compiler of the book to form a suitable conclusion to the story of the times of the judges.

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[38] Or, *a terror from the* LORD.

[39] Heb. *salvation.*

Saul's reign, as *1 Samuel* reveals it to us, embraced three periods of war with the Philistines, and a war with the Amalekites. Considerable space is also given to the details of his efforts to capture the outlaw David.

SAUL'S FIRST WAR WITH THE PHILISTINES, *1 Sam.* 13–14

1 Sam. 13. Saul was [[40] *thirty*] years
old when he began to reign; and he
2] reigned two years over Israel. And
Saul chose him three thousand men of
Israel; whereof two thousand were with
Saul in Michmash and in the mount of
Beth-el, and a thousand were with Jonathan
in Gibeah of Benjamin: and the
rest of the people he sent every man to
3] his tent. And Jonathan smote the garrison
of the Philistines that was in Geba,
and the Philistines heard of it. And Saul
blew the trumpet throughout all the land,
4] saying, Let the Hebrews hear. And
all Israel heard say that Saul had smitten
the garrison of the Philistines, and
that Israel also was had in abomination
with the Philistines. And the people were
gathered together after Saul to Gilgal.

5] And the Philistines assembled themselves
together to fight with Israel,
thirty thousand chariots, and six thousand
horsemen, and people as the sand
which is on the sea shore in multitude:
and they came up, and pitched in Michmash
6] eastward of Beth-aven. When
the men of Israel saw that they were in
a strait, (for the people were distressed,)
then the people did hide themselves
in caves, and in thickets, and in
rocks, and in [41] holds, and in [42] pits.
7] Now some of the Hebrews had gone
over Jordan to the land of Gad and
Gilead; but as for Saul, he was yet in
Gilgal, and all the people followed him
trembling.

8] And he tarried seven days, according
to the set time that Samuel *had appointed:*
but Samuel came not to Gilgal;
and the people were scattered from him.
9] And Saul said, Bring hither the burnt
offering to me, and the peace offerings.
And he offered the burnt offering.
10] And it came to pass that, as soon
as he had made an end of offering the
burnt offering, behold, Samuel came;
and Saul went out to meet him, that he
11] might [43] salute him. And Samuel
said, What hast thou done? and Saul
said, Because I saw that the people were
scattered from me, and that thou camest
not within the days appointed, and
that the Philistines assembled themselves
12] together at Michmash; therefore
said I, Now will the Philistines come
down upon me to Gilgal, and I have
not intreated the favour of the LORD:
I forced myself therefore, and offered
13] the burnt offering. And Samuel said
to Saul, Thou hast done foolishly: thou
has not kept the commandment of the
LORD thy God, which he commanded
thee: for now would the LORD have
established thy kingdom upon Israel for
14] ever. But now thy kingdom shall not
continue: the LORD hath sought him a
man after his own heart, and the LORD
hath appointed him to be prince over his

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[40] The Hebrew text has *Saul was a year old*. The whole verse is omitted in the unrevised Sept. but in a later recension the number *thirty* is inserted.

[41] Or, *holes.*

[42] Or, *cisterns.*

[43] Or, *bless.*

people, because thou hast not kept that
which the Lord commanded thee.
15] And Samuel arose, and gat him
up from Gilgal unto Gibeah of Benjamin.
And Saul numbered the people
that were present with him, about six
16] hundred men. And Saul, and Jonathan
his son, and the people that were
present with them, abode in Geba of
Benjamin: but the Philistines encamped
17] in Michmash. And the spoilers came
out of the camp of the Philistines in
three companies: one company turned
unto the way that leadeth to Ophrah,
18] unto the land of Shual: and another
company turned the way to Beth-horon:
and another company turned the way of
the border that looketh down upon the
valley of Zeboim toward the wilderness.

19] Now there was no smith found
throughout all the land of Israel: for
the Philistines said, Lest the Hebrews
20] make them swords or spears: but
all the Israelites went down to the Philistines,
to sharpen every man his share,
and his coulter, and his axe, and his mattock;
21] [44] yet they had a file for the
mattocks, and for the coulters, and for
the forks, and for the axes; and to set
22] the goads. So it came to pass in the
day of battle, that there was neither
sword nor spear found in the hand of
any of the people that were with Saul
and Jonathan: but with Saul and with
Jonathan his son was there found.
23] And the garrison of the Philistines
went out unto the pass of Michmash.

14. Now it fell upon a day, that Jonathan
the son of Saul said unto the young
man that bare his armour, Come and let
us go over to the Philistines' garrison,
that is on yonder side. But he told not
2] his father. And Saul abode in the uttermost
part of Gibeah under the pomegranate
tree which is in Migron: and the
people that were with him were about
3] six hundred men; and Ahijah, the son
of Ahitub, Ichabod's brother, the son of
Phinehas, the son of Eli, the priest of
the Lord in Shiloh, wearing an ephod.
And the people knew not that Jonathan
4] was gone. And between the passes,
by which Jonathan sought to go over
unto the Philistines' garrison, there was
a rocky crag on the one side, and a
rocky crag on the other side: and the
name of the one was Bozez, and the
5] name of the other Seneh. The one
crag rose up on the north in front of
Michmash, and the other on the south
6] in front of Geba. And Jonathan said
to the young man that bare his armour,
Come and let us go over unto the garrison
of these uncircumcised: it may be
that the Lord will work for us: for
there is no restraint to the Lord to save
7] by many or by few. And his armourbearer
said unto him, Do all that is in
thine heart: turn thee, behold I am with
8] thee according to thy heart. Then
said Jonathan, Behold, we will pass over
unto the men, and we will discover ourselves
9] unto them. If they say thus
unto us, Tarry until we come to you;
then we will stand still in our place, and
10] will not go up unto them. But if
they say thus, Come up unto us; then
we will go up: for the Lord hath delivered
them into our hand: and this
11] shall be the sign unto us. And both
of them discovered themselves unto the
garrison of the Philistines: and the Philistines
said, Behold, the Hebrews come
forth out of the holes where they had
12] hid themselves. And the men of the
garrison answered Jonathan and his armourbearer,
and said, Come up to us,
and we will shew you a thing. And Jonathan
said unto his armourbearer, Come
up after me: for the Lord hath delivered
them into the hand of Israel.
13] And Jonathan climbed up upon his
hands and upon his feet, and his armourbearer
after him: and they fell before
Jonathan; and his armourbearer slew
14] them after him. And that first
slaughter, which Jonathan and his
armourbearer made, was about twenty
men, within as it were [45] half a furrow's
15] length in an acre of land. And there
was a trembling in the camp, in the field,
and among all the people; the garrison,
and the spoilers, they also trembled: and

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[44] Or, *when the edges of the mattocks . . . and of the axes were blunt.* The Hebrew text is obscure.

[45] Or, *half an acre of land.*

the earth quaked; so there was [46] an exceeding
16] great trembling. And the
watchmen of Saul in Gibeah of Benjamin
looked; and, behold, the multitude melted
away, and they went *hither* and thither.

17] Then said Saul unto the people
that were with him, Number now, and
see who is gone from us. And when
they had numbered, behold, Jonathan
and his armourbearer were not there.
18] And Saul said unto Ahijah, [47] Bring
hither the ark of God. For the ark of
God was *there* at that time [48] with the
19] children of Israel. And it came to
pass, while Saul talked unto the priest,
that the tumult that was in the camp
of the Philistines went on and increased:
and Saul said unto the priest, Withdraw
20] thine hand. And Saul and all the
people that were with him were gathered
together, and came to the battle:
and, behold, every man's sword was
against his fellow, *and there was* a very
21] great discomfiture. Now the Hebrews
that were with the Philistines as
beforetime, which went up with them
[49] into the camp [50] *from the country*
round about; even they also *turned* to be
with the Israelites that were with Saul
22] and Jonathan. Likewise all the men
of Israel which had hid themselves in
the hill country of Ephraim, when they
heard that the Philistines fled, even they
also followed hard after them in the battle.
23] So the Lord saved Israel that
day: and the battle passed over by Bethaven.
And the men of Israel were distressed
that day: but Saul adjured the
people, saying, Cursed be the man that
eateth any food until it be evening, and
I be avenged on mine enemies. So none
25] of the people tasted food. And all
[51] the people came into the forest; and
there was honey upon the ground.
26] And when the people were come unto
the forest, behold, [52] the honey dropped:
but no man put his hand to his mouth;
27] for the people feared the oath. But
Jonathan heard not when his father
charged the people with the oath: wherefore
he put forth the end of the rod
that was in his hand and dipped it in the
honeycomb, and put his hand to his
mouth; and his eyes were enlightened.
28] Then answered one of the people, and
said, Thy father straitly charged the
people with an oath, saying, Cursed be
the man that eateth food this day. And
29] the people were faint. Then said
Jonathan, My father hath troubled the
land: see, I pray you, how mine eyes
have been enlightened, because I tasted
30] a little of this honey. How much
more, if haply the people had eaten freely
to-day of the spoil of their enemies
which they found? [53] for now hath there
been no great slaughter among the Philistines.
31] And they smote of the Philistines
that day from Michmash to
Aijalon: and the people were very faint.
32] And the people flew upon the spoil,
and took sheep, and oxen, and calves,
and slew them on the ground: and the
people did eat them with the blood.
33] Then they told Saul, saying, Behold,
the people sin against the Lord,
in that they eat with the blood. And he
said, Ye have dealt treacherously: roll a
34] great stone unto me this day. And
Saul said, Disperse yourselves among
the people, and say unto them, Bring me
hither every man his ox, and every man
his sheep, and slay them here, and eat;
and sin not against the Lord in eating
with the blood. And all the people
brought every man his ox with him that
35] night, and slew them there. And
Saul built an altar unto the Lord: the
same was the first altar that he built
unto the Lord.

36] And Saul said, Let us go down
after the Philistines by night, and spoil
them until the morning light, and let
us not leave a man of them. And they
said, Do whatsoever seemeth good unto
thee. Then said the priest, Let us draw
37] near hither unto God. And Saul
asked counsel of God, Shall I go down
after the Philistines? wilt thou deliver
them into the hand of Israel? But he

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[46] Heb. *trembling of God.*

[47] The Sept. has, *Bring hither the ephod. For he wore the ephod at that time before Israel.*

[48] Heb. *and.*

[49] Or, *in the camp, round about.*

[50] The Sept. has, *they also turned to be &c.*

[51] Heb. *the land.*

[52] Or, *a stream of honey.*

[53] Or, *for had there not been now a much greater slaughter &c.?*

38] answered him not that day. And Saul
said, Draw nigh hither, all ye [54] chiefs
of the people: and know and see wherein
39] this sin hath been this day. For, as
the Lord liveth, which saveth Israel,
though it be in Jonathan my son, he shall
surely die. But there was not a man
among all the people that answered him.
40] Then said he unto all Israel, Be
ye on one side, and I and Jonathan my
son will be on the other side. And the
people said unto Saul, Do what seemeth
41] good unto thee. Therefore Saul said
unto the Lord, the God of Israel, [55] Shew
the right. And Jonathan and Saul were
42] taken *by lot:* but the people escaped.
And Saul said, Cast *lots* between me and
Jonathan my son. And Jonathan was
43] taken. Then Saul said to Jonathan,
Tell me what thou hast done. And Jonathan
told him, and said, I did certainly
taste a little honey with the end of the
rod that was in mine hand; and, lo, I
44] must die. And Saul said, God do so
and more also: for thou shalt surely die,
45] Jonathan. And the people said unto
Saul, Shall Jonathan die, who hath
wrought this great salvation in Israel?
God forbid: as the Lord liveth, there
shall not one hair of his head fall to the
ground; for he hath wrought with God
this day. So the people [56] rescued Jonathan,
46] that he died not. Then Saul
went up from following the Philistines:
and the Philistines went to their own
place.

47] Now when Saul had taken the
kingdom over Israel, he fought against
all his enemies on every side, against
Moab, and against the children of Ammon,
and against Edom, and against the
kings of Zobah, and against the Philistines:
and whithersoever he turned himself,
48] [57] he vexed *them.* And he did
valiantly, and smote the Amalekites, and
delivered Israel out of the hands of them
that spoiled them.

49] Now the sons of Saul were Jonathan,
and Ishvi, and Malchi-shua: and
the names of his two daughters were
these; the name of the firstborn Merab,
and the name of the younger Michal:
50] and the name of Saul's wife was
Ahinoam the daughter of Ahimaaz: and
the name of the captain of his host was
Abner the son of Ner, Saul's uncle.
51] [58] And Kish was the father of Saul;
and Ner the father of Abner was the
son of Abiel.

52] And there was sore war against
the Philistines all the days of Saul: and
when Saul saw any mighty man, or any
valiant man, he [59] took him unto him.

The story of this battle is from the older source which we call J. It is doubtless historical. It shows that the Philistines had penetrated to the midst of the hill country, and were pressing Saul hard not far from his capital city. The simple character of the warfare of the period is made clear by the story of Jonathan, the crown prince, and his armor-bearer. The deep valley between Geba and Michmash is still there and bears witness to the probability of the story. The crude religious ideas of the time are exhibited by the danger into which Jonathan's life was brought by his innocently having violated a vow that Saul had made. The situation which was thus created was analogous to that which caused the sacrifice of the daughter of Jephthah. In this instance, however, the army's sense of justice prevailed over their superstition. They refused to let the life of Jonathan, who had initiated the victory, be sacrificed for such a really trivial cause.

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[54] Heb. *corners.*
[55] Or, *Give a perfect lot.*
[56] Heb. *ransomed.*
[57] Or, *he put* them *to the worse.* The Sept. has, *he was victorious.*
[58] According to some ancient authorities, *And Kish the father of Saul and Ner . . . were the sons of Abiel.*
[59] Heb. *gathered.*

For a time the Philistines were repulsed and Saul had leisure to make an attempt to exterminate the Amalekites, ancient enemies of Israel on whom it was believed Moses had pronounced a curse. The account of this war comes from the later source E. It is largely colored by somewhat later religious views.

THE WAR WITH AMALEK, *1 Sam.* 15

1 Sam. 15. And Samuel said unto Saul,
the Lord sent me to anoint thee to be
king over his people, over Israel: now
therefore hearken thou unto the voice
2] of the words of the Lord. Thus saith
the Lord of hosts, I [60] have marked
that which Amalek did to Israel, how
he set himself against him in the way,
3] when he came up out of Egypt. Now
go and smite Amalek, and [61] utterly destroy
all that they have, and spare them
not; but slay both man and woman, infant
and suckling, ox and sheep, camel
and ass.

4] And Saul summoned the people,
and numbered them in Telaim, two hundred
thousand footmen, and ten thousand
5] men of Judah. And Saul came to the
city of Amalek, and [62] laid wait in the
6] valley. And Saul said unto the Kenites,
Go, depart, get you down from
among the Amalekites, lest I destroy
you with them: for ye shewed kindness
to all the children of Israel, when they
came up out of Egypt. So the Kenites departed
from among the Amalekites.
7] And Saul smote the Amalekites, from
Havilah as thou goest to Shur, that is
8] before Egypt. And he took Agag the
king of the Amalekites alive, and utterly
destroyed all the people with the
9] edge of the sword. But Saul and the
people spared Agag, and the best of the
sheep, and of the oxen, and of the fatlings,
and the lambs, and all that was
good, and would not [61] utterly destroy
them: but every thing that was vile and
refuse, that they destroyed utterly.

10] Then came the word of the Lord
11] unto Samuel, saying, It repenteth
me that I have set up Saul to be king:
for he is turned back from following
me, and hath not performed my commandments.
And Samuel was wroth;
and he cried unto the Lord all night.
12] And Samuel rose early to meet Saul
in the morning; and it was told Samuel,
saying Saul came to Carmel, and, behold,
he set him up a [63] monument, and
is gone about, and passed on, and gone
13] down to Gilgal. And Samuel came
to Saul: and Saul said unto him, Blessed
be thou of the Lord: I have performed
14] the commandment of the Lord. And
Samuel said, What meaneth then this
bleating of the sheep in mine ears, and
the lowing of the oxen which I hear?
15] And Saul said, They have brought
them from the Amalekites: for the people
spared the best of the sheep and of the
oxen, to sacrifice unto the Lord thy God;
and the rest we have [64] utterly destroyed.
16] Then Samuel said unto Saul, Stay,
and I will tell thee what the Lord hath
17] said unto me this night, and he
said unto him, Say on. And Samuel
said, [65] Though thou wast little in thine
own sight, wast thou not made the head
of the tribes of Israel? And the Lord
18] anointed thee king over Israel; and
the Lord sent thee on a journey, and
said, Go and utterly destroy the sinners
the Amalekites, and fight against them
19] until they be consumed. Wherefore
then didst thou not obey the voice of the
Lord, but didst fly upon the spoil, and
didst that which was evil in the sight of
20] the Lord? And Saul said unto Samuel,
Yea, I have obeyed the voice of the
Lord, and have gone the way which the
Lord sent me, and have brought Agag
the king of Amalek, and have [66] utterly

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[60] Or, *will visit.*
[61] Heb. *devote.*
[62] Or, *strove.*
[63] Heb. *hand.*
[64] Heb. *devoted.*
[65] Or, *though thou be little . . . art thou not head of the tribes of Israel?*
[66] Heb. *devoted.*

21] destroyed the Amalekites. But the people took of the spoil, sheep and oxen, the chief of the devoted things, to sacrifice unto the LORD thy God in Gilgal. 22] And Samuel said, Hath the LORD as great delight in burnt offerings and sacrifices, as in obeying the voice of the LORD? Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of 23] rams. For rebellion is as the sin of [67] witchcraft, and stubbornness is as [68] idolatry and [69] teraphim. Because thou hast rejected the word of the LORD, he hath also rejected thee from being king. 24] And Saul said unto Samuel, I have sinned: for I have transgressed the commandment of the LORD, and thy words: because I feared the people, and obeyed 25] their voice. Now therefore, I pray thee, pardon my sin, and turn again with me, that I may worship the LORD. 26] And Samuel said unto Saul, I will not return with thee: for thou hast rejected the word of the LORD, and the LORD hath rejected thee from being king 27] over Israel. And as Samuel turned about to go away, he laid hold upon the 28] skirt of his robe, and it rent. And Samuel said unto him, The LORD hath rent the kingdom of Israel from thee this day, and hath given it to a neighbour 29] of thine, that is better than thou. And also the [70] Strength of Israel will not lie nor repent: for he is not a man, that 30] he should repent. Then he said, I have sinned: yet honour me now, I pray thee, before the elders of my people, and before Israel, and turn again with me, that I may worship the LORD thy God. 31] So Samuel turned again after Saul; and Saul worshipped the LORD.

32] Then said Samuel, Bring ye hither to me Agag the king of the Amalekites. And Agag came unto him [71] delicately. And Agag said, Surely the bitterness of 33] death is past. And Samuel said, As thy sword hath made women childless, so shall thy mother be childless among women. And Samuel hewed Agag in pieces before the LORD in Gilgal.

34] Then Samuel went to Ramah; and Saul went up to his house to Gibeah of 35] Saul. And Samuel came no more to see Saul until the day of his death; [72] for Samuel mourned for Saul: and the LORD repented that he had made Saul king over Israel.

Two things of importance stand out in this story. One is the cruel and barbarous nature which the Hebrews believed Yahweh to possess, and the other the reason why they thought the kingdom was not continued in the family of Saul.

Yahweh was thought to be angry with Saul for not having given the Amalekites with their children and cattle to slaughter, and to be pleased with Samuel for hewing Agag, the Amalekite king, in pieces in the sanctuary. It was a hard age and the religion of Samuel, the best man of the period, was also hard. Later, as we shall see, Saul was attacked by fits of melancholia and insanity. This was explained by the supposition that, because he had displeased Yahweh in not mercilessly exterminating all the Amalekites, Yahweh had taken his good spirit from him and sent an evil spirit into him (*1 Sam.* 16: 14).

A SECOND WAR WITH THE PHILISTINES AND THE COMING OF DAVID

After a time another war with the Philistines broke out—a war in which David by his valor became a popular hero. Two accounts of this are woven together in *1 Samuel.* According to the older (J) account, David came to Saul's court as a musician, became after a time Saul's armor-bearer, and then a commander, who in the war won more victories than any one else. When the war was over he was the popular hero and Saul was jealous. According to the later (E) account, David, a little shepherd boy, was sent to the Hebrew camp by his father with some provisions for his brothers, and arrived just as Goliath, a Philistine, was challenging some Hebrew to single combat. As no Hebrew dared to accept the challenge, David volunteered and killed Goliath with a stone from his sling. In this account David was unknown to Saul until after this deed, but Saul then took him into his service and he became a popular hero. We give the two accounts in parallel columns.

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[67] Heb. *divination.*
[68] Or, *inquity.*
[69] See *Gen.* 31: 19, 34.
[70] Or, *Victory.* Or, *Glory.*
[71] Or, *cheerfully.*
[72] Or, *but.*

THE YOUNGER (E) STORY, *1 Sam.* 17:1–51, 55–58; 18:1–4, 6–9

1 Sam. 17. Now the Philistines gathered together their armies to battle, and
they were gathered together at Socoh,
which belongeth to Judah, and pitched
between Socoh and Azekah, in Ephesdammim.
2] And Saul and the men of
Israel were gathered together, and
pitched in the vale of [73] Elah, and set the
battle in array against the Philistines.
3] And the Philistines stood on the
mountain on the one side, and Israel
stood on the mountain on the other side:
and there was a valley between them.
4] And there went out a champion out
of the camp of the Philistines, named
Goliath, of Gath, whose height was six
5] cubits and a span. And he had an
helmet of brass upon his head, and he
was clad with a coat of mail; and the
weight of the coat was five thousand
6] shekels of brass. And he had greaves
of brass upon his legs, and a [74] javelin
7] of brass between his shoulders. And
the [75] staff of his spear was like a weaver's beam; and his spear's head *weighed*
six hundred shekels of iron: and his
8] shield-bearer went before him. And he
stood and cried unto the [76] armies of
Israel, and said unto them, Why are ye
come out to set your battle in array? am

THE OLDER (J) STORY, *1 Sam.* 16:14–23; 18:5, 30; *2 Sam.* 21:19; *1 Sam.* 17:52–54; 18:10–16

1 Sam. 16. 14] Now the spirit of the
Lord had departed from Saul, and an
evil spirit from the Lord [77] troubled him.
15] And Saul's servants said unto him,
Behold now, an evil spirit from God
16] troubleth thee. Let our lord now
command thy servants, which are before
thee, to seek out a man who is a cunning
player on the harp: and it shall come
to pass, when the evil spirit from God
is upon thee, that he shall play with his
17] hand, and thou shalt be well. And
Saul said unto his servants, Provide me
now a man that can play well, and bring
18] him to me. Then answered one of
the young men, and said, Behold, I have
seen a son of Jesse the Bethlehemite,
that is cunning in playing, and a mighty
man of valour, and a man of war, and
[78] prudent in [79] speech, and a comely
person, and the Lord is with him.
19] Wherefore Saul sent messengers
unto Jesse, and said, Send me David thy
20] son, which is with the sheep. And
Jesse took an ass *laden* with bread, and
a [80] bottle of wine, and a kid, and sent
them by David his son unto Saul.
21] And David came to Saul, and stood
before him: and he loved him greatly;
and he became his armourbearer.

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[73] Or, *the terebinth.*
[74] The Sept. and Vulgate have, *target.*
[75] Or, according to another reading, *blade.*
[76] Heb. *ranks* and in vv. 10, 21, 22, 26, &c.

[77] Or, *terrified.*
[78] Or, *skilful.*
[79] Or, *business.*
[80] Or, *skin.*

not I a Philistine, and ye servants to
Saul? choose you a man for you, and
9] let him come down to me. If he be
able to fight with me, and kill me, then
will we be your servants: but if I pre-
vail against him, and kill him, then shall
10] ye be our servants, and serve us. And
the Philistine said, I [81] defy the armies
of Israel this day; give me a man, that
11] we may fight together. And when
Saul and all Israel heard those words of
the Philistine, they were dismayed, and
greatly afraid.

12] [82] Now David was the son of that
Ephrathite of Beth-lehem-judah, whose
name was Jesse; and he had eight sons:
and the man was an old man in the days
of Saul, stricken *in years* among men.
13] And the three eldest sons of Jesse
had gone after Saul to the battle: and
the names of his three sons that went
to the battle were Eliab the firstborn,
and next unto him Abinadab, and the
14] third Shammah. And David was the
youngest: and the three eldest followed
15] Saul. Now David went to and fro
from Saul to feed his father's sheep at
16] Beth-lehem. And the Philistine drew
near morning and evening, and presented
himself forty days.

17] And Jesse said unto David his son,
Take now for thy brethren an ephah
of this parched corn, and these ten
loaves, and carry them *quickly* to the
camp to thy brethren; and bring these
ten cheeses unto the captain of their
thousand, and look how thy brethren
19] fare, and take their pledge. Now
Saul, and they, and all the men of Israel,
[83] were in the vale of Elah, fighting with
20] the Philistines. And David rose up
early in the morning, and left the sheep
with a keeper, and took, and went, as
Jesse had commanded him; and he came
to the [84] place of the wagons, as the
host which was going forth to the
21] [85] fight shouted for the battle. And
Israel and the Philistines put the battle
22] And Saul sent to Jesse, saying, Let
David, I pray thee, stand before me; for
he hath found favour in my sight.
23] And it came to pass, when the *evil*
spirit from God was upon Saul, that
David took the harp, and played with
his hand: so Saul was refreshed, and
was well, and the evil spirit departed
from him.

18: 5. And David [86] went out whither-
soever Saul sent him, *and* [87] behaved
himself wisely: and Saul set him over
the men of war, and it was good in the
sight of all the people, and also in the
sight of Saul's servants.

30] Then the princes of the Philistines
went forth: and it came to pass, as often
as they went forth, that David [88] be-
haved himself more wisely than all the
servants of Saul; so that his name was
much [89] set by.

2 Sam. 21: 19. And Elhanan the son
of Jaare-oregim the Beth-lehemite slew
[90] Goliath the Gittite, the staff of whose
spear was like a weaver's beam.

1 Sam. 17: 52. And the men of Israel
and of Judah arose, and shouted, and
pursued the Philistines, until thou comest
to [91] Gai, and to the gates of Ekron.
And the wounded of the Philistines fell
down by the way to [92] Shaaraim, even
53] unto Gath, and unto Ekron. And
the children of Israel returned from
chasing after the Philistines, and they
54] spoiled their camp. And David took
the head of the Philistine, and brought
it to Jerusalem; but he put his armour
in his tent.

18. 10] And it came to pass on the
morrow, that an evil spirit from God
came mightily upon Saul, and he
[93] prophesied in the midst of the house:
and David played with his hand, as he
did day by day: and Saul had his spear
11] in his hand. And Saul cast the spear;
for he said, I will smite David even to
the wall. And David avoided out of his
12] presence twice. And Saul was afraid

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[81] Or, *reproach*.

[82] The Sept. omits vv. 12–31 and 55–ch. 18: 5.

[83] Or, *are*.

[84] Or, *barricade*.

[85] Or, *battle ground*.

[86] Or, *went out; whithersoever Saul sent him, he &c.*

[87] Or, *prospered*.

[88] Or, *prospered more than*.

[89] Heb. *precious*.

[90] In *1 Chr.* 20: 5, *the brother of Goliath*.

[91] The Sept. has, *Gath*.

[92] Or, *the two gates*.

[93] Or, *raved*.

22] in array, army against army. And
David left his baggage in the hand of
the keeper of the baggage, and ran to
the army, and came and saluted his brethren.
23] And as he talked with them,
behold, there came up the champion, the
Philistine of Gath, Goliath by name, out
of the ranks of the Philistines, and spake
according to the same words: and David
24] heard them. And all the men of Israel,
when they saw the man, fled from
25] him, and were sore afraid. And the
men of Israel said, Have ye seen this
man that is come up? surely to [81] defy
Israel is he come up: and it shall be,
that the man who killeth him, the king
will enrich him with great riches, and
will give him his daughter, and make
26] his father's house free in Israel. And
David spake to the men that stood by
him, saying, What shall be done to the
man that killeth this Philistine, and
taketh away the reproach from Israel?
for who is this uncircumcised Philistine,
that he should [81] defy the armies
27] of the living God? And the people
answered him after this manner, saying,
So shall it be done to the man
28] that killeth him. And Eliab his eldest
brother heard when he spake unto
the men; and Eliab's anger was kindled
against David, and he said, Why
art thou come down? and with whom
hast thou left those few sheep in the
wilderness? I know thy pride, and the
naughtiness of thine heart; for thou art
come down that thou mightest see the
29] battle. And David said, What have
I now done? [94] Is there not a cause?
30] And he turned away from him
toward another, and spake after the same
manner: and the people answered him
31] again after the former manner. And
when the words were heard which David
spake, they rehearsed them before
32] Saul; and he sent for him. And David
said to Saul, Let no man's heart fail
[95] because of him; thy servant will go
33] and fight with this Philistine. And
Saul said to David, Thou are not able
to go against this Philistine to fight with
him: for thou art but a youth, and he a
34] a man of war from his youth. And
David said unto Saul, Thy servant kept
his father's sheep; [97] and when there
came a lion, or a bear, and took a lamb
35] out of the flock, I went out after
him, and smote him, and delivered it out
of his mouth: and when he arose against
me, I caught him by his beard, and
36] smote him, and slew him. Thy servant
smote both the lion and the bear:
and this uncircumcised Philistine shall
be as one of them, seeing he hath [98] defied
37] the armies of the living God. And
David said, The LORD that delivered me
out of the paw of the lion, and out of
the paw of the bear, he will deliver me
out of the hand of this Philistine. And
Saul said unto David, Go, and the LORD
38] shall be with thee. And Saul clad
David with his apparel, and he put an
helmet of brass upon his head, and he
39] clad him with a coat of mail. And
David girded his sword upon his apparel,
and he assayed to go; for he had
not proved it. And David said unto Saul,
I cannot go with these; for I have not
proved them. And David put them off
40] him. And he took his staff in his
hand, and chose him five smooth stones
out of the [99] brook, and put them in the
shepherd's bag which he had, even in his
scrip; and his sling was in his hand:
and he drew near to the Philistine.

of David, because the LORD was with
him, and was departed from Saul.
13] Therefore Saul removed him from
him, and made him his captain over a
thousand; and he went out and came in
14] before the people. And David [96] behaved
himself wisely in all his ways;
15] and the LORD was with him. And
when Saul saw that he behaved himself
very wisely, he stood in awe of him.
16] But all Israel and Judah loved David;
for he went out and came in before
them.

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[94] Or, *Was it not* but *a word?*
[95] Or, *within him.*
[96] Or, *prospered.*
[97] Or, *and there came a lion and a bear . . . and I went out &c.*
[98] Or, *reproached.*
[99] Or, *torrent bed.*

41] And the Philistine came on and drew
near unto David; and the man that bare
42] the shield went before him. And
when the Philistine looked about, and
saw David, he disdained him: for he
was but a youth, and ruddy, and withal
43] of a fair countenance. And the
Philistine said unto David, Am I a dog,
that thou comest to me with staves?
And the Philistine cursed David by his
44] gods. And the Philistine said to David,
Come to me, and I will give thy
flesh unto the fowls of the air, and to
45] the beasts of the field. Then said
David to the Philistine, Thou comest to
me with a sword, and with a spear, and
with a javelin: but I come to thee in the
name of the LORD of hosts, the God of
of the armies of Israel, which thou hast
46] [98] defied. This day will the LORD deliver
thee into mine hand; and I will
smite thee, and take thine head from
off thee; and I will give the carcases
of the host of the Philistines this day
unto the fowls of the air, and to the wild
beasts of the earth; that all the earth
may know that there is a God in Israel:
47] and that all this assembly may know
that the LORD saveth not with sword and
spear: for the battle is the LORD's, and
48] he will give you into our hand. And
it came to pass, when the Philistine
arose, and came and drew nigh to meet
David, that David hastened, and ran
toward the army to meet the Philistine.
49] And David put his hand in his bag,
and took thence a stone, and slang it,
and smote the Philistine in his forehead;
and the stone sank into his forehead,
and he fell upon his face to the
50] earth. So David prevailed over the
Philistine with a sling and with a stone,
and smote the Philistine, and slew him;
but there was no sword in the hand of
51] David. Then David ran, and stood
over the Philistine, and took his sword,
and drew it out of the sheath thereof,
and slew him, and cut off his head therewith.
And when the Philistines saw that
their [100] champion was dead, they fled.

55] And when Saul saw David go
forth against the Philistine, he said unto
Abner, the captain of the host, Abner,
whose son is this youth? And Abner
said, As thy soul liveth, O king, I cannot
56] tell. And the king said, Inquire
57] thou whose son the stripling is. And
as David returned from the slaughter
of the Philistine, Abner took him, and
brought him before Saul with the head
58] of the Philistine in his hand. And
Saul said to him, Whose son art thou,
thou young man? And David answered,
I am the son of thy servant Jesse the
Beth-lehemite.

18. And it came to pass, when he had
made an end of speaking unto Saul,
that the soul of Jonathan was knit with
the soul of David, and Jonathan loved
2] him as his own soul. And Saul took
him that day, and would let him go
no more home to his father's house.
3] Then Jonathan and David made a
covenant, because he loved him as his
4] own soul. And Jonathan stripped himself
of the robe that was upon him, and
gave it to David, and his apparel, even
to his sword, and to his bow, and to his
girdle.

6] And it came to pass as they came,
when David returned from the slaughter
of the [101] Philistine, that the women
came out of all the cities of Israel, singing
and dancing, to meet king Saul, with
timbrels, with joy, and with [102] instruments
7] of music. And the women
[103] sang one to another in their play, and
said,

Saul hath slain his thousands,
And David his ten thousands.

8] And Saul was very wroth, and this
saying displeased him; and he said,
They have ascribed unto David ten thousands,
and to me they have ascribed but
thousands: and what can he have more
9] but the kingdom? And Saul eyed
David from that day and forward.

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[100] Or, *mighty man.*
[101] Or, *Philistines.*
[102] Or, *triangles.* Or, *three-stringed instruments.*
[103] Or, *answered one another.*

These two accounts of how David came into Saul's service, how he won a decisive victory over the Philistines, how in consequence he became an object of Saul's enmity, differ in all points except the three essential facts that he defeated the Philistines, that he was in Saul's service, and that Saul became jealous of him and sought his death. According to J he went to Saul's court as a musician to charm away by his playing Saul's fits of melancholy. At the time he was already a man of military age. He became Saul's armor-bearer, then a commander, and one of his men killed Goliath. Afterward Saul, in his insanity, turned against him. According to E, David was a shepherd boy who came to camp by chance just in time to volunteer to fight Goliath with his sling. His almost miraculous victory, because of the exaggerated praise given it in popular song, awakened Saul's jealousy and prompted him to seek David's life. In all probability the J story is nearer to the actual facts.

TWO STORIES CONCERNING DAVID'S MARRIAGE TO SAUL'S DAUGHTER

E: *1 Sam.* 18:20–29

1 Sam. 18. 20] And Michal Saul's
daughter loved David: and they told
21] Saul, and the thing pleased him. And
Saul said, I will give him her, that she
may be a snare to him, and that the hand
of the Philistines may be against him.
Wherefore Saul said to David, Thou
shalt this day be my son in law a second
22] time. And Saul commanded his
servants, *saying,* Commune with David
secretly, and say, Behold, the king hath
delight in thee, and all his servants love
thee: now therefore be the king's son in
23] law. And Saul's servants spake those
words in the ears of David. And David
said, Seemeth it to you a light thing to
be the king's son in law, seeing that I am
a poor man, and lightly esteemed?
24] And the servants of Saul told him,
saying, On this manner spake David.
25] And Saul said, Thus shall ye say to
David, The king desireth not any dowry,
but an hundred foreskins of the Philistines, to be avenged of the king's enemies. Now Saul thought to make David
fall by the hand of the Philistines.
26] And when his servants told David
these words, it pleased David well to be
the king's son in law. And the days were
27] not expired; and David arose and
went, he and his men, and slew of the
Philistines two hundred men; and David
brought their foreskins, and they gave
them in full tale to the king, that he
might be the king's son in law. And Saul
gave him Michal his daughter to wife.
28] And Saul saw and knew that the
Lord was with David; and Michal Saul's
29] daughter loved him. And Saul was
yet the more afraid of David; and Saul
was David's enemy continually.

J: *1 Sam.* 18:17–19

1 Sam. 18. 17] And Saul said to David, Behold, my elder daughter Merab,
her will I give thee to wife: only be thou
valiant for me, and fight the Lord's battles. For Saul said, Let not mine hand
be upon him, but let the hand of the
18] Philistines be upon him. And David
said unto Saul, Who am I, and [104] what
is my life, *or* my father's family in Israel, that I should be son in law to the
19] king? But it came to pass at the
time when Merab Saul's daughter should
have been given to David, that she was
given unto Adriel the Meholathite to
wife.

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[104] Or, *who are my kinsfolk.*

Perhaps both of these accounts are historical. That Michal was actually David's wife is asserted by two other passages, one from J and one from E.

DAVID'S ESCAPE, *1 Sam.* 19

1 Sam. 19. And Saul spake to Jonathan
his son, and to all his servants, that
2] they should slay David. But Jonathan
Saul's son delighted much in David.
And Jonathan told David, saying, Saul
my father seeketh to slay thee: now
therefore, I pray thee, take heed to thyself
in the morning, and abide in a secret
3] place, and hide thyself: and I will
go out and stand beside my father in
the field where thou art, and I will commune
with my father of thee; and if
4] I see aught, I will tell thee. And
Jonathan spake good of David unto Saul
his father, and said unto him, Let not
the king sin against his servant, against
David; because he hath not sinned
against thee, and because his works have
been to thee-ward very good: for he put
5] his life in his hand, and smote the
Philistine, and the Lord wrought a great
[105] victory for all Israel: thou sawest
it, and didst rejoice: wherefore then wilt
thou sin against innocent blood, to slay
6] David without a cause? And Saul
hearkened unto the voice of Jonathan:
and Saul sware, As the Lord liveth, he
7] shall not be put to death. And Jonathan
called David, and Jonathan shewed
him all those things. And Jonathan
brought David to Saul, and he was in
his presence, as beforetime.

8] And there was war again: and
David went out, and fought with the
Philistines, and slew them with a great
slaughter; and they fled before him.
9] And [106] an evil spirit from the Lord
was upon Saul, as he sat in his house
with his spear in his hand; and David
10] played with his hand. And Saul
sought to smite David even to the wall
with the spear; but he slipped away out
of Saul's presence, and he smote the
spear into the wall: and David fled, and
11] escaped that night. And Saul sent
messengers unto David's house, to watch
him, and to slay him in the morning: and
Michal David's wife told him, saying,
If thou save not thy life to-night, to-morrow
12] thou shalt be slain. So Michal
let David down through the window:
and he went, and fled, and escaped.
13] And Michal took the teraphim, and
laid it in the bed, and put a [107] pillow of
goats' *hair* at the head thereof, and covered
14] it with the clothes. And when
Saul sent messengers to take David, she
15] said, He is sick. And Saul sent the
messengers to see David, saying, Bring
him up to me in the bed, that I may
16] slay him. And when the messengers
came in, behold, the teraphim was in
the bed, with the [107] pillow of goats'
17] *hair* at the head thereof. And Saul
said unto Michal, Why hast thou deceived
me thus, and let mine enemy go,
that he is escaped? And Michal answered
Saul, He said unto me, Let me go; why
should I kill thee?

18] Now David fled, and escaped, and
came to Samuel to Ramah, and told him
all that Saul had done to him. And he
and Samuel went and dwelt in Naioth.
19] And it was told Saul, saying, Behold,
20] David is at Naioth in Ramah. And
Saul sent messengers to take David: and
when they saw the company of the
prophets prophesying, and Samuel standing
as head over them, the spirit of God
came upon the messengers of Saul, and
21] they also prophesied. And when it
was told Saul, he sent other messengers,
and they also prophesied. And Saul sent
messengers again the third time, and they
22] also prophesied. Then went he also
to Ramah, and came to [108] the great
[109] well that is in Secu: and he asked
and said, Where are Samuel and David?

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[105] Heb. *salvation.*

[106] Or, *the spirit of the* Lord *was evil toward Saul.*

[107] Or, *quilt.* Or, *network.*

[108] The Sept. has, *the well of the threshing-floor that is &c.*

[109] Or, *cistern.*

And one said, Behold, they be at Naioth
23] in Ramah. And he went thither to
Naioth in Ramah: and the spirit of God
came upon him also, and he went on, and
prophesied, until he came to Naioth in
24] Ramah. And he also stripped off his
clothes, and he also prophesied before
Samuel, and [110] lay down naked all that
day and all that night. Wherefore they
say, Is Saul also among the prophets?

DAVID'S FLIGHT, *1 Sam.* 20:1a; 21:1—22:2; *2 Sam.* 23:13–17; *1 Sam.* 22:3–5

1 Sam. 20. And David fled from Naioth
in Ramah,

. . . . . .

21. Then came David to Nob to Ahimelech
the priest: and Ahimelech came to
meet David trembling, and said unto
him, Why art thou alone, and no man
2] with thee? And David said unto Ahimelech
the priest, The king hath commanded
me a business, and hath said
unto me, Let no man know any thing of
the business whereabout I send thee, and
what I have commanded thee: and I
have appointed the young men to such
3] and such a place. Now therefore what
is under thine hand? give me five loaves
of bread in mine hand, or whatsoever
4] there is present. And the priest answered
David, and said, There is no common
bread under mine hand, but there is
holy bread; if only the young men have
5] kept themselves from women. And
David answered the priest, and said unto
him, Of a truth women have been kept
from us about these three days; when
I came out, the vessels of the young men
were holy, [111] though it was but a common
journey; how much more then to-
6] day shall their vessels be holy? So
the priest gave him holy *bread:* for there
was no bread there but the shewbread,
that was taken from before the LORD, to
put hot bread in the day when it was
7] taken away. Now a certain man of the
servants of Saul was there that day, detained
before the LORD; and his name
was Doeg the Edomite, the [112] chiefest
of the herdmen that belonged to Saul.
8] And David said unto Ahimelech, And
is there not here under thine hand spear
or sword? for I have neither brought my
sword nor my weapons with me, because
9] the king's business required haste. And
the priest said, The sword of Goliath the
Philistine, whom thou slewest in the vale
of [113] Elah, behold, it is here wrapped
in a cloth behind the ephod: if thou wilt
take that, take it: for there is no other
save that here. And David said, There is
none like that; give it me.

10] And David arose, and fled that
day for fear of Saul, and went to Achish
11] the king of Gath. And the servants
of Achish said unto him, Is not this
David the king of the land? did they not
sing one to another of him in dances,
saying,

Saul hath slain his thousands,
And David his ten thousands?

12] And David laid up these words in
his heart, and was sore afraid of Achish
13] the king of Gath. And he changed
his behaviour before them, and feigned
himself mad in their hands, and [114] scrabbled
on the doors of the gate, and let his
14] spittle fall down upon his beard. Then
said Achish unto his servants, Lo ye see
the man is mad: wherefore then have ye
15] brought him to me? Do I lack mad
men, that ye have brought this fellow to
play the mad man in my presence? shall
this fellow come into my house?

22. David therefore departed thence,
and escaped to the cave of Adullam: and
when his brethren and all his father's
house heard it, they went down thither
2] to him. And every one that was in
distress, and every one that was in debt,
and every one that was [115] discontented,
gathered themselves unto him; and he
became captain over them: and there
were with him about four hundred men.

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[110] Or, *fell.*

[111] Or, *and it may be used as common* bread; *and especially since today it will be holy in respect of their vessels.*

[112] Or, *mightiest.*

[113] Or, *the terebinth.*

[114] Or, *made marks.*

[115] Heb. *bitter of soul.*

2 Sam. 23. 13] And three of the thirty chief went down, and came to David in the harvest time unto the cave of Adullam; and the troop of the Philistines were encamped in the valley of Rephaim. 14] And David was then in the hold, and the garrison of the Philistines was then 15] in Beth-lehem. And David longed, and said, Oh that one would give me water to drink of the well of Beth-lehem, 16] which is by the gate! And the three mighty men brake through the host of the Philistines, and drew water out of the well of Beth-lehem, that was by the gate, and took it, and brought it to David: but he would not drink thereof, 17] but poured it out unto the LORD. And he said, Be it far from me, O LORD, that I should do this: *shall I drink* the blood of the men that went [116] in jeopardy of their lives? therefore he would not drink it. These things did the three mighty men.

1 Sam. 22. 3] And David went thence to Mizpeh of Moab: and he said unto the king of Moab, Let my father and my mother, I pray thee, come forth, *and be* with you, till I know what God will do 4] for me. And he brought them before the king of Moab: and they dwelt with him all the while that David was in the 5] hold. And the prophet Gad said unto David, Abide not in the hold; depart, and get thee into the land of Judah. Then David departed, and came into the forest of Hereth.

The section of *Samuel* just quoted brings vividly to our view the danger of David's flight, how by a ruse he obtained food and a sword, how his life was in danger in the Philistine city of Gath from which he escaped by feigning madness (insane people were thought to be possessed of a supernatural spirit), and how he hid in the Cave of Adullam in the territory of Judah, to which his kinsmen and all discontented people came, forming a band of outlaws of which David became the captain. Thereupon David took his parents away from Saul's dominions into the territory of Moab for safety, and there put them under the protection of the king of Moab.

DAVID AS AN OUTLAW

The first book of *Samuel,* from the sixth verse of chapter 22 to the thirty-first of chapter 30, is occupied with detailed stories of David's life as an outlaw, Saul's pursuits of him, and various attacks of the Philistines upon the territory of the Hebrews. We have first the vengeance of Saul upon the priests of Nob for having aided David's escape.

SAUL'S VENGEANCE ON THE PRIESTS OF NOB, *1 Sam.* 22:6–23

1 Sam. 22. 6] And Saul heard that David was discovered, and the men that were with him: now Saul was sitting in Gibeah, under the tamarisk tree [117] in Ramah, with his spear in his hand, and all his servants were standing about him. 7] And Saul said unto his servants that stood about him, Hear now ye Benjamites; will the son of Jesse give every one of you fields and vineyards, will he make you all captains of thousands and 8] captains of hundreds; that all of you have conspired against me, and [118] there is none that discloseth to me when my son maketh a league with the son of Jesse, and there is none of you that is

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[116] Heb. *with their lives.*

[117] Or, *on the height.*

[118] Or, *there was none that disclosed it to me when my son made &c.*

sorry for me, or discloseth unto me that
my son hath stirred up my servant against
9] me, to lie in wait, as at this day? Then
answered Doeg the Edomite, which
[119] stood by the servants of Saul, and
said, I saw the son of Jesse coming to
Nob, to Ahimelech the son of Ahitub.
10] And he inquired of the LORD for
him, and gave him victuals, and gave him
the sword of Goliath the Philistine.
11] Then the king sent to call Ahimelech
the priest, the son of Ahitub, and
all his father's house, the priests that
were in Nob: and they came all of them
12] to the king. And Saul said, Hear
now, thou son of Ahitub. And he answered,
13] Here I am, my lord. And
Saul said unto him, Why have ye conspired
against me, thou and the son of
Jesse, in that thou hast given him bread,
and a sword, and hast inquired of God
for him, that he should rise against me,
14] to lie in wait, as at this day? Then
Ahimelech answered the king, and said,
And who among all thy servants is so
faithful as David, which is the king's
son in law, and is taken into thy council,
and is honourable in thine house?
15] Have I to-day begun to inquire of
God for him? be it far from me: let not
the king impute any thing unto his servant,
nor to all the house of my father:
for thy servant knoweth nothing of all
16] this, less or more. And the king said,
Thou shalt surely die, Ahimelech, thou,
17] and all thy father's house. And the
king said unto the [120] guard that stood
about him, Turn, and slay the priests of
the LORD; because their hand also is with
David, and because they knew that he
fled, and did not disclose it to me. But
the servants of the king would not put
forth their hand to fall upon the priests
18] of the LORD. And the king said to
Doeg, Turn thou, and fall upon the
priests. And Doeg the Edomite turned,
and he fell upon the priests, and he slew
on that day fourscore and five persons
19] that did wear a linen ephod. And
Nob, the city of the priests, smote he
with the edge of the sword, both men and
women, children and sucklings, and oxen
and asses and sheep, with the edge of the
20] sword. And one of the sons of Ahimelech
the son of Ahitub, named Abiathar
escaped, and fled after David.
21] And Abiathar told David that Saul
22] had slain the LORD's priests. And
David said unto Abiathar, I knew on that
day, when Doeg the Edomite was there,
that he would surely tell Saul: I have
occasioned *the death* of all the persons
23] of thy father's house. Abide thou
with me, fear not; for he that seeketh
my life seeketh thy life: for with me
thou shalt be in safeguard.

The vengeance of an absolute monarch in a crude age is well illustrated by the preceding story. Probably any government would, however, regard an act like that of Ahimelech as treason and mete out to its doer capital punishment, but only after a regular trial.

DAVID AND THE MEN OF KEILAH

David was now commander of a band of outlaws without visible means of support. There were two ways in which they could live: by stealing from their fellow Hebrews, or by inducing their countrymen to give them food in return for helpful service. David preferred the latter of the two methods. The following story tells how he aided the citizens of Keilah, a town in northwestern Judah, in repelling an attack of the Philistines, how he fled from that town when convinced that its people would deliver him into the hands of Saul, and how Saul pursued him.

[119] Or, *was set over.*

[120] Heb. *runners.*

1 Sam. 23. And they told David, saying,
Behold, the Philistines are fighting
against Keilah, and they rob the threshing-floors.
2] Therefore David inquired
of the LORD, saying, Shall I go and smite
these Philistines? And the LORD said
unto David, Go and smite the Philistines,
3] and save Keilah. And David's
men said unto him, Behold, we be afraid
here in Judah: how much more then if
we go to Keilah against the armies of
4] the Philistines? Then David inquired
of the LORD yet again. And the LORD answered
him and said, Arise, go down to
Keilah; for I will deliver the Philistines
5] into thine hand. And David and his
men went to Keilah, and fought with the
Philistines, and brought away their cattle,
and slew them with a great slaughter.
So David saved the inhabitants of
Keilah.

6] And it came to pass, when Abiathar
the son of Ahimelech fled to David to
Keilah, that he came down with an
7] ephod in his hand. And it was told
Saul that David was come to Keilah.
And Saul said, God hath [121] delivered
him into mine hand; for he is shut in,
by entering into a town that hath gates
8] and bars. And Saul summoned all the
people to war, to go down to Keilah, to
9] besiege David and his men. And David
knew that Saul devised mischief against
him; and he said to Abiathar the priest,
10] Bring hither the ephod. Then said
David, O LORD, the God of Israel, thy
servant hath surely heard that Saul
seeketh to come to Keilah, to destroy the
11] city for my sake. Will the men of
Keilah deliver me up into his hand? will
Saul come down, as thy servant hath
heard? O LORD, the God of Israel, I
beseech thee, tell thy servant. And the
12] LORD said, He will come down. Then
said David, Will the men of Keilah deliver
up me and my men into the hand
of Saul? And the LORD said, They will
13] deliver thee up. Then David and his
men, which were about six hundred,
arose and departed out of Keilah, and
went whithersoever they could go. And
it was told Saul that David was escaped
from Keilah; and he forbare to go forth.

14] And David abode in the wilderness
in the strong holds, and remained in the
hill country in the wilderness of Ziph.
And Saul sought him every day, but God
15] delivered him not into his hand. And
David saw that Saul was come out to
seek his life: and David was in the
wilderness of Ziph in [122] the wood.
16] And Jonathan Saul's son arose, and
went to David into [122] the wood, and
17] strengthened his hand in God. And
he said unto him, Fear not: for the hand
of Saul my father shall not find thee;
and thou shalt be king over Israel, and
I shall be next unto thee; and that also
18] Saul my father knoweth. And they
two made a covenant before the LORD:
and David abode in [122] the wood, and
Jonathan went to his house.

THE ATTEMPT OF THE ZIPHITES TO BETRAY DAVID

One of the most interesting stories of David's outlaw life consists of the accounts of how the men of Ziph, a town on the edge of the Judean highlands about an hour and a half southeast of Hebron, betrayed David's whereabouts to Saul, how Saul ranged the region in pursuit of David, and how David spared Saul when the king was in his power. This was one of the most popular stories of David's outlaw life. Two accounts of it are woven into the text of *Samuel*. They are as follows:

THE YOUNGER (E) STORY, *1 Sam.* 23:19—24:22

19] Then came up the Ziphites to Saul to Gibeah, saying, Doth not David hide

THE OLDER (J) STORY, *1 Sam.* 26:1–25

26. And the Ziphites came unto Saul to Gibeah, saying, Doth not David hide

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[121] Heb. *alienated him*. The Sept. has, *sold*.

[122] Or, *Horesh*.

himself with us in the strong holds in
[123] the wood, in the hill of Hachilah,
which is on the south of [124] the desert?
20] Now therefore, O king, come down,
according to all the desire of thy soul to
come down; and our part shall be to deliver
21] him up into the king's hand. And
Saul said, Blessed be ye of the LORD;
for ye have had compassion on me.
22] Go, I pray you, make yet more sure,
and know and see his place where his
[125] haunt is, *and* who hath seen him
there: for it is told me that he dealeth
23] very subtilly. See therefore, and take
knowledge of all the lurking places where
he hideth himself, and come ye again to
me [126] of a certainty, and I will go with
you: and it shall come to pass, if he be
in the land, that I will search him out
among all the [127] thousands of Judah.
24] And they arose, and went to Ziph
before Saul: but David and his men
were in the wilderness of Maon, in the
[128] Arabah on the south of [124] the desert.
25] And Saul and his men went to seek
him. And they told David: wherefore he
came down to the rock, and abode in the
wilderness of Maon. And when Saul
heard *that,* he pursued after David in the
26] wilderness of Maon. And Saul went
on this side of the mountain, and David
and his men on that side of the mountain:
and David made haste to get away
for fear of Saul; for Saul and his men
compassed David and his men round
27] about to take them. But there came
a messenger unto Saul, saying, Haste
thee, and come; for the Philistines have
28] made a raid upon the land. So
Saul returned from pursuing after
David, and went against the Philistines:
therefore they called that place [129] Selahammahlekoth.
29] And David went up
from thence, and dwelt in the strong
holds of En-gedi.

24. And it came to pass, when Saul
was returned from following the Philistines,
that it was told him, saying, Behold,
David is in the wilderness of En-
himself in the hill of Hachilah, which is
2] before [130] the desert? Then Saul arose,
and went down to the wilderness of
Ziph, having three thousand chosen men
of Israel with him, to seek David in the
3] wilderness of Ziph. And Saul pitched
in the hill of Hachilah, which is before
the desert, by the way. But David abode
in the wilderness, and he saw that Saul
came after him into the wilderness.
4] David therefore sent out spies, and
understood that Saul was come [131] of
5] a certainty. And David arose, and
came to the place where Saul had
pitched: and David beheld the place
where Saul lay, and Abner the son of
Ner, the captain of his host: and Saul
lay within the [132] place of the wagons,
and the people pitched round about him.
6] Then answered David and said to
Ahimelech the Hittite, and to Abishai the
son of Zeruiah, brother to Joab, saying,
Who will go down with me to Saul to
the camp? And Abishai said, I will go
7] down with thee. So David and Abishai
came to the people by night: and, behold,
Saul lay sleeping within the
[132] place of the wagons, with his spear
stuck in the ground at his head: and
Abner and the people lay round about
8] him. Then said Abishai to David,
God hath delivered up thine enemy into
thine hand this day: now therefore let
me smite him, I pray thee, with the spear
to the earth at one stroke, and I will not
9] smite him the second time. And
David said to Abishai, Destroy him not:
for who can put forth his hand against
10] the LORD's anointed, and be guiltless?
And David said, As the LORD
liveth, the LORD shall smite him; [133] or
his day shall come to die; or he shall go
11] down into battle, and perish. The
LORD forbid that I should put forth
mine hand against the LORD's anointed:
but now take, I pray thee, the spear
that is at his head, and the cruse
12] of water, and let us go. So David
took the spear and the cruse of water

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[123] Or, *Horesh.*
[124] Or, *Jeshimon.*
[125] Heb. *foot.*
[126] Or, *with the certainty.* Or, *to a set place.*
[127] Or, *families.*
[128] See *Deut.* 1: 1.
[129] That is, *The rock of divisions* or *escape.* [Ch. 24: 1 in Heb.]
[130] Or, *Jeshimon.* See ch. 23: 19.
[131] Or, *to a set place.* See ch. 23: 23.
[132] Or, *barricade.*
[133] Or, *either.*

2] gedi. Then Saul took three thousand
chosen men out of all Israel, and went to
seek David and his men upon the rocks
3] of the wild goats. And he came to the
sheepcotes by the way, where was a
cave; and Saul went in to cover his feet.
Now David and his men were [134] abiding
in the innermost parts of the cave.
4] And the men of David said unto him,
Behold, the day of which the Lord said
unto thee, Behold, I will deliver thine
enemy into thine hand, and thou shalt do
to him as it shall seem good unto thee.
Then David arose, and cut off the skirt
5] of Saul's robe privily. And it came to
pass afterward, that David's heart smote
him, because he had cut off Saul's skirt.
6] And he said unto his men, The Lord
forbid that I should do this thing unto
my lord, the Lord's anointed, to put forth
mine hand against him, seeing he is the
7] Lord's anointed. So David checked
his men with these words, and suffered
them not to rise against Saul. And Saul
rose up out of the cave, and went on his
8] way. David also arose afterward, and
went out of the cave, and cried after
Saul, saying, My lord the king. And
when Saul looked behind him, David
bowed with his face to the earth, and did
9] obeisance. And David said to Saul,
Wherefore hearkenest thou to men's
words, saying, Behold, David seeketh
10] thy hurt? Behold, this day thine eyes
have seen how that the Lord had delivered
thee to-day into mine hand in
the cave: and some bade me kill thee:
but *mine eye* spared thee; and I said, I
will not put forth mine hand against my
lord; for he is the Lord's anointed.
11] Moreover, my father, see, yea, see
the skirt of thy robe in my hand: for
in that I cut off the skirt of thy robe,
and killed thee not, know thou and see
that there is neither evil nor transgression
in mine hand, and I have not sinned
against thee, though thou [135] huntest
12] after my soul to take it. The Lord
judge between me and thee, and the
Lord avenge me of thee: but mine hand
13] shall not be upon thee. As saith the
from Saul's head; and they gat them
away, and no man saw it, nor knew it,
neither did any awake: for they were
all asleep; because a deep sleep from
13] the Lord was fallen upon them. Then
David went over to the other side, and
stood on the top of the mountain afar
off; a great space being between them:
14] and David cried to the people, and
to Abner the son of Ner, saying, Answerest
thou not, Abner? Then Abner
answered and said, Who art thou that
15] criest to the king? And David said
to Abner, Art not thou a *valiant* man?
and who is like to thee in Israel? wherefore
then hast thou not kept watch over
thy lord the king? for there came one
of the people in to destroy the king
16] thy lord. This thing is not good
that thou hast done. As the Lord liveth,
ye are [136] worthy to die, because ye
have not kept watch over your lord,
the Lord's anointed. And now, see,
where the king's spear is, and the cruse
17] of water that was at his head. And
Saul knew David's voice, and said, Is
this thy voice, my son David? And David
said, It is my voice, my lord, O king.
18] And he said, Wherefore doth my
lord pursue after his servant? for what
have I done? or what evil is in mine
19] hand? Now therefore, I pray thee,
let my lord the king hear the words of
his servant. If it be the Lord that hath
stirred thee up against me, let him [137] accept
an offering: but if it be the children
of men, cursed be they before the Lord;
for they have driven me out this day
that I should [138] not cleave unto the inheritance
of the Lord, saying, Go, serve
20] other gods. Now therefore, let not
my blood fall to the earth away from
the presence of the Lord: for the king of
Israel is come out to seek [139] a flea, as
when one doth hunt a partridge in the
21] mountains. Then said Saul, I have
sinned: return, my son David: for I
will no more do thee harm, because my
life was precious in thine eyes this day:
behold, I have played the fool, and have
22] erred exceedingly. And David an-

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[134] Or, *sitting.*
[135] Or, *layest wait for.*
[136] Heb. *sons of death.*
[137] Heb. *smell.*
[138] Or, *have no share in.*
[139] The Sept. has, *my life.*

proverb of the ancients, Out of the
wicked cometh forth wickedness: but
mine hand shall not be upon thee.
14] After whom is the king of Israel
come out? after whom dost thou pursue?
15] after a dead dog, after a flea. The
Lord therefore be judge, and give sentence
between me and thee, and see, and
plead my cause, and [140] deliver me out of
16] thine hand. And it came to pass,
when David had made an end of speaking
these words unto Saul, that Saul said,
Is this thy voice, my son David? And
Saul lifted up his voice and wept.
17] And he said to David, Thou art
more righteous than I: for thou hast rendered
unto me good, whereas I have rendered
18] unto thee evil. And thou hast
declared this day how that thou hast
dealt well with me: forasmuch as when
the Lord had delivered me up into thine
19] hand, thou killedst me not. For if a
man find his enemy, will he let him go
well away? wherefore the Lord reward
thee good for that thou hast done unto
20] me this day. And now, behold, I
know that thou shalt surely be king, and

swered and said, Behold [141] the spear, O
king! let then one of the young men
23] come over and fetch it. And the
Lord shall render to every man his
righteousness and his faithfulness: forasmuch
as the Lord delivered thee into
my hand to-day, and I would not put
forth mine hand against the Lord's
24] anointed. And, behold, and thy life
was much set by this day in mine eyes,
so let my life be much set by in the eyes
of the Lord, and let him deliver me out
25] of all tribulation. Then Saul said to
David, Blessed be thou, my son David:
thou shalt both do mightily, and shalt
surely prevail. So David went his way,
and Saul returned to his place.

that the kingdom of Israel shall be established
21] in thine hand. Swear now
therefore unto me by the Lord, that thou
wilt not cut off my seed after me, and
that thou wilt not destroy my name out
22] of my father's house. And David
sware unto Saul. And Saul went home;
but David and his men gat them up unto
the hold.

While these two accounts differ as to the exact circumstances by which Saul came into David's power, they agree in the fact that he did, that David spared his life, and that Saul was thereby shamed into abandoning for the time his attempt to capture David.

DAVID WINTERS AT CARMEL IN JUDAH

About three quarters of an hour southwest of Ziph in the highlands of southern Judah are some broad fertile fields of great extent where in ancient times stood a village called Carmel, or "The Garden of God." It is one of the most fertile spots in Judah. Here lived a rich man whom the Bible names Nabal, or "Fool." Near his fields David and his men camped all winter. It should be remembered that in Palestine the crops grow in the winter. During these months the outlaws did no harm, but, when harvest came at the beginning of summer, David demanded a part of Nabal's crops as a reward for not having molested him! When Nabal refused, David threatened vengeance, but was dissuaded by a present from Nabal's wife, Abigail. A little later Nabal sickened and died, and David married Abigail. The vivid Biblical narrative of this is as follows:

1 Sam. 25. And Samuel died; and all Israel gathered themselves together, and lamented him, and buried him in his house at Ramah. And David arose, and

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[140] Heb. *give sentence for me.*

[141] Another reading is, *the king's spear.*

went down to the wilderness of Paran.
2] And there was a man in Maon,
whose [142] possessions were in Carmel;
and the man was very great, and he had
three thousand sheep, and a thousand
goats: and he was shearing his sheep in
3] Carmel. Now the name of the man
was Nabal; and the name of his wife
Abigail: and the woman was of good
understanding, and of a beautiful countenance:
but the man was churlish and
evil in his doings; and he was of the
4] house of Caleb. And David heard in
the wilderness that Nabal did shear his
5] sheep. And David sent ten young men,
and David said unto the young men, Get
you up to Carmel, and go to Nabal, and
6] greet him in my name: and [143] thus
shall ye say [144] to him that liveth *in
prosperity*, Peace be both unto thee, and
peace be to thine house, and peace be
7] unto all that thou hast. And now I
have heard that thou hast shearers: thy
shepherds have now been with us, and
we [145] did them no hurt, neither was
there aught missing unto them, all the
8] while they were in Carmel. Ask thy
young men, and they will tell thee:
wherefore let the young men find favour
in thine eyes; for we come in a good day:
give, I pray thee, whatsoever cometh to
thine hand, unto thy servants, and to
9] thy son David. And when David's
young men came, they spake to Nabal
according to all those words in the name
10] of David, and [146] ceased. And Nabal
answered David's servants, and said,
Who is David? and who is the son of
Jesse? there be many servants now a
days that break away every man from
11] his master. Shall I then take my
bread, and my water, and my [147] flesh
that I have killed for my shearers, and
give it unto men of whom I know not
12] whence they be? So David's young
men turned on their way, and went back,
and came and told him according to all
13] these words. And David said unto
his men, Gird ye on every man his sword.
And they girded on every man his sword;
and David also girded on his sword: and
there went up after David about four
hundred men; and two hundred abode
14] by the stuff. But one of the young
men told Abigail, Nabal's wife, saying,
Behold, David sent messengers out of
the wilderness to [148] salute our master;
15] and he [149] flew upon them. But the
men were very good unto us, and we
were not [150] hurt, neither missed we any
thing, as long as we were conversant
with them, when we were in the fields:
16] they were a wall unto us both by
night and by day, all the while we were
17] with them keeping the sheep. Now
therefore know and consider what thou
wilt do; for evil is determined against
our master, and against all his house:
for he is such a [151] son of [152] Belial, that
18] one cannot speak to him. Then Abigail
made haste, and took two hundred
loaves, and two [153] bottles of wine, and
five sheep ready dressed, and five measures
of parched corn, and an hundred
clusters of raisins, and two hundred
cakes of figs, and laid them on asses.
19] And she said unto her young men,
Go on before me; behold, I come after
you. But she told not her husband Nabal.
20] And it was so, as she rode on her
ass, and came down by the covert of the
mountain, that, behold, David and his
men came down against her; and she
21] met them. Now David had said,
Surely in vain have I kept all that this
fellow hath in the wilderness, so that
nothing was missed of all that pertained
unto him: and he hath returned me evil
22] for good. God do so [154] unto the enemies
of David, and more also, if I
leave of all that pertain to him by the
morning light [155] so much as one man
23] child. And when Abigail saw David,
she hasted, and lighted off her ass, and

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[142] Or, *business was.*
[143] Or, *thus shall ye say, All hail! and peace be unto thee &c.*
[144] The Vulgate has, *to my brethren.*
[145] Heb. *put them not to shame.*
[146] Or, *remained quiet.*
[147] Heb. *slaughter.*
[148] Heb. *bless.*
[149] Or, *railed on.*
[150] Heb. *put to shame.*
[151] Or, *base fellow.*
[152] That is, *worthlessness.*
[153] Or, *skins.*
[154] The Sept. has, *unto David.*
[155] Heb. *any that pisseth against the wall.*

fell before David on her face, and bowed
24] herself to the ground. And she fell
at his feet, and said, Upon me, my lord,
upon me be the iniquity: and let thine
handmaid, I pray thee, speak in thine
ears, and hear thou the words of thine
25] handmaid. Let not my lord, I pray
thee, regard this [151] man of [152] Belial,
even Nabal: for as his name is, so is he;
[156] Nabal is his name, and folly is with
him: but I thine handmaid saw not the
young men of my lord, whom thou didst
26] send. Now therefore, my lord, as the
Lord liveth, and as thy soul liveth, seeing
the Lord hath withholden thee [157] from
bloodguiltiness, and from [158] avenging
thyself with thine own hand, now therefore
let thine enemies, and them that seek
27] evil to my lord, be as Nabal. And
now this [159] present which thy servant
hath brought unto my lord, let it be given
unto the young men that follow my lord.
28] Forgive, I pray thee, the trespass of
thine handmaid: for the Lord will certainly
make my lord a sure house, because
my lord fighteth the battles of the
Lord; and evil shall not be found in thee
29] all thy days. And though man be
risen up to pursue thee, and to seek thy
soul, yet the soul of my lord shall be
bound in the bundle of [160] life with the
Lord thy God; and the souls of thine
enemies, them shall he sling out, as from
30] the hollow of a sling. And it shall
come to pass, when the Lord shall have
done to my lord according to all the
good that he hath spoken concerning thee,
and shall have appointed thee prince over
31] Israel; that this shall be no [161] grief
unto thee, nor offence of heart unto my
lord, [162] either that thou hast shed blood
causeless, or that my lord hath avenged
himself: and when the Lord shall have
dealt well with my lord, then remember
32] thine handmaid. And David said to
Abigail, Blessed be the Lord, the God
of Israel, which sent thee this day to
33] meet me: and blessed be thy [163] wisdom,
and blessed be thou, which hast
kept me this day from bloodguiltiness,
and from avenging myself with mine own
34] hand. For in very deed, as the Lord,
the God of Israel, liveth, which hath
withholden me from hurting thee, except
thou hadst hasted and come to meet
me, surely there had not been left unto
Nabal by the morning light so much as
35] one man child. So David received of
her hand that which she had brought
him: and he said unto her, Go up in peace
to thine house; see, I have hearkened to
thy voice, and have accepted thy person.
36] And Abigail came to Nabal; and,
behold, he held a feast in his house, like
the feast of a king; and Nabal's heart
was merry within him, for he was very
drunken: wherefore she told him nothing,
less or more, until the morning light.
37] And it came to pass in the morning,
when the wine was gone out of Nabal,
that his wife told him these things, and
his heart died within him, and he became
38] as a stone. And it came to pass about
ten days after, that the Lord smote
39] Nabal, that he died. And when David
heard that Nabal was dead, he said,
Blessed be the Lord, that hath pleaded
the cause of my reproach from the hand
of Nabal, and hath kept back his servant
from evil: and the evil-doing of
Nabal hath the Lord returned upon his
own head. And David sent and [164] spake
concerning Abigail, to take her to him
40] to wife. And when the servants of
David were come to Abigail to Carmel,
they spake unto her, saying, David hath
sent us unto thee, to take thee to him to
41] wife. And she arose, and bowed
herself with her face to the earth, and
said, Behold, thine handmaid is a servant
to wash the feet of the servants of
42] my lord. And Abigail hasted, and
arose, and rode upon an ass, with five
damsels of hers that followed her; and
she went after the messengers of David,
43] and became his wife. David also

[156] That is, *Fool.*
[157] Heb. *from coming into blood.*
[158] Heb. *thine own hand saving thee.*
[159] Heb. *blessing.*
[160] Or, *the living.*
[161] Heb. cause of *staggering.*
[162] Or, *so that thou shouldest shed &c.*
[163] Or, *discretion.*
[164] See *Cant.* 8: 8.

took Ahinoam of Jezreel; and they be-
44] came both of them his wives. Now
Saul had given Michal his daughter,
David's wife, to [165] Palti the son of
Laish, which was of Gallim.

DAVID IN THE SERVICE OF ACHISH, KING OF GATH

David, concluding that he could not always hope to escape the hand of Saul, fled the country, and entered the service of Achish, king of Gath, a Philistine. Achish, not liking to have a Hebrew too near his person, assigned David a residence in Ziklag, a Philistine city to the west of the south part of the territory of Judah. He was supposed to harass the Hebrews in the interest of the Philistines, but in reality time after time he raided and massacred ancient enemies of Israel, leaving not a soul to tell the tale, and sent large quantities of the booty obtained in these raids as presents to various Judean cities. It was a proceeding morally indefensible from our modern point of view, but the moral sense of David's time had not developed beyond this. Indeed, in modern warfare, in spite of knowing better, national leaders still do similar things. This procedure made David very popular in the cities of southern Judah. The account of it is as follows:

1 Sam. 27. And David said in his heart,
I shall now perish one day by the hand
of Saul: there is nothing better for me
than that I should escape into the land of
the Philistines; and Saul shall despair
of me, to seek me any more in all the
borders of Israel: so shall I escape out
2] of his land. And David arose, and
passed over, he and the six hundred men
that were with him, unto Achish the son
3] of Maoch, king of Gath. And David
dwelt with Achish at Gath, he and his
men, every man with his household, even
David with his two wives, Ahinoam the
Jezreelitess, and Abigail the Carmelitess,
4] Nabal's wife. And it was told Saul
that David was fled to Gath: and he
sought no more again for him.

5] And David said unto Achish, If now
I have found grace in thine eyes, let
them give me a place in one of the cities
in the [166] country, that I may dwell there:
for why should thy servant dwell in the
6] royal city with thee? Then Achish
gave him Ziklag that day; wherefore
Ziklag pertaineth unto the kings of
Judah unto this day.

7] And the number of the days that
David dwelt in the [166] country of the
Philistines was a full year and four
8] months. And David and his men went
up, and made a raid upon the Geshurites,
and the [167] Girzites, and the Amalekites:
for those *nations* were the inhabitants
of the land, [168] which were of old, as
thou goest to Shur, even unto the land
9] of Egypt. And David smote the land,
and saved neither man nor woman alive,
and took away the sheep, and the oxen,
and the asses, and the camels, and the
apparel; and he returned, and came to
10] Achish. And Achish said, [169] Whither
have ye made a raid to-day? And David
said, Against the South of Judah, and
against the South of the Jerah-meelites,
and against the South of the Kenites.
11] And David saved neither man nor
woman alive, to bring them to Gath, saying, Lest they should tell on us, saying,
So did David, and so hath been his

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[165] In *2 Sam.* 3: 15. *Paltiel.*

[166] Heb. *field.*

[167] Another reading is, *Gizrites.*

[168] Some copies of the Sept. have, *from Telam.*

[169] So some ancient authorities. Other read, *Against whom.*

manner all the while he hath dwelt in
12] the [166] country of the Philistines.
And Achish believed David, saying, He
hath made his people Israel utterly to
abhor him; therefore he shall be my
servant for ever.

30. And it came to pass, when David
and his men were come to Ziklag on the
third day, that the Amalekites had made
a raid upon the South, and upon Ziklag,
and had smitten Ziklag, and burned it
2] with fire; and had taken captive the
women *and all* that were therein, both
small and great: they slew not any, but
carried them off, and went their way.
3] And when David and his men came
to the city, behold, it was burned with
fire; and their wives, and their sons, and
their daughters, were taken captives.
4] Then David and the people that were
with him lifted up their voice and wept,
until they had no more power to weep.
5] And David's two wives were taken
captives, Ahinoam the Jezreelitess, and
Abigail the wife of Nabal the Carmelite.
6] And David was greatly distressed;
for the people spake of stoning him, because
the soul of all the people was
grieved, every man for his sons and for
his daughters: but David strengthened
himself in the LORD his God.

7] And David said to Abiathar the
priest, the son of Ahimelech, I pray thee,
bring me hither the ephod. And Abiathar
brought thither the ephod to David.
8] And David inquired of the LORD, saying,
[170] If I pursue after this troop, shall
I overtake them? And he answered him,
Pursue: for thou shalt surely overtake
them, and shalt without fail recover *all*.
9] So David went, he and the six hundred
men that were with him, and came
to the brook Besor, where those that
10] were left behind stayed. But David
pursued, he and four hundred men: for
two hundred stayed behind, which were
so faint that they could not go over the
11] brook Besor: and they found an
Egyptian in the field, and brought him
to David, and gave him bread, and he did
eat; and they gave him water to drink:
12] and they gave him a piece of a cake
of figs, and two clusters of raisins; and
when he had eaten, his spirit came again
to him: for he had eaten no bread, nor
drunk any water, three days and three
13] nights. And David said unto him,
To whom belongest thou? and whence
art thou? And he said, I am a young
man of Egypt, servant to an Amalekite;
and my master left me because three
14] days agone I fell sick. We made a
raid upon the South of the Cherethites,
and upon that which belongeth to Judah,
and upon the South of Caleb; and we
15] burned Ziklag with fire. And David
said to him, Wilt thou bring me down
to this troop? And he said, Swear unto
me by God, that thou wilt neither kill
me, nor deliver me up into the hands of
my master, and I will bring thee down
16] to this troop. And when he had
brought him down, behold, they were
spread abroad over all the ground, eating
and drinking, and feasting, [171] because
of all the great spoil that they had
taken out of the land of the Philistines,
17] and out of the land of Judah. And
David smote them from the twilight
even unto the evening of the next day:
and there escaped not a man of them,
save four hundred young men, which
18] rode upon camels and fled. And
David recovered all that the Amalekites
had taken: and David rescued his two
19] wives. And there was nothing lacking
to them, neither small nor great,
neither sons nor daughters, neither spoil,
nor any thing that they had taken to
20] them: David brought back all. And
David took all the flocks and the herds,
which they drave before those *other*
cattle, and said, This is David's spoil.
21] And David came to the two hundred
men, which were so faint that they could
not follow David, whom also they had
made to abide at the brook Besor: and
they went forth to meet David, and to
meet the people that were with him: and
when David came near [172] to the people,
22] he [173] saluted them. Then answered
all the wicked men and [174] men of

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[170] Or, *Shall I pursue.*
[171] Or, *amidst.*
[172] Or, *with.*
[173] Or, *asked them their welfare.*
[174] Or, *base fellows.*

[175] Belial, of those that went with David,
and said, Because they went not with us,
we will not give them aught of the spoil
that we have recovered, save to every
man his wife and his children, that they
may lead them away, and depart.
23] Then said David, Ye shall not do so,
my brethren, with that which the Lord
hath given unto us, who hath preserved
us, and delivered the troop that came
24] against us into our hand. And who
will hearken unto you in this matter?
for as his share is that goeth down to
the battle, so shall his share be that tarrieth
by the stuff: they shall share alike.
25] And it was so from that day forward,
that he made it a statue and an
ordinance for Israel, unto this day.

26] And when David came to Ziklag,
he sent of the spoil unto the elders of
Judah, even to his friends, saying, Behold
a [176] present for you of the spoil
27] of the enemies of the Lord; to them
which were in Beth-el, and to them which
were in Ramoth of the South, and to
28] them which were in Jattir; and to
them which were in Aroer, and to them
which were in Siphmoth, and to them
29] which were in Eshtemoa; and to
them which were in Racal, and to them
which were in the cities of the Jerahmeelites,
and to them which were in the
30] cities of the Kenites; and to them
which were in Hormah, and to them
which were in [177] Cor-ashan, and to
31] them which were in Athach; and to
them which were in Hebron, and to all
the places where David himself and
his men were wont to haunt.

SAUL'S LAST WAR WITH THE PHILISTINES AND HIS DEATH

While David had been building up political popularity in his own tribe of Judah, the Philistines had invaded the great Plain of Jezreel, captured the city of Bethshean at its eastern end, and Saul had entered his last deadly struggle with them. Saul led his army against them and took a strong position on Mount Gilboa on the south side of the Plain of Jezreel at its eastern end opposite Bethshean. In those days every one was anxious to know the future and thought there were ways of ascertaining what was going to happen. One of the ways of ascertaining it most popular among the Hebrews was casting lots; the instrument for doing this was a sacred contrivance of some sort called sometimes the "Urim" and sometimes an "ephod." (Perhaps these names belonged to different instruments, but, at any rate, both were used for casting lots.) Saul, anxious as to the issue of the battle on account of the numbers of the Philistines, sought some indication from God as to its issue, but received no answer either by the Urim or by a prophet. He therefore determined to seek out what in modern times we should call a medium, who could call up the spirit of Samuel, who had died a while before, as noted in *1 Samuel* 25:1, and inquire of her. The story of this fills most of *1 Samuel* 28. It is as follows:

1 Sam. 28. And it came to pass in those
days, that the Philistines gathered their
[178] hosts together for warfare, to fight
with Israel. And Achish said unto David,
Know thou assuredly, that thou shalt
go out with me in the host, thou and thy
2] men. And David said to Achish,
Therefore thou shalt know what thy
servant will do. And Achish said to
David, Therefore will I make thee
keeper of mine head for ever.

3] Now Samuel was dead, and all

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[175] That is, *worthlessness.*

[176] Heb. *blessing.*

[177] According to many MSS. and versions, *Borashan.*

[178] Heb. *camps.*

Israel had lamented him, and buried
him in Ramah, even in his own city. And
Saul had put away those that had
familiar spirits, and the wizards out of
4] the land. And the Philistines gathered
themselves together, and came and
pitched in Shunem: and Saul gathered
all Israel together, and they pitched in
5] Gilboa. And when Saul saw the host
of the Philistines, he was afraid, and his
6] heart trembled greatly. And when
Saul inquired of the LORD, the LORD answered
him not, neither by dreams, nor
7] by Urim, nor by prophets. Then said
Saul unto his servants, Seek me a woman
that hath a familiar spirit, that I may
go to her, and inquire of her. And his
servants said to him, Behold, there is a
woman that hath a familiar spirit at Endor.
8] And Saul disguised himself, and
put on other raiment, and went, he and
two men with him, and they came to the
woman by night: and he said, Divine
unto me, I pray thee, by the familiar
spirit, and bring me up whomsoever I
9] shall name unto thee. And the woman
said unto him, Behold, thou knowest
what Saul hath done, how he hath cut
off those that have familiar spirits, and
the wizards, out of the land: wherefore
then layest thou a snare for my life, to
10] cause me to die? And Saul sware to
her by the LORD, saying, As the LORD
liveth, there shall no [179] punishment happen
11] to thee for this thing. Then said
the woman, Whom shall I bring up unto
thee? And he said, Bring me up Samuel.
12] And when the woman saw Samuel,
she cried with a loud voice: and the
woman spake to Saul, saying, Why hast
thou deceived me? for thou art Saul.
13] And the king said unto her, Be not
afraid: for what seest thou? And the
woman said unto Saul, I see [180] a god
14] coming up out of the earth. And he
said unto her, What form is he of? And
she said, An old man cometh up; and he
is covered with a robe. And Saul perceived
that it was Samuel, and he bowed
with his face to the ground, and did
15] obeisance. And Samuel said to Saul,
Why hast thou disquieted me, to bring
me up? And Saul answered, I am sore
distressed; for the Philistines make war
against me, and God is departed from
me, and answereth me no more, neither
by prophets, nor by dreams: therefore I
have called thee, that thou mayest make
16] known unto me what I shall do. And
Samuel said, Wherefore then dost thou
ask of me, seeing the LORD is departed
from thee, and [181] is become thine adversary?
17] And the LORD hath
[182] wrought for himself, as he spake by
me: and the LORD hath rent the kingdom
out of thine hand, and given it to thy
18] neighbour, even to David. Because
thou obeyedst not the voice of the LORD,
and didst not execute his fierce wrath
upon Amalek, therefore hath the LORD
done this thing unto thee this day.
19] Moreover the LORD will deliver Israel
also with thee into the hand of the
Philistines: and to-morrow shalt thou
and thy sons be with me: the LORD shall
deliver the host of Israel also into the
20] hand of the Philistines. Then Saul
fell straightway his full length upon the
earth, and was sore afraid, because of
the words of Samuel: and there was no
strength in him; for he had eaten no
bread all the day, nor all the night.
21] And the woman came unto Saul,
and saw that he was sore troubled, and
said unto him, Behold, thine handmaid
hath hearkened unto thy voice, and I
have put my life in my hand, and have
hearkened unto thy words which thou
22] spakest unto me. Now therefore, I
pray thee, hearken thou also unto the
voice of thine handmaid, and let me set
a morsel of bread before thee; and eat,
that thou mayest have strength, when
23] thou goest on thy way. But he refused,
and said, I will not eat. But his
servants, together with the woman, constrained
him; and he hearkened unto
their voice. So he arose from the earth,
24] and sat upon the bed. And the woman
had a fatted calf in the house; and she

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[179] Or, *guilt come upon thee.*

[180] Or, *gods.*

[181] The Sept. has, *is on the side of thy neighbour.*

[182] Or, *done unto him.* Some ancient authorities read, *done unto thee.*

hasted, and killed it; and she took flour,
and kneaded it, and did bake unleavened
25] bread thereof: and she brought it
before Saul, and before his servants; and
they did eat. Then they rose up, and went
away that night.

The interview thus described was most disheartening and left Saul still more depressed.

At the beginning of *1 Samuel* 28 we are told that Achish, king of Gath, who as a member of the league of Philistine kings, was bound to go to the Plain of Jezreel to fight Saul, asked David, who was in his service, whether he would go with him to fight against the Hebrews. The story of the conversations of Achish and David on this subject is continued in *1 Samuel* 29 thus:

1 Sam. 29. Now the Philistines gathered
together all their hosts to Aphek:
and the Israelites pitched by the fountain
2] which is in Jezreel. And the lords
of the Philistines passed on by hundreds,
and by thousands: and David and his
men passed on in the rearward with
3] Achish. Then said the princes of the
Philistines, What *do* these Hebrews
here? And Achish said unto the princes
of the Philistines, Is not this David, the
servant of Saul the king of Israel,
which hath been with me these days or
these years, and I have found no fault in
him since he fell away *unto me* unto this
4] day? But the princes of the Philistines
were wroth with him; and the
princes of the Philistines said unto him,
Make the man return, that he may go
back to his place where thou hast appointed
him, and let him not go down
with us to battle, lest in the battle he become
an adversary to us: for wherewith
should this *fellow* reconcile himself unto
his lord? should it not be with the heads
5] of these men? Is not this David, of
whom they sang one to another in dances,
saying,

Saul hath slain his thousands,
And David his ten thousands?

6] Then Achish called David, and said
unto him, As the LORD liveth, thou hast
been upright, and thy going out and thy
coming in with me in the host is good in
my sight: for I have not found evil in
thee since the day of thy coming unto
me unto this day: nevertheless the lords
7] favour thee not. Wherefore now return,
and go in peace, that thou displease
8] not the lords of the Philistines. And
David said unto Achish, But what have
I done? and what hast thou found in thy
servant so long as I have been before thee
unto this day, that I may not go and
fight against the enemies of my lord the
9] king? And Achish answered and said
to David, I know that thou art good in
my sight, as an angel of God: notwithstanding
the princes of the Philistines
have said, He shall not go up with us to
10] the battle. Wherefore now rise up
early in the morning with the servants of
thy lord that are come with thee: and
as soon as ye be up early in the morning,
11] and have light, depart. So David rose
up early, he and his men, to depart in
the morning, to return into the land of
the Philistines. And the Philistines went
up to Jezreel.

David was placed in a difficult position. Had he refused to join the Philistine army, he would have had to fight the army of Achish; on the other hand, to fight against his own king was treason. It is probable that, if Achish had let him go on to the war, he would have deserted in the battle and joined the Hebrew forces. That, however, would have been treachery to those who had given him asylum from the wrath of his own insane sovereign. The suspicion of the Philistines, by which he was forced to turn back, saved him from an awkward situation.

1 Samuel closes with an account of the battle of Gilboa, in which the Philistines were victorious and Saul lost his life. It is as follows:

1 Sam. 31. [183] Now the Philistines
fought against Israel: and the men of Israel
fled from before the Philistines, and
2] fell down [184] slain in mount Gilboa.
And the Philistines followed hard upon
Saul and upon his sons; and the Philistines
slew Jonathan, and [185] Abinadab,
3] and Malchi-shua, the sons of Saul.
And the battle went sore against Saul,
and the archers overtook him; and he was
greatly distressed by reason of the archers.
4] Then said Saul to his armourbearer,
Draw thy sword, and thrust me
through therewith; lest these uncircumcised
come and thrust me through, and
[186] abuse me. But his armourbearer
would not; for he was sore afraid.
Therefore Saul took his sword, and fell
5] upon it. And when his armourbearer
saw that Saul was dead, he likewise fell
6] upon his sword, and died with him. So
Saul died, and his three sons, and his
armourbearer, and all his men, that same
7] day together. And when the men of
Israel that were on the other side of the
valley, and they that were beyond Jordan,
saw that the men of Israel fled, and
that Saul and his sons were dead, they
forsook the cities, and fled; and the
Philistines came and dwelt in them.

8] And it came to pass on the morrow,
when the Philistines came to strip the
slain, that they found Saul and his three
9] sons fallen in mount Gilboa. And they
cut off his head, and stripped off his
armour, and sent into the land of the
Philistines round about, to carry the
tidings unto the house of their idols, and
10] to the people. And they put his
armour in the house of the Ashtaroth:
and they fastened his body to the wall of
11] Beth-shan. And when the inhabitants
of Jabesh-gilead heard concerning him
that which the Philistines had done to
12] Saul, all the valiant men arose, and
went all night, and took the body of
Saul and the bodies of his sons from the
wall of Beth-shan; and they came to
13] Jabesh, and burnt them there. And
they took their bones, and buried them
under the tamarisk tree in Jabesh, and
fasted seven days.

There is a pathetic nobility in this last act of Saul. Afflicted with fits of insane melancholy, outnumbered by the Philistines, whose weapons were superior to those of the Hebrews, informed by an oracle, in the truth of which he implicitly believed, that the Philistines would win and that he would die, he nevertheless went bravely into battle and did his best. Truly he had the spirit of a king! But for his mental malady, the outcome of his reign might have been different.

We do not know how long Saul reigned. If there ever was a statement about it in early copies of the Old Testament, it has been accidentally lost from the text. Probably it was between ten and twenty years. His whole reign was occupied with an unsuccessful struggle against the Philistines. At its close Israel was in worse plight than at its beginning. Now the Philistines had possession of the fertile Plain of Jezreel, including the walled city at its eastern end, and what was afterward Galilee was cut off from the rest of the country.

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[183] See *1 Chr.* 10: 1–12.

[184] Or, *wounded.*

[185] In ch. 14: 49, *Ishvi.*

[186] Or, *make a mock of me.*

CHAPTER X

THE REIGN OF DAVID

WHEN Saul fell at Gilboa, David, who had, amid the exigencies of his life as an outlaw, developed into a resourceful leader, was still an exile in the Philistine country. How he heard of Saul's death is related thus:

DAVID LEARNS OF SAUL'S DEATH, *2 Sam.* 1:1–16

2 Sam. 1. And it came to pass after the
death of Saul, when David was returned
from the slaughter of the Amalekites,
and David had abode two days in Ziklag;
2] it came even to pass on the third day,
that, behold, a man came out of the camp
from Saul with his clothes rent, and
earth upon his head: and so it was, when
he came to David, that he fell to the
3] earth, and did obeisance. And David
said unto him, From whence comest
thou? And he said unto him, Out of the
4] camp of Israel am I escaped. And
David said unto him, How went the
matter? I pray thee, tell me. And he answered,
The people are fled from the
battle, and many of the peole also are
fallen and dead; and Saul and Jonathan
5] his son are dead also. And David said
unto the young man that told him, How
knowest thou that Saul and Jonathan his
6] son be dead? And the young man that
told him said, As I happened by chance
upon mount Gilboa, behold Saul leaned
upon his spear; and, lo, the chariot and
the horsemen followed hard after him.
7] And when he looked behind him, he
saw me, and called unto me. And I answered,
8] Here am I. And he said unto
me, Who art thou? And I answered
9] him, I am an Amalekite. And he said
unto me, Stand, I pray thee, [1] beside me,
and slay me, for [2] anguish hath taken
hold of me; because my life is yet whole
10] in me. So I stood [1] beside him, and
slew him, because I was sure that he
could not live after that he was fallen:
and I took the crown that was upon his
head, and the bracelet that was on his
arm, and have brought them hither unto
11] my lord. Then David took hold on
his clothes, and rent them; and likewise
12] all the men that were with him: and
they mourned, and wept, and fasted until
even, for Saul, and for Jonathan his
son, and for the people of the LORD, and
for the house of Israel; because they
13] were fallen by the sword. And David
said unto the young man that told him,
Whence art thou? And he answered, I
am the son of a stranger, an Amalekite.
14] And David said unto him, How wast
thou not afraid to put forth thine hand
15] to destroy the LORD's anointed? And
David called one of the young men, and
said, Go near, and fall upon him. And he
16] smote him that he died. And David
said unto him, Thy blood be upon thy
head; for thy mouth hath testified against
thee, saying, I have slain the LORD's
anointed.

Having thus punished the Amalekite for having dared to take the life of "the Lord's Anointed" (a superstitious reverence was given to a king anointed with sacrificial oil; he was thought to be united to Yahweh in a special way), David composed a poetical lament on the death of Saul and Jonathan. The author of the books of *Samuel* copied it from a book called "The Book of Jashar," a collection of poems celebrating the deeds of Hebrew heroes from Joshua to Solomon, and from which three or four excerpts were made by Biblical writers. The book itself has not come down to us. Among later generations David was famed as a musician (see *Amos* 6: 5) and poet. So great did this reputation become that many of the psalms were attributed to him by post-exilic editors. As we shall see later, he wrote almost none of the psalms as we have them at present, but there is no reason to doubt that he composed the lament over Saul and Jonathan. Hebrew poetry does not rhyme. Its poetical form consists of lines of about equal length, the second of which repeats the thought of the first, or states a contrast to it ,or sets forth a consequence of it.[3] Bearing these facts in mind, one can appreciate the fine poetry of David's "Lament," even in translation.

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[1] Or, *over*.

[2] Or, *giddiness*.

DAVID'S LAMENT OVER SAUL AND JONATHAN, *2 Sam.* 1: 17–27

2 Sam. 1. 17] And David lamented
with this lamentation over Saul and over
18] Jonathan his son: and he bade them
teach the children of Judah *the song of*
the bow: behold, it is written in the book
of [4] Jashar.

19] [5] Thy glory, O Israel, is slain upon thy high places!
How are the mighty fallen!
20] Tell it not in Gath,
Publish it not in the streets of Ashkelon;
Lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice,
Lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph.
21] Ye mountains of Gilboa,
Let there be no dew nor rain upon you, neither fields of offerings:
For there the shield of the mighty was [6] vilely cast away,
The shield of Saul, [7] not anointed with oil.
22] From the blood of the slain, from the fat of the mighty,
The bow of Jonathan turned not back,
And the sword of Saul returned not empty.
23] Saul and Jonathan were lovely and pleasant in their lives,
And in their death they were not divided;
They were swifter than eagles,
They were stronger than lions,
24] Ye daughters of Israel, weep over Saul,
Who clothed you in scarlet [8] delicately,
Who put ornaments of gold upon your apparel.
25] How are the mighty fallen in the midst of the battle!
[9] Jonathan is slain upon thy high places.
26] I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan:
Very pleasant hast thou been unto me:
Thy love to me was wonderful,
Passing the love of women.
27] How are the mighty fallen,
And the weapons of war perished!

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[3] This form of poetry is called "parallelism"; it is really a kind of rhyming of the thought. The three kinds of parallelism, corresponding to the three types of couplet mentioned in the text, are "synonmous parallelism," "antithetic parallelism," and "progressive parallelism."

[4] Or, *The Upright.*

[5] Or, *The gazelle.*

[6] Or, *defiled.*

[7] Or, as of one *not anointed.*

[8] Heb. *with delights.*

[9] Or, *O Jonathan, slain &c.*

DAVID BECOMES KING OF JUDAH, *2 Sam.* 2: 1–7

2 Sam. 2. And it came to pass after
this, that David inquired of the Lord,
saying, Shall I go up into any of the
cities of Judah? And the Lord said
unto him, Go up. And David said,
Whither shall I go up? And he said,
2] Unto Hebron. So David went up
thither, and his two wives also, Ahinoam
the Jezreelitess, and Abigail the wife
3] of Nabal the Carmelite. And his
men that were with him did David bring
up, every man with his household: and
they dwelt in the cities of Hebron.
4] And the men of Judah came, and
there they anointed David king over the
house of Judah.

And they told David, saying, The
men of Jabesh-gilead were they that
5] buried Saul. And David sent messengers
unto the men of Jabesh-gilead, and
said unto them, Blessed be ye of the
Lord, that ye have shewed this kindness
unto your lord, even unto Saul, and have
6] buried him. And now the Lord shew
kindness and truth unto you: and I also
will requite you this kindness, because
7] ye have done this thing. Now therefore
let your hands be strong, and be ye
valiant: for Saul your lord is dead, and
also the house of Judah have anointed
me king over them.

THE DIVIDED KINGDOM

Although David had become king of Judah, the rest of Israel was still loyal to the house of Saul. Abner, Saul's able general, now that Jonathan the crown prince was dead, took a younger son of Saul, named Ishbaal, and put him on the throne of Israel. Abner was the real ruler, Ishbaal a mere figurehead. At this time the word *baal,* which means simply "lord," "owner," "possessor," was applied to Yahweh. After the time of Hosea the Hebrews ceased to apply the term *baal* to Yahweh and kept it for Canaanite deities. As the books of *Samuel* were composed after that had happened, its compiler replaced the word *baal* by the word *bosheth,* which means "shame." As the word *ish* means "man" this change made the new king's name mean "Man-of-shame." It is perfectly certain that Saul never named his son that. He named him Ishbaal, "Man-of-the-Lord," or "The-Lord's-man," meaning, of course, "Yahweh's man." Ishbaal reigned seven and a half years. During most of this time there was war between Israel and Judah. The details of these wars and the intrigues of Abner and Joab (Joab was David's general) are recounted in *2 Samuel* 2: 8—5: 3, thus:

2 Sam. 2. 8] Now Abner the son of
Ner, captain of Saul's host, had taken
[10]Ish-bosheth the son of Saul, and
brought him over to Mahanaim; and
9] he made him king over Gilead, and
over the [11]Ashurites, and over Jezreel,
and over Ephraim, and over Benjamin,
10] and over all Israel. (Ish-bosheth
Saul's son was forty years old when he
began to reign over Israel, and he reigned
two years.) But the house of Judah
11] followed David. And the time that
David was king in Hebron over the house
of Judah was seven years and six
months.

12] And Abner the son of Ner, and
the servants of Ish-bosheth the son of
Saul, went out from Mahanaim to Gibeon.
13] And Joab the son of Zeruiah,
and the servants of David, went out, and

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[10] In *1 Chr.* 8: 33, 9: 39, *Eshbaal.*

[11] The Vulgate and Syriac have, *Geshurites.*

met [12] them by the pool of Gibeon; and
they sat down, the one on the one side
of the pool, and the other on the other
14] side of the pool. And Abner said to
Joab, Let the young men, I pray thee,
arise and play before us. And Joab said
15] Let them arise. Then they arose and
went over by number; twelve for Benjamin,
and for Ish-bosheth the son of Saul,
and twelve of the servants of David.
16] And they caught every one his
fellow by the head, and *thrust* his
sword in his fellow's side; so they fell
down together: wherefore that place
was called [13] Helkath--hazzurim, which
17] is in Gibeon. And the battle was
very sore that day; and Abner was
beaten, and the men of Israel, before
18] the servants of David. And the three
sons of Zeruiah were there, Joab, and
Abishai, and Asahel: and Asahel was as
19] light of foot [14] as a wild roe. And
Asahel pursued after Abner; and in going
he turned not to the right hand nor to
20] the left from following Abner. Then
Abner looked behind him, and said, Is
it thou, Asahel? And he answered, It is
21] I. And Abner said to him, Turn thee
aside to thy right hand or to thy left,
and lay thee hold on one of the young
men, and take thee his [15] armour. But
Asahel would not turn aside from following
22] of him. And Abner said
again to Asahel, Turn thee aside from
following me: wherefore should I smite
thee to the ground? how then should I
hold up my face to Joab thy brother?
23] Howbeit he refused to turn aside:
wherefore Abner with the hinder end of
the spear smote him in the belly, that
the spear came out behind him; and he
fell down there, and died in the same
place: and it came to pass, that as many
as came to the place where Asahel fell
24] down and died stood still. But Joab
and Abishai pursued after Abner: and
the sun went down when they were come
to the hill of Ammah, that lieth before
Giah by the way of the wilderness of
25] Gibeon. And the children of Benjamin
gathered themselves together after
Abner, and became one band, and stood
26] on the top of an hill. Then Abner
called to Joab, and said, Shall the sword
devour for ever? knowest thou not that
it will be bitterness in the latter end?
how long shall it be then, ere thou bid
the people return from following their
27] brethren? And Joab said, As God
liveth, [16] if thou hadst not spoken, surely
then [17] in the morning the people had
gone away, nor followed every one his
28] brother. So Joab blew the trumpet,
and all the people stood still, and pursued
after Israel no more, neither fought
29] they any more. And Abner and his
men went all that night through the
Arabah: and they passed over Jordan,
and went through all Bithron, and came
30] to Mahanaim. And Joab returned
from following Abner: and when he
had gathered all the people together,
there lacked of David's servants nineteen
31] men and Asahel. But the servants
of David had smitten of Benjamin,
and of Abner's men, *so that* three hundred
32] and three-score men died. And
they took up Asahel, and buried him in
the sepulchre of his father, which was
in Beth-lehem. And Joab and his men
went all night, and the day brake upon
them at Hebron.

3. Now there was long war between
the house of Saul and the house of
David: and David waxed stronger and
stronger, but the house of Saul waxed
weaker and weaker.

2] And unto David were sons born in
Hebron: and his firstborn was Amnon,
of Ahinoam the Jezreelitess; and his
3] second, Chileab, of Abigail the wife
of Nabal the Carmelite; and the third,
Absalom the son of Maacah the daughter
4] of Talmai king of Geshur; and
the fourth, Adonijah the son of Haggith;
and the fifth, Shephatiah the son
5] of Abital; and the sixth, Ithream,
of Eglah David's wife. These were born
to David in Hebron.

6] And it came to pass, while there

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[12] Heb. *them together.*

[13] That is, *The field of the sharp knives.*

[14] Heb. *as one of the roes that are in the field.*

[15] Or, *spoil.* See *Jud.* 14: 19.

[16] See ver. 14.

[17] Heb. *from the morning.*

was war between the house of Saul
and the house of David, that Abner
[18] made himself strong in the house of
7] Saul. Now Saul had a concubine,
whose name was Rizpah, the daughter
of Aiah: and *Ish-bosheth* said to Abner,
Wherefore hast thou gone in unto
8] my father's concubine? Then was
Abner very wroth for the words of Ish-bosheth,
and said, Am I a dog's head
that belongeth to Judah? This day do I
shew kindness unto the house of Saul
thy father, to his brethren, and to his
friends, and have not delivered thee into
the hand of David, and yet thou chargest
me this day with [19] a fault concerning
9] this woman. God do so to Abner,
and more also, if, as the LORD hath
sworn to David, I do not even so to him;
10] to translate the kingdom from the
house of Saul, and to set up the throne
of David over Israel and over Judah,
11] from Dan even to Beer-sheba. And
he could not answer Abner another
word, because he feared him.

12] And Abner sent messengers to
David [20] on his behalf, saying, Whose is
the land? saying *also,* Make thy league
with me, and, behold, my hand shall be
with thee, to bring about all Israel unto
13] thee. And he said, Well; I will make
a league with thee: but one thing I require
of thee, that is, thou shalt not see
my face, except thou first bring Michal
Saul's daughter, when thou comest to
14] see my face. And David sent messengers
to Ish-bosheth Saul's son, saying,
Deliver me my wife Michal, whom
I betrothed to me for an hundred foreskins
15] of the Philistines. And Ish-bosheth
sent, and took her from her
husband, even from [21] Paltiel the son of
16] Laish. And her husband went with
her, weeping as he went, and followed
her to Bahurim. Then said Abner unto
him, Go, return: and he returned.

17] And Abner had communication
with the elders of Israel, saying, In
times past ye sought for David to be king
18] over you: now then do it: for the
LORD hath spoken of David, saying, By
the hand of my servant David I will save
my people Israel out of the hand of the
Philistines, and out of the hand of all
19] their enemies. And Abner also spake
in the ears of Benjamin: and Abner
went also to speak in the ears of David
in Hebron all that seemed good to Israel,
and to the whole house of Benjamin.
20] So Abner came to David to Hebron,
and twenty men with him. And
David made Abner and the men that
21] were with him a feast. And Abner
said unto David, I will arise and go,
and will gather all Israel unto my lord
the king, that they may make a covenant
with thee, and that thou mayest
reign over all that thy soul desireth. And
David sent Abner away; and he went
22] in peace. And, behold, the servants
of David and Joab came from [22] a foray,
and brought in a great spoil with them:
but Abner was not with David in Hebron;
for he had sent him away, and he
23] was gone in peace. When Joab and
all the host that was with him were
come, they told Joab, saying, Abner the
son of Ner came to the king, and he
hath sent him away, and he is gone in
24] peace. Then Joab came to the king,
and said, What hast thou done? behold,
Abner came unto thee; why is it that
thou hast sent him away, and he is quite
25] gone? Thou knowest Abner the son
of Ner, that he came to deceive thee,
and to know thy going out and thy coming
in, and to know all that thou doest.
26] And when Joab was come out from
David, he sent messengers after Abner,
and they brought him back from the
[23] well of Sirah: but David knew it not.
27] And when Abner was returned to
Hebron, Joab took him aside into the
midst of the gate to speak with him
quietly, and smote him there in the belly,
and he died, for the blood of Asahel his
28] brother. And afterward when David
heard it, he said, I and my kingdom are
guiltless before the LORD for ever from
the blood of Abner the son of Ner:
29] let it fall upon the head of Joab, and
upon all his father's house; and let

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[18] Or, *shewed himself strong for.*
[19] Or, *the fault of this woman.*
[20] Or, *where he was.*
[21] In *1 Sam.* 25: 44, *Palti.*
[22] Heb. *the troop.*
[23] Or, *cistern.*

there not fail from the house of Joab
one that hath an issue, or that is a leper,
or that leaneth on a staff, or that falleth
by the sword, or that lacketh bread.
30] So Joab and Abishai his brother
slew Abner, because he had killed their
brother Asahel at Gibeon in the battle.

31] And David said to Joab, and to
all the people that were with him, Rend
your clothes, and gird you with sackcloth,
and mourn before Abner. And
32] king David followed the bier. And
they buried Abner in Hebron: and the
king lifted up his voice, and wept at
the grave of Abner; and all the people
33] wept. And the king lamented for
Abner, and said,

Should Abner die as a fool dieth?
34] Thy hands were not bound, nor
thy feet put into fetters:
As a man falleth before the children
of iniquity, so didst thou fall.

And all the people wept again over
35] him. And all the people came to
cause David to eat bread while it was
yet day; but David sware, saying, God
do so to me, and more also, if I taste
bread, or aught else, till the sun be
36] down. And all the people took notice
of it, and it pleased them: as whatsoever
the king did pleased all the people.
37] So all the people and all Israel
understood that day that it was not of
the king to slay Abner the son of Ner.
38] And the king said unto his servants,
Know ye not that there is a prince and
a great man fallen this day in Israel?
39] And I am this day weak, though
anointed king; and these men the sons
of Zeruiah be too hard for me: the
Lord reward the wicked doer according
to his wickedness.

4. And when *Ish-bosheth,* Saul's son,
heard that Abner was dead in Hebron,
his hands became feeble, and all the
2] Israelites were troubled. And *Ish-bosheth,*
Saul's son *had* two men that
were captains of bands: the name of the
one was Baanah, and the name of the
other Rechab, the sons of Rimmon the
Beerothite, of the children of Benjamin:
(for Beeroth also is reckoned to Benjamin:
3] and the Beerothites fled to
Gittaim, and have been sojourners there
until this day.)

4] Now Jonathan, Saul's son, had a
son that was lame of his feet. He was
five years old when the tidings came
of Saul and Jonathan out of Jezreel, and
his nurse took him up, and fled: and it
came to pass, as she made haste to flee,
that he fell, and became lame. And his
name was [24] Mephibosheth.

5] And the sons of Rimmon the Beerothite,
Rechab and Baanah, went, and
came about the heat of the day to the
house of Ish-bosheth, as he took his rest
6] at noon. [25] And [26] they came thither
into the midst of the house, as though
they would have fetched wheat; and
they smote him in the belly: and Rechab
7] and Baanah his brother escaped. Now
when they came into the house, as he lay
on his bed in his bedchamber, they smote
him, and slew him, and beheaded him,
and took his head, and went by the way
8] of the Arabah all night. And they
brought the head of Ish-bosheth unto
David to Hebron, and said to the king,
Behold the head of Ish-bosheth the son
of Saul thine enemy, which sought thy
life, and the Lord hath avenged my lord
the king this day of Saul, and of his
9] seed. And David answered Rechab
and Baanah his brother, the sons of Rimmon
the Beerothite, and said unto them,
As the Lord liveth, who hath redeemed
my soul out of all adversity, when one
10] told me, saying, Behold, Saul is
dead, thinking to have brought good tidings,
I took hold of him, and slew him in
Ziklag, which was the reward I gave him
11] for his tidings. How much more,
when wicked men have slain a righteous
person in his own house upon his bed,
shall I not now require his blood of your
hand, and take you away from the earth?
12] And David commanded his young
men, and they slew them, and cut off
their hands and their feet, and hanged

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[24] In *1 Chr.* 8: 34, 9: 40, *Meribbaal.*

[25] The Sept. has, *And behold, the woman that kept the door of the house was winnowing wheat, and she slumbered and slept; and the brethren, Rechab and Baanah, went privily into the house.*

[26] Or, *there came . . . men fetching wheat.*

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them up beside the pool in Hebron. But
they took the head of Ish-bosheth, and
buried it in the grave of Abner in Hebron.
5. Then came all the tribes of Israel to
David unto Hebron, and spake, saying,
Behold, we are thy bone and thy flesh.
2] In times past, when Saul was king
over us, it was thou that leddest out and
broughtest in Israel: and the LORD said
to thee, Thou shalt feed my people Israel,
and thou shalt be [27] prince over
3] Israel. So all the elders of Israel
came to the king to Hebron; and king
David made a covenant with them in
Hebron before the LORD: and they
anointed David king over Israel.

The foregoing passage makes it very clear that the dynasty of Saul was wiped out by treachery and murder. Joab, David's general, fearing that he was about to lose the supreme command of the army (which David was in reality offering to Abner to induce him to desert the house of Saul) assassinated Abner. David abhorred the deed, but profited by the consequences; he condemned Joab, but did not punish him. When the strong arm of Abner had been removed, others soon assassinated Ishbaal.

Now that the kingdom was united, David's next problem was to select a suitable capital. Hebron was a natural capital for Judah, but to continue to reside there would make him seem to the other tribes to be too exclusively a Judean king. Just on the boundary between Judah and Benjamin was the city of Jerusalem, which for two or three hundred years had been in the possession of a non-Hebrew tribe, the Jebusites. It was situated on a hill surrounded on three sides by deep valleys, so that its walls, running along the edges of the hill, made it a much easier city to defend than Hebron. This city David determined to take and make his capital.

DAVID CAPTURES JERUSALEM, *2 Sam.* 5:4–10

2 Sam. 5. 4] David was thirty years
old when he began to reign, and he
5] reigned forty years. In Hebron he
reigned over Judah seven years and six
months: and in Jerusalem he reigned
thirty and three years over all Israel and
6] Judah. [28] And the king and his men
went to Jerusalem against the Jebusites,
the inhabitants of the land: which spake
unto David, saying, [29] Except thou take
away the blind and the lame, thou shalt
not come in hither: thinking, David cannot
7] not come in hither. Nevertheless David
took the strong hold of Zion; the
8] same is the city of David. And David
said on that day, Whosoever smiteth the
Jebusites, let him get up to the watercourse,
[30] and *smite* the lame and the
blind, [31] that are hated of David's soul.
Wherefore they say, [32] There are the
blind and the lame; he cannot come into
9] the house. And David dwelt in the
strong hold, and called it the city of
David. And David built round about
10] from Millo and inward. And David
waxed greater and greater; for the
LORD, the God of hosts was with him.

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[27] Or, *leader.*

[28] See *1 Chr.* 11:4–9.

[29] Or, *Thou shalt not come in hither, but the blind and the lame shall turn thee away.*

[30] Or, *and as for the lame and the blind, that are hated of David's soul—*

[31] Another reading is, *that hate David's soul.*

[32] Or, *The blind and the lame shall not come into the house.*

The sixth verse of the preceding account is obscurely expressed, but it indicates that the Jebusites were sure that their walls, perched high on the brow of the hills, were so impregnable that their blind and lame could defend the city. Jerusalem, like Gezer and Gibeon, had an underground tunnel within the walls which enabled its inhabitants to go down to the well of Gihon, just under the east wall, and get water without exposing themselves to the enemy. The well had to be open on the outside to enable them to water their gardens in the Kidron valley. Joab, discovering the secret tunnel, managed to get a force across the well, went up through the tunnel, and, appearing suddenly in the city, took the defenders by surprise and captured the town. This tunnel is still in existence.[33]

DAVID'S ALLIANCE WITH TYRE, *2 Sam.* 5: 11–16

2 Sam. 5. 11] [34] And Hiram king of Tyre sent messengers to David, and cedar trees, and carpenters, and masons: and 12] they built David an house. And David perceived that the LORD had established him king over Israel, and that he had exalted his kingdom for his people Israel's sake.

13] And David took him more concubines and wives out of Jerusalem, after he was come from Hebron: and there were yet sons and daughters born 14] to David. And these be the names of those that were born unto him in Jerusalem; Shammua, and Shobab, and Na-15] than, and Solomon, and Ibhar, and Elishua; and Nepheg, and Japhia; 16] and Elishama, and [35] Eliada, and Eliphelet.

Tyre was one of the leading cities of Phenicia, and the one chiefly famed for commerce. The Phenicians were descendants of the Canaanites, who had come into Palestine between 1800 and 1600 B.C. A part of them gained a foothold on the narrow strip of land between the Lebanon Mountains and the Mediterranean Sea, and became sailors; they were the intermediaries and merchants of the period. The alliance with Tyre was not mere sentiment, but business. In the Lebanon Mountains cedar forests then grew, wood from which was eagerly sought. Centuries before, Babylonian kings had made expeditions thither to obtain it for use in building palaces and temples; Egyptian kings had as eagerly sought it, sometimes at great risk, for similar purposes. David, with the aid of the king of Tyre, now imported cedar for a palace, and, with it, hired Tyrian carpenters to construct the building properly. He determined to have a palace in keeping with his new dignity. As a part of the dignity of Oriental kings in that polygamous age consisted in the size of their households, David also added to the number of his wives.

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[33] See G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible,* 5th ed., Philadelphia, 1927, pp. 146, 204, and Fig. 241.

[34] See *1 Chr.* 14: 1–16.

[35] In *1 Chr.* 14: 7, *Beeliada.*

A PHILISTINE INVASION

While the Hebrew kingdom was divided and engaged in civil war, the Philistines were content to let their old enemies destroy one another. Now that the kingdom was united under an able monarch, like David, who had shown his prowess by capturing Jerusalem and fortifying himself in it, the case was different. They made an effort to crush the rising power of Israel. The account of this is as follows:

2 Sam. 5. 17] And when the Philistines
heard that they had anointed David king
over Israel, all the Philistines went up
to seek David; and David heard of it,
18] and went down to the hold. Now
the Philistines had come and spread
themselves in the valley of Rephaim.
19] And David inquired of the Lord,
saying, Shall I go up against the Philistines?
wilt thou deliver them into mine
hand? And the Lord said unto David,
Go up: for I will certainly deliver the
20] Philistines into thine hand. And David
came to Baal-perazim, and David
smote them there; and he said, The
Lord hath [36] broken mine enemies before
me, like the breach of waters. Therefore
he called the name of that place
21] [37] Baal-perazim. And they left their
images there, and David and his men
took them away.

22] And the Philistines came up yet
again, and spread themselves in the valley
23] of Rephaim. And when David
inquired of the Lord, he said, Thou shalt
not go up: make a circuit behind them,
and come upon them over against the
24] [38] mulberry trees. And it shall be,
when thou hearest the sound of marching
in the tops of the mulberry trees,
that then thou shalt bestir thyself: for
then is the Lord gone out before thee to
25] smite the host of the Philistines. And
David did so, as the Lord commanded
him; and smote the Philistines from
[39] Geba until thou come to Gezer.

These attacks had been directed against Jerusalem. The valley of Rephaim, where the final defeat occurred, is just southwest of that city. Although the defeat was decisive, the Philistines were not yet conquered.

OTHER PHILISTINE BATTLES, *2 Sam.* 21:15–19, 20b–*22*

2 Sam. 21. 15] And the Philistines had
war again with Israel; and David went
down, and his servants with him, and
fought against the Philistines: and David
16] waxed faint. And Ishbi-benob,
which was of the sons of the [40] giant,
the weight of whose spear was three
hundred *shekels* of brass in weight, he
being girded with [41] a new *sword*,
17] thought to have slain David. But
Abishai the son of Zeruiah succoured
him, and smote the Philistine, and killed
him. Then the men of David sware
unto him, saying, Thou shalt go no more
out with us to battle, that thou quench
not the lamp of Israel.

18] [42] And it came to pass after this,
that there was again war with the Philistines
at [43] Gob: then Sibbecai the
Hushathite slew [44] Saph, which was of
19] the sons of the [40] giant. And there
was again war with the Philistines at
Gob: . . .

20] And there was again war at Gath,
where was a man of great stature, that
had on every hand six fingers, and on

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[36] Or, *broken forth upon mine enemies.*
[37] That is, *The place of breakings forth.*
[38] Or, *balsam trees.*
[39] In *1 Chr.* 14:16, *Gibeon.*
[40] Heb. *Raphah.*
[41] Or, *new* armour.
[42] See *1 Chr.* 20:4–8.
[43] In *1 Chr.* 20:4, *Gezer.*
[44] In *1 Chr.* 20:4, *Sippai.*

every foot six toes, four and twenty in
number; and he also was born to the
21] [40] giant And when he [45] defied Israel,
Jonathan the son of [46] Shimei David's
22] brother slew him. These four were
born to the [40] giant in Gath; and they
fell by the hand of David, and by the
hand of his servants.

This passage sums up in the form of a brief chronicle battles by which the Philistines were reduced for a time to a position of vassalage to Israel.

DAVID BRINGS THE ARK OF GOD TO JERUSALEM

The victory over the Philistines gave David leisure to think of other ways of adding distinction to his new capital, and he determined to bring the ark of God to it. This portable structure, of especial sanctity because it had been made by Moses and contained as a symbol of Yahweh a stone from his sacred mountain, had been brought by the Rachel-tribes and put into their temple at Shiloh, where it remained until captured by the Philistines at the death of Eli. How it was returned by the Philistines to Beth-shemesh has already been told. In one of his wars with the Philistines, Saul also had it in his camp (see *1 Sam.* 14: 18). What had been its fortunes between that and the time we have now reached, we do not know. This sacred object David now determined to bring to Jerusalem. The way in which it was done, the Bible tells thus:

2 Sam. 6. [47] And David again gathered
together all the chosen men of
2] Israel, thirty thousand. And David
arose and went with all the people that
were with him, from Baale Judah, to
bring up from thence the ark of God,
[48] which is called by the Name, even
the name of the Lord of hosts that [49] sit-
3] teth upon the cherubim. And they set
the ark of God upon a new cart, and
brought it out of the house of Abinadab
that was in [50] the hill: and Uzzah and
Ahio, the sons of Abinadab, drave the
4] new cart. And they brought it out of
the house of Abinadab, which was in
[51] the hill, with the ark of God: and
5] Ahio went before the ark. And David
and all the house of Israel played
before the Lord [52] with all manner of
instruments made of [53] fir wood, and
with harps, and with psalteries, and
with timbrels, and with [54] castanets,
6] and with cymbals. And when they
came to the threshing-floor of Nacon,
Uzzah put forth *his hand* to the ark
of God, and took hold of it; for the
7] oxen [55] stumbled. And the anger of
the Lord was kindled against Uzzah;
and God smote him there for his [56] error;
and there he died by the ark of
8] God. And David was displeased, because
the Lord had broken forth upon
Uzzah: and he called that place [57] Perez-
9] uzzah, unto this day. And David was
afraid of the Lord that day; and he said,
How shall the ark of the Lord come unto
10] me? So David would not remove
the ark of the Lord unto him into the
city of David; but David carried it aside
into the house of Obed-edom the Git-
11] tite. And the ark of the Lord remained
in the house of Obed-edom the
Gittite three months: and the Lord
blessed Obed-edom, and all his house.

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[45] Or, *reproached.*

[46] In *1 Sam.* 16: 9, *Shammah;* in *1 Chr.* 2: 13, 20: 7, *Shimea.*

[47] See *1 Chr.* 13: 5–14.

[48] Heb. *whereupon is called the Name.*

[49] Or, *dwelleth between.*

[50] Or, *Gibeah.*

[51] Or, *Gibeah.*

[52] See *1 Chr.* 13: 8.

[53] Or, *cypress.*

[54] Or, *sistra.*

[55] Or, *were restive.* Or, *threw it down.*

[56] Or, *rashness.*

[57] That is, *The breach of Uzzah.*

12] And it was told king David, saying,
The Lord hath blessed the house of
Obed-edom, and all that pertaineth unto
him, because of the ark of God. [58] And
David went and brought up the ark of
God from the house of Obed-edom into
13] the city of David with joy. And
it was so, that when they that bare the
ark of the Lord had gone six paces,
he sacrificed an ox and a fatling.
14] And David danced before the Lord
with all his might; and David was
15] girded with a linen ephod. So David
and all the house of Israel brought up
the ark of the Lord with shouting, and
16] with the sound of the trumpet. And
it was so, as the ark of the Lord came
into the city of David, that Michal the
daughter of Saul looked out at the window,
and saw king David leaping and
dancing before the Lord; and she despised
17] him in her heart. And they
brought in the ark of the Lord, and set
it in its place, in the midst of the tent
that David had pitched for it: and David
offered burnt offerings and peace offerings
18] before the Lord. And when
David had made an end of offering the
burnt offering and the peace offerings,
he blessed the people in the name of the
19] Lord of hosts. And he dealt among
all the people, even among the whole
multitude of Israel, both to men and
women, to every one a cake of bread,
and a portion [59] *of flesh,* and a cake of
raisins. So all the people departed every
20] one to his house. Then David returned
to bless his household. And Michal
the daughter of Saul came out to
meet David, and said, How glorious was
the king of Israel to-day, who uncovered
himself to-day in the eyes of the
handmaids of his servants, as one of the
vain fellows shamelessly uncovereth
21] himself! And David said unto Michal,
It was before the Lord, which
chose me above thy father, and above all
his house, to appoint me prince over the
people of the Lord, over Israel: therefore
22] will I play before the Lord. And
I will be yet more vile than thus, and
will be base in mine own sight: but of
the handmaids which thou hast spoken
of, of them shall I be had in honour.
23] And Michal the daughter of Saul had
no child unto the day of her death.

The foregoing passage is important for an understanding of the history of the development of Hebrew ritual. The Levitical law (*Num.* 4) prescribes that the ark shall be touched only by Aaron and his sons, that, when it is moved, they shall carefully prepare it for transportation, and that then a certain division of the Levites (the Kohathites) shall carry it, but without touching it. This is from a late stratum of the P Document. How utterly unknown all this was in the time of David is shown by the fact that they carried the ark on an ox cart! Once, when an ox stumbled, Uzzah, who was walking beside it, put out his hand to steady the sacred structure so that it should receive no harm. At that moment he happened to fall dead, perhaps from heart disease, and it was inferred that Yahweh was angry because the ark was being moved. David accordingly desisted from his purpose and left the ark in the house of Obed-edom, where it remained three months. As nothing disastrous happened to Obed-edom during this time, but, on the contrary he prospered, it was inferred that Yahweh's anger had abated, and that the ark was not dangerous. David then brought it into Jerusalem with great rejoicing accompanied by a religious dance.

The seventh chapter of *2 Samuel* is from a late stratum of the E Document. It was written to account for the fact that the great king, David, did not build the temple. It cannot be regarded as a historical story; it is what a later writer supposed must have been. We therefore pass it over.

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[58] See *1 Chr.* 15: 25—16: 3.

[59] Or, *of wine.*

DAVID'S EMPIRE-BUILDING

The eighth chapter of *2 Samuel,* which is an extract from a very early chronicle, gives a summary of the wars by which David reduced the surrounding kingdoms to the position of tribute-paying vassals, and an account of the organization of his administration. It sums up the story of the earlier years of his reign thus:

2 Sam. 8. [60] And after this it came to
pass, that David smote the Philistines,
and subdued them: and David took
[61] the bridle of the mother city out of
2] the hand of the Philistines. And he
smote Moab, and measured them with
the line, making them to lie down on the
ground; and he measured two lines to
put to death, and one full line to keep
alive. And the Moabites became servants
to David, and brought presents.
3] David smote also Hadadezer the son
of Rehob, king of Zobah, as he went
to recover his dominion at [62] the River.
And David took from him a thousand
and seven hundred horsemen, and twenty
thousand footmen: and David houghed
all the chariot horses, but reserved of
5] them for an hundred chariots. And
when [63] the Syrians of Damascus came
to succour Hadadezer king of Zobah,
David smote of [63] the Syrians two and
6] twenty thousand men. Then David put
garrisons in [63] Syria of Damascus: and
[63] the Syrians became servants to David,
and brought presents. And the LORD
[64] gave victory to David whithersoever
7] he went. And David took the shields of
gold that were on the servants of Hadadezer,
and brought them to Jerusalem.
8] And from [65] Betah and from Berothai,
cities of Hadadezer, king David took exceeding
9] much brass. And when Toi
king of Hamath heard that David had
smitten all the host of Hadadezer,
10] then Toi sent [66] Joram his son unto
king David, to [67] salute him, and to bless
him, because he had fought against Hadadezer
and smitten him: for Hadadezer
[68] had wars with Toi. and [69] *Joram*
brought with him vessels of silver, and
vessels of gold, and vessels of brass:
11] these also did king David dedicate
unto the LORD, with the silver and gold
that he dedicated of all the nations which
12] he subdued; of [70] Syria, and of
Moab, and of the children of Ammon,
and of the Philistines, and of Amalek,
and of the spoil of Hadadezer, son of
13] Rehob, king of Zobah. And David
gat him a name when he returned from
smiting of [70] the Syrians in the Valley
of Salt, even eighteen thousand men.
14] And he put garrisons in Edom;
throughout all Edom put he garrisons,
and all the Edomites became servants to
David. And the LORD [64] gave victory to
David whithersoever he went.

15] And David reigned over all Israel;
and David executed judgment and
16] justice unto all his people. And Joab
the son of Zeruiah was over the host;
and Jehoshaphat the son of Ahilud was
17] [71] recorder: and Zadok the son of
Ahitub, and Ahimelech the son of Abiathar,
were priests; and Seraiah was

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[60] See *1* Chr. 18.
[61] Or, *Methegammah.*
[62] Another reading is, *the river Euphrates.*
[63] Heb. *Aram.*
[64] Or, *saved David.*
[65] In *1 Chr.* 18: 8, *Tibhath.*
[66] In *1 Chr.* 18: 10, *Hadoram.*
[67] Heb. *ask him of his welfare.*
[68] Heb. *was a man of wars.*
[69] Heb. *in his hand were.*
[70] Heb. *Aram.* According to some ancient authorities, *Edom,* as in *1 Chr.* 18: 11, 12, *Ps.* 60 title.
[71] Or, *chronicler.*

18] [72] scribe; and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada [73] *was over* the Cherethites and the Pelethites; and David's sons were [74] priests.

David by his intrepid leadership and military genius thus built up for a few brief years a Hebrew empire. It was possible for him to do this, because Babylonia, Assyria, and Egypt just at this period happened to be weak. A little more than a century before, Babylon had been powerful under Nebuchadnezzar I, but now it was impotently torn by contending dynasties. Just before 1100 B.C. Tiglath-pileser I, a great king of Assyria, had led his armies to the Mediterranean, but in the time of David Assyria had no leader capable of controlling neighboring states. Egypt, too, whose great kings had a few centuries before ruled Asia to the Euphrates, now under the twenty-first dynasty had lost all its Asiatic territory and was rapidly dwindling in power. Had any of these countries been under the sway of an able and energetic monarch, David's empire-building would not have been possible. Israel was now fortunate in her king, and David was fortunate to have lived just when he did. As it was, his brief period of power was ever looked back upon as the golden age of Hebrew history.

The statement that David made his sons priests has caused later Hebrews and modern translators, who thought the priestly laws from Moses, much trouble. The margin of the Revised Version shows this. There can be no doubt of the fact, however. It is only another item of the true historical picture of the development of the Hebrew religion, which modern historical study is restoring.

The story of the reign of David reaches its climax in *2 Samuel* 8. The rest of the second book of *Samuel* consists of miscellaneous stories, mostly from the J Document, some of which give details of one of the wars mentioned in the chronicle of chapter 8, some of which repeat court gossip of David's time, some relate natural calamities which befell in David's time, while others advance our knowledge of the history by telling of rebellions which occurred during David's last years. From these chapters we select only that which bears directly on the history.

DETAILS OF THE SUBJUGATION OF AMMON

East of the Jordan along the edge of the Arabian desert dwelt the Ammonites. We have met them before; Jephthah had fought with them; Saul had delivered the men of Jabesh from their power. They were Semites, remotely related to the Hebrews. Their capital was Rabbah, the modern Amman. The story of the Hebrew conquest of the Ammonites, by which they became a part of David's empire is as follows:

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[72] Or, *secretary.*

[73] So in ch. 20: 23, and *1 Chr.* 18: 17. The Hebrew text has, *and the Cherethites &c.*

[74] Or, *chief ministers.*

2 Sam. 10. [75] And it came to pass after
this, that the king of the children of
Ammon died, and Hanun his son reigned
2] in his stead. And David said, I will
shew kindness unto Hanun the son of
Nahash, as his father shewed kindness
unto me. So David sent by the hand of
his servants to comfort him concerning
his father. And David's servants came
into the land of the children of Ammon.
3] But the princes of the children of
Ammon said unto Hanun their lord,
Thinkest thou that David doth honour
thy father, that he hath sent comforters
unto thee? hath not David sent his servants
unto thee to search the city, and to
4] spy it out, and to overthrow it? So
Hanun took David's servants, and shaved
off the one half of their beards, and
cut off their garments in the middle,
even to their buttocks, and sent them
5] away. When they told it unto David,
he sent to meet them; for the men were
greatly ashamed. And the king said,
Tarry at Jericho until your beards be
6] grown, and then return. And when
the children of Ammon saw that they
were become odious to David, the children
of Ammon sent and hired the Syrians
of Beth-rehob, and the Syrians of
Zobah, twenty thousand footmen, and the
king of Maacah with a thousand men, and
7] the men of Tob twelve thousand men.
And when David heard of it, he sent
Joab, and all the host of the mighty men.
8] And the children of Ammon came out,
and put the battle in array at the entering
in of the gate: and the Syrians of Zobah,
and of Rehob, and the men of Tob
and Maacah, were by themselves in the
9] field. Now when Joab saw that [76] the
battle was set against him before and behind,
he chose of all the choice men of Israel,
and put them in array against the
10] Syrians: and the rest of the people
he committed into the hand of [77] Abishai
his brother, and he put them in array
11] against the children of Ammon. And
he said, If the Syrians be too strong for
me, then thou shalt help me: but if the
children of Ammon be too strong for
thee, then I will come and help thee.
12] Be of good courage, and let us play
the men for our people, and for the cities
of our God: and the LORD do that
13] which seemeth him good. So Joab
and the people that were with him drew
nigh unto the battle against the Syrians:
14] and they fled before him. And when
the children of Ammon saw that the
Syrians were fled, they likewise fled
before Abishai, and entered into the city.
Then Joab returned from the children
of Ammon, and came to Jerusalem.
15] And when the Syrians saw that they
were put to the worse before Israel,
they gathered themselves together.
16] And [78] Hadarezer sent, and brought
out the Syrians that were beyond the
River: and they came to Helam, with
Shobach the captain of the host of Hadarezer
17] at their head. And it was
told David; and he gathered all Israel together,
and passed over Jordan, and came
to Helam. And the Syrians set themselves
in array against David, and fought
18] with him. And the Syrians fled before
Israel; and David slew of the Syrians
the men of seven hundred chariots,
and forty thousand horsemen, and smote
Shobach the captain of their host, that
19] he died there. And when all the
kings that were servants to Hadarezer
saw that they were put to the worse before
Israel, they made peace with Israel,
and served them. So the Syrians
feared to help the children of Ammon
any more.

11. [79] And it came to pass, at the return
of the year, at the time when kings
go out *to battle,* that David sent Joab,
and his servants with him, and all Israel;
and they destroyed the children of
Ammon, and besieged Rabbah. But David
tarried at Jerusalem.

12. 26] [80] Now Joab fought against
Rabbah of the children of Ammon, and
27] took the royal city. And Joab sent
messengers to David, and said, I have
fought against Rabbah, yea, I have taken
28] the city of waters. Now therefore
gather the rest of the people together,

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[75] See *I Chr.* 19.
[76] Heb. *the face of the battle was against.*
[77] Heb. *Abshai.*
[78] In ch. 8: 3, *Hadadezer.*
[79] See *I Chr.* 20: 1.
[80] See *I Chr.* 20: 1–3.

and encamp against the city, and take it:
lest I take the city, and [81] it be called
29] after my name. And David gathered
all the people together, and went to Rabbah,
and fought against it, and took it.
30] And he took the crown of [82] their
king from off his head; and the weight
thereof was a talent of gold, and *in it
were* precious stones; and it was set on
David's head. And he brought forth the
spoil of the city, exceeding much.
31] And he brought forth the people that
were therein, and put them [83] under saws,
and [83] under harrows of iron, and [83] under
axes of iron, and [84] made them pass
through the [85] brick-kiln: and thus did
he unto all the cities of the children of
Ammon. And David and all the people
returned unto Jerusalem.

The early part of the preceding account reveals in a vivid way certain possibilities of diplomatic intercourse three thousand years ago! No wonder that David was enraged to have his messengers so insulted. Perhaps this accounts in part for the barbarous treatment meted out to the conquerors after the victory. From a modern point of view such tortures are inexcusable. The ethics of war are still most unethical, and three thousand years ago they were even worse. *Mores silent inter arma.* "The royal city" in *2 Samuel* 12:26 was the fortified palace. It is referred to in 12:27 as the "city of waters" because it was connected by an underground passage with a large covered cistern outside the walls, from which, in case of siege, water could be obtained.[86]

DAVID'S KINDNESS TO MERIBAAL

David had loved Jonathan, the son of Saul, with a love unusual between men. In his "Lament" David had said:

> "Thy love to me was wonderful,
> Passing the love of women."

Indeed the love of David and Jonathan has, like that of Damon and Pythias among the Greeks, become proverbial. Now that he had become established in his kingdom, he determined to show special kindness to some descendant of Saul for Jonathan's sake. He found a crippled son of Jonathan named Meribaal whom he made one of his courtiers, though the compiler of the books of *Samuel* called him Meribosheth (for the same reason that he changed Ishbaal to Ishbosheth) and it afterward became further corrupted into Mephibosheth. The Bible tells the story thus:

2 Sam. 9. And David said, Is there yet
any that is left of the house of Saul, that
I may shew him kindness for Jonathan's
2] sake? And there was of the house of
Saul a servant whose name was Ziba,
and they called him unto David; and the
king said unto him, Art thou Ziba? And
3] he said, Thy servant is he. And the
king said, Is there not yet any of the
house of Saul, that I may shew the

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[81] Heb. *my name be called upon it.*
[82] Or, *Malcam. See Zeph.* 1:5.
[83] Or, *to.*
[84] Or, with a slight change in the Hebrew text, *made them labour at.*
[85] Or, *brickmould.*
[86] See G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible,* 5th ed., 1927, p. 146.

kindness of God unto him? And Ziba
said unto the king, [87] Jonathan hath yet
4] a son, which is lame on his feet. And
the king said unto him, Where is he?
And Ziba said unto the king, Behold, he
is in the house of Machir the son of Ammiel,
5] in Lo-debar. Then king David
sent, and fetched him out of the house
of Machir the son of Ammiel, from Lo-debar.
6] And Mephibosheth, the son of
Jonathan, the son of Saul, came unto
David, and fell on his face, and did
obeisance. And David said, Mephibosheth.
And he answered, Behold thy servant!
7] And David said unto him, Fear
not: for I will surely shew thee kindness
for Jonathan thy father's sake, and
will restore thee all the [88] land of Saul
thy father; and thou shalt eat bread at
8] my table continually. And he did obeisance,
and said, What is thy servant,
that thou shouldest look upon such a
9] dead dog as I am? Then the king
called to Ziba, Saul's servant, and said
unto him, All that pertained to Saul and
to all his house have I given unto thy
10] master's son. And thou shalt till the
land for him, thou, and thy sons, and
thy servants; and thou shalt bring in *the
fruits,* that thy master's son may have
bread to eat: but Mephibosheth thy master's
son shall eat bread alway at my
table. Now Ziba had fifteen sons and
11] twenty servants. Then said Ziba unto
the king, According to all that my lord
the king commandeth his servant, so
shall thy servant do. [89] As for Mephibosheth,
said the king, he shall eat at my
12] table, as one of the king's sons. And
Mephibosheth had a young son, whose
name was Mica. And all that dwelt in
the house of Ziba were servants unto
13] Mephibosheth. So Mephibosheth
dwelt in Jerusalem: for he did eat continually
at the king's table; and he was
lame on both his feet.

A FAMINE AND ITS REMEDY

Palestine gains it fertility from the rainfall deposited by moist air driven by the west winds in from the Mediterranean. The rainfall occurs in the winter months, most of it between November and April. If during these months the rainfall reaches a depth of twenty-five to twenty-eight inches, the land produces good crops. If it amounts to only fifteen inches, there is not enough moisture to water the growing crops and a famine results. Many times in the history of the country have famines been caused in this way. During the reign of David the rainfall was inadequate for three successive years. Neither David nor any man of his time knew anything of meteorology; they thought that somehow Yahweh had been offended and consequently withheld his rain. How they thought they discovered the cause is told in the following story:

2 Sam. 21. And there was a famine in
the days of David three years, year after
year; and David sought the face of the
Lord. And the Lord said, It is for Saul,
and for his bloody house, because he put
2] to death the Gibeonites. And the king
called the Gibeonites, and said unto
them; (now the Gibeonites were not of
the children of Israel, but of the remnant
of the Amorites; and the children
of Israel had sworn unto them: and Saul
sought to slay them in his zeal for the
3] children of Israel and Judah:) and
David said unto the Gibeonites, What
shall I do for you? and wherewith shall
I make atonement, that ye may bless the
4] inheritance of the Lord? And the
Gibeonites said unto him, It is no matter

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[87] See ch. 4: 4.
[88] Heb. *field.*
[89] Or, *But Mephibosheth eateth &c.*

of silver or gold between us and Saul, or
his house; [90] neither is it for us to put
any man to death in Israel. And he said,
What ye shall say, that will I do for you.
5] And they said unto the king, The man
that consumed us, and that devised
against us, [91] *that* we should be destroyed
from remaining in any of the borders of
6] Israel, let seven men of his sons be delivered
unto us, and we will hang them
up unto the LORD in Gibeah of Saul, the
chosen of the LORD. And the king said,
7] I will give them. But the king spared
Mephibosheth, the son of Jonathan the
son of Saul, because of the Lord's oath
that was between them, between David
8] and Jonathan the son of Saul. But
the king took the two sons of Rizpah the
daughter of Aiah, whom she bare unto
Saul, Armoni and Mephibosheth; and
the five sons of [92] Michal the daughter
of Saul, whom she bare to Adriel the
9] son of Barzillai the Meholathite: and
he delivered them into the hands of the
Gibeonites, and they hanged them in the
mountain before the LORD, and they fell
all seven together: and they were put to
death in the days of harvest, in the first
days at the beginning of barley harvest.
10] And Rizpah the daughter of Aiah
took sackcloth, and spread it for her upon
the rock, from the beginning of harvest
until water was poured upon them from
heaven; and she suffered neither the
birds of the air to rest on them by day,
nor the beasts of the field by night.
11] And it was told David what Rizpah
the daughter of Aiah, the concubine of
12] of Saul, had done. And David went
and took the bones of Saul and the bones
of Jonathan his son from the men of
Jabesh-gilead, which had stolen them
from the [93] street of Beth-shan, where
the Philistines had hanged them, in the
day that the Philistines slew Saul in
13] Gilboa: and he brought up from
thence the bones of Saul and the bones
of Jonathan his son; and they gathered
the bones of them that were hanged.
14] And they buried the bones of Saul
and Jonathan his son in the country of
Benjamin in Zela, in the sepulchre of
Kish his father: and they performed all
that the king commanded. And after
that God was intreated for the land.

Deeply ingrained in the thought of all Semitic people was the principle of blood revenge. It was a kind of rough and ready justice born in the Arabian desert, the primitive home of the Semites, where it is still the fundamental law. It underlies many penalties in the Babylonian code of Hammurabi, and is found in every stratum of Hebrew laws.[94] It is summed up in the words: "Life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot." [95] So firm was the conviction that this law was a fundamental principle of justice, that the men of Gibeon persuaded David that Yahweh was withholding his rain because he was angry that the death of seven men of their town, who had been put to death by Saul, had never been avenged. The ghastly method which was adopted to appease Yahweh's anger was to hang seven descendants of Saul in the spring, just at the beginning of the dry season, and let them hang exposed to the vultures all summer. When autumn came once more, however, abundant rains fell, and the famine was broken. Naturally therefore it was thought that the real cause of the famine had at last been discovered and removed.

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[90] Or, *neither for us shalt thou put any man to death in Israel.*

[91] Or, so that *we have been destroyed.*

[92] In *1 Sam.* 18: 19, *Merab.*

[93] Or, *broad place.*

[94] See Barton, *Archæology and the Bible,* 5th ed., Part II, ch. XIII.

[95] The principle is embodied in different details in the various Hebrew codes; see *Ex.* 21: 24. *Deut.* 19: 21, and *Lev.* 24: 20,

DAVID'S CENSUS AND ITS SUPPOSED CONSEQUENCES

At some time in David's reign, probably soon after he was firmly established on the throne, he determined to take a census of his people. It was a thoroughly statesmanlike measure. All stable governments have found such enumerations necessary as bases of taxation and military service. Such a thing had, however, never before been done in Israel, whose tribes had been free and unorganized. It was considered an invasion of popular rights and contrary to the will of Yahweh. A pestilence soon followed, which was thought to have been sent by Yahweh as a punishment. The narrative is told from a point of view in some respects highly imaginative. It is as follows:

2 Sam. 24. And again the anger
of the LORD was kindled against Israel,
and he moved David against them, saying,
Go, number Israel and Judah.
2] And the king said to Joab the captain
of the host, which was with him, Go now
to and fro through all the tribes of Israel,
from Dan even to Beer-sheba, and number
ye the people, that I may know the
3] sum of the people. And Joab said unto
the king, Now the LORD thy God add
unto the people, how many soever they
be, an hundredfold, and may the eyes of
my lord the king see it: but why doth
my lord the king delight in this thing?
4] Notwithstanding the king's word prevailed
against Joab, and against the captains
of the host. And Joab and the captains
of the host went out from the
presence of the king, to number the people
5] of Israel. And they passed over
Jordan, and pitched in Aroer, on the
right side of the city that is in the middle
of the valley [96] of Gad, and unto Jazer:
6] then they came to Gilead, and to the
land of Tahtim-hodshi; and they came
to Dan-jaan, and round about to Zidon,
7] and came to the strong hold of Tyre,
and to all the cities of the Hivites, and
of the Canaanites: and they went out
to the south of Judah, at Beer-sheba.
8] So when they had gone to and fro
through all the land, they came to Jerusalem
at the end of nine months and
9] twenty days. And Joab gave up the
sum of the numbering of the people unto
the king: and there were in Israel eight
hundred thousand valiant men that drew
the sword; and the men of Judah were
five hundred thousand men.
10] And David's heart smote him after
that he had numbered the people. And
David said unto the LORD, I have sinned
greatly in that I have done: but now, O
LORD, put away, I beseech thee, the iniquity
of thy servant; for I have done very
11] foolishly. And when David rose up
in the morning, the word of the LORD
came unto the prophet Gad, David's seer,
12] saying, Go and speak unto David,
Thus saith the LORD, I [97] offer thee three
things; choose thee one of them, that I
13] may do it unto thee. So Gad came to
David, and told him, and said unto him,
Shall seven years of famine come unto
thee in thy land? or wilt thou flee three
months before thy foes while they pursue
thee? or shall there be three days'
pestilence in thy land? now advise thee,
and consider what answer I shall return
14] to him that sent me. And David said
unto Gad, I am in a great strait: let us
fall now into the hand of the LORD; for
his mercies are [98] great: and let me not
15] fall into the hand of man. So the
LORD sent a pestilence upon Israel from
the morning even to the time appointed:
and there died of the people from Dan
even to Beer-sheba seventy thousand
16] men. And when the angel stretched
out his hand toward Jerusalem to destroy
it, the LORD repented him of the evil, and
said to the angel that destroyed the people,
It is enough; now stay thine hand.

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[96] Or, *toward.*
[97] Or, *lay upon.*
[98] Or, *many.*

And the angel of the LORD was by the threshing-floor of [99] Araunah the Jeb-
17] usite. And David spake unto the LORD when he saw the angel that smote the people, and said, Lo, I have sinned, and I have done perversely: but these sheep, what have they done? let thine hand, I pray thee, be against me, and against my father's house.

18] And Gad came that day to David, and said unto him, Go up, rear an altar unto the LORD in the threshing-floor of
19] Araunah the Jebusite. And David went up according to the saying of Gad,
20] as the LORD commanded. And Araunah looked forth, and saw the king and his servants [100] coming on toward him: and Araunah went out, and bowed himself before the king with his face to the
21] ground. And Araunah said, Wherefore is my lord the king come to his servant? And David said, To buy the threshing-floor of thee, to build an altar unto the LORD, that the plague may be
22] stayed from the people. And Araunah said unto David, Let my lord the king take and offer up what seemeth good unto him: behold, the oxen for the burnt offering, and the threshing instruments and the furniture of the oxen for
23] the wood: [101] all this, O king, doth Araunah give unto the king. And Araunah said unto the king, The LORD thy
24] God accept thee. And the king said unto Araunah, Nay; but I will verily buy it of thee at a price: neither will I offer burnt offerings unto the LORD my God which cost me nothing. So David bought the threshing-floor and the oxen for fifty
25] shekels of silver. And David built there an altar unto the LORD, and offered burnt offerings and peace offerings. So the LORD was intreated for the land, and the plague was stayed from Israel.

The obvious historical fact seems to be that a pestilence occurred, and that it was popularly attributed to Yahweh's anger that David had invaded the rights of his free people by taking a census. David himself accepted this explanation. The story that Yahweh gave David the choice as to what his punishment should be is an embellishment of later religious tradition. The belief until long after the time of David was that nothing happened in Israel without Yahweh's having willed it. The original writer of this story believed that Yahweh himself had tempted David to number the people in order that he might send the pestilence (see *2 Sam.* 24:1), and the compiler of the books of *Samuel* let this explanation stand. When the books of *Chronicles* were written, about 300 B.C., Hebrews had come to believe that Satan, not Yahweh, caused evil, so in *1 Chronicles* 21:1 Satan is said to have tempted David to this deed. Both books agree as to the main historical facts; they disagree only in their explanations, but each of these explanations is in accord with the theology of the century in which it was written.

Another interesting feature of this episode is that somehow (we do not know how) the plague was believed to have been stopped at the threshing-floor of Araunah, the Jebusite, which was on the northern part of the eastern hill just north of the Jerusalem of David's time—that Jerusalem that was called "the city of David." Threshing in Palestine was done by strewing grain on a rock or on smoothly trodden ground and driving cattle over and over it until the grain was threshed out of the straw. This was always done in a sacred place, where the grain was under the protection of a god. People could not trust one another, but no one would steal grain from a sacred place, lest a curse come upon him. Araunah's threshing-floor was, therefore, a sanctuary. Under it was a cave which had been regarded as a sacred place from time immemorial. Here, according to later tradition, Abraham had brought Isaac to offer him in sacrifice (*Gen.* 22). David is said to have purchased this threshing-floor and to have built an altar to Yahweh on it. He took the stopping of the plague there to be evidence that Yahweh had manifested himself there. Thus a Jebusite sanctuary became a sanctuary of Yahweh. It was here that Solomon afterward built his temple, and the altar which stood before his temple stood on the rock over the old sacred cave.

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[99] Or, *Ornah.* In *1 Chr.* 21:15, *Ornan.*
[100] Or, *passing over.*
[101] Or, *all this did Araunah the king give &c.*

THE REBELLION OF ABSALOM

The last years of David's reign were disturbed by rebellions. The first of these, and the one most graphically described, was led by his own son Absalom. The story is as follows:

2 Sam. 15. And it came to pass after
this, that Absalom prepared him a chariot
and horses, and fifty men to run before
2] him. And Absalom rose up early,
and stood beside the way of the gate:
and it was so, that when any man had
a suit which should come to the king for
judgement, then Absalom called unto
him, and said, Of what city art thou?
And he said, Thy servant is of one of the
3] tribes of Israel. And Absalom said
unto him, See, thy matters are good and
right; but there is no man deputed of the
4] king to hear thee. Absalom said moreover,
Oh that I were made judge in the
land, that every man which hath any suit
or cause might come unto me, and I
5] would do him justice! And it was so,
that when any man came nigh to do him
obeisance, he put forth his hand, and
took hold of him, and kissed him.
6] And on this manner did Absalom to
all Israel that came to the king for
judgement: so Absalom stole the hearts
of the men of Israel.

7] And it came to pass at the end of
[102] forty years, that Absalom said unto
the king, I pray thee, let me go and pay
my vow, which I have vowed unto the
8] Lord, in Hebron. For thy servant
vowed a vow while I abode at Geshur
in [103] Syria, saying, If the Lord shall
indeed bring me again to Jerusalem, then
9] I will [104] serve the Lord. And the king
said unto him, Go in peace. So he arose,
10] and went to Hebron. But Absalom
sent spies throughout all the tribes of
Israel, saying, As soon as ye hear the
sound of the trumpet, then ye shall say,
11] Absalom is king in Hebron. And
with Absalom went two hundred men
out of Jerusalem, that were invited, and
went in their simplicity; and they knew
12] not any thing. And Absalom [105] sent
for Ahithophel the Gilonite, David's
counsellor, from his city, even from
Giloh, while he offered the sacrifices.
And the conspiracy was strong; for the
people increased continually with Absalom.

13] And there came a messenger to
David, saying, The hearts of the men of
14] Israel are after Absalom. And David
said unto all his servants that were
with him at Jerusalem, Arise, and let us
flee; for else none of us shall escape
from Absalom: make speed to depart,
lest he overtake us quickly, and bring

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[102] According to some ancient authorities, *four*.

[103] Heb. *Aram*.

[104] Or, *worship*.

[105] Or, *sent Ahithophel*.

down evil upon us, and smite the city
15] with the edge of the sword. And the
king's servants said unto the king, Behold,
thy servants are ready to do whatsoever
my lord the king shall choose.
16] And the king went forth, and all his
household after him. And the king left
ten women, which were concubines, to
17] keep the house. And the king went
forth, and all the people after him; and
18] they tarried [106] in Beth-merhak. And
all his servants passed on beside him;
and all the Cherethites, and all the Pelethites,
and all the Gittites, six hundred
men which came after him from Gath,
19] passed on before the king. Then said
the king to Ittai the Gittite, Wherefore
goest thou also with us? return, and
abide with the king: for thou art a stranger,
and also an exile; *return* to thine
20] own place. Whereas thou camest but
yesterday, should I this day make thee
go up and down with us, seeing I go
whither I may? return thou, and take
back thy brethren; mercy and truth be
21] with thee. And Ittai answered the
king, and said, As the Lord liveth, and as
my lord the king liveth, surely in what
place my lord the king shall be, whether
for death or for life, even there also will
22] thy servant be. And David said to
Ittai, Go and pass over. And Ittai the
Gittite passed over, and all his men, and
all the little ones that were with him.
23] And all the country wept with a
loud voice, and all the people passed
over: the king also himself passed over
the brook Kidron, and all the people
passed over, toward the way of the wilderness.
24] And, lo, Zadok also *came*,
and all the Levites with him, bearing
the ark of the covenant of God; and they
set down the ark of God, and Abiathar
went up, until all the people had done
25] passing out of the city. And the
king said unto Zadok, Carry back the
ark of God into the city: if I shall find
favour in the eyes of the Lord, he will
bring me again, and shew me both it, and
26] his habitation: but if he say thus,
I have no delight in thee; behold, here
am I, let him do to me as seemeth good
27] unto him. The king said also unto
Zadok the priest, [107] Art thou *not* a seer?
return into the city in peace, and your
two sons with you, Ahimaaz thy son,
and Jonathan the son of Abiathar.
28] See, I will tarry [108] at the fords of
the wilderness, until there come word
29] from you to certify me. Zadok therefore
and Abiathar carried the ark of God
again to Jerusalem: and they abode
there.

30] And David went up by the ascent
of the *mount of* Olives, and wept as he
went up; and he had his head covered,
and went barefoot: and all the people
that were with him covered every man
his head, and they went up, weeping as
31] they went up. And one told David,
saying, Ahithophel is among the conspirators
with Absalom. And David said,
O Lord, I pray thee, turn the counsel
32] of Ahithophel into foolishness. And
it came to pass, that when David was
come to the top *of the ascent*, [109] where
God was worshipped, behold, Hushai
the Archite came to meet him with his
coat rent, and earth upon his head:
33] and David said unto him, If thou
passest on with me, then thou shalt be a
34] burden unto me: but if thou return
to the city, and say unto Absalom, I will
be thy servant, O king; as I have been
thy father's servant in time past, so will
I now be thy servant: then shalt thou defeat
35] for me the counsel of Ahithophel.
And hast thou not there with thee
Zadok and Abiathar the priests? therefore
it shall be, that what thing soever
thou shalt hear out of the king's house,
thou shalt tell it to Zadok and Abiathar
36] the priests. Behold, they have there
with them their two sons, Ahimaaz Zadok's
son, and Jonathan Abiathar's son;
and by them ye shall send unto me everything
37] that ye shall hear. So Hushai
David's friend came into the city; and
Absalom came into Jerusalem.

16. And when David was a little past
the top *of the ascent*, behold, Ziba the
servant of Mephibosheth met him, with
a couple of asses saddled, and upon them
two hundred loaves of bread, and an hun-

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[106] Or, *at the Far House.*
[107] Or, *Seest thou?*
[108] Another reading is, *in the plains.*
[109] Or, *where he was wont to worship God.*

dred clusters of raisins, and an hundred
of summer fruits, and a [110] bottle of
wine. And the king said unto Ziba, What
meanest thou by these? And Ziba said,
The asses be for the king's household to
ride on; and the bread and summer fruit
for the young men to eat; and the wine,
that such as be faint in the wilderness
3] may drink. And the king said, And
where is thy master's son? And Ziba said
unto the king, Behold, he abideth at
Jerusalem: for he said, To-day shall the
house of Israel restore me the kingdom
4] of my father. Then said the king to
Ziba, Behold, thine is all that pertaineth,
unto Mephibosheth. And Ziba said, I do
obeisance; let me find favour in thy
sight, my lord, O king.

5] And when king David came to
Bahurim, behold, there came out thence
a man of the family of the house of Saul,
whose name was Shimei, the son of
Gera: he came out, and cursed still as he
6] came. And he cast stones at David,
and at all the servants of king David:
and all the people and all the mighty
men were on his right hand and on his
7] left. And thus said Shimei when he
cursed, Begone, begone, thou man of
8] blood, and man of [111] Belial: the Lord
hath returned upon thee all the blood of
the house of Saul, in whose stead thou
hast reigned; and the Lord hath delivered
the kingdom into the hand of Absalom
thy son: and, behold, thou art
taken in thine own mischief, because
9] thou art a man of blood. Then said
Abishai the son of Zeruiah unto the king,
Why should this dead dog curse my lord
the king? let me go over, I pray thee,
10] and take off his head. And the king
said, What have I to do with you, ye
sons of Zeruiah? [112] Because he curseth,
and because the Lord hath said unto him,
Curse David; who then shall say,
11] Wherefore hast thou done so? And
David said to Abishai, and to all his
servants, Behold, my son, which came
forth of my bowels, seeketh my life:
how much more *may* this Benjamite now
do it? let him alone, and let him curse;
12] for the Lord hath bidden him. It
may be that the Lord will look on [113] the
wrong done unto me, and that the Lord
will requite me good for *his* cursing of
13] me this day. So David and his men
went by the way: and Shimei went along
on the hill side over against him, and
cursed as he went, and threw stones
14] [114] at him, and cast dust. And the
king, and all the people that were with
him, came [115] weary; and he refreshed
himself there.

15] And Absalom, and all the people
the men of Israel, came to Jerusalem,
16] and Ahithophel with him. And it
came to pass, when Hushai the Archite,
David's friend, was come unto Absalom,
that Hushai said unto Absalom, [116] God
save the king, God save the king.
17] And Absalom said to Hushai, Is
this thy kindness to thy friend? why
wentest thou not with thy friend?
18] And Hushai said unto Absalom,
Nay; but whom the Lord, and this people,
and all the men of Israel have
chosen, his will I be, and with him will
19] I abide. And again, whom should I
serve? *should* I not *serve* in the presence
of his son? as I have served in thy father's
presence, so will I be in thy presence.
20] ence. Then said Absalom to Ahithophel,
Give your counsel what we shall
21] do. And Ahithophel said unto Absalom,
Go in unto thy father's concubines,
which he hath left to keep the
house; and all Israel shall hear that thou
art abhorred of thy father: then shall
the hands of all that are with thee be
22] strong. So they spread Absalom a
tent upon the top of the house; and Absalom
went in unto his father's concubines
23] bines in the sight of all Israel. And
the counsel of Ahithophel, which he
counselled in those days, was as if a
man inquired at the [117] oracle of God:
so was all the counsel of Ahithophel
both with David and with Absalom.

17. Moreover Ahithophel said unto
Absalom, Let me now choose out twelve

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[110] Or, *skin.*

[111] That is, *worthlessness.*

[112] Or, *When he curseth, and when &c.* Another reading is, *So let him curse, because.*

[113] Some ancient versions read, *my affliction.*

[114] Heb. *over against.*

[115] Or, *to Ayephim.*

[116] Heb. *Let the king live.*

[117] Heb. *word.*

thousand men, and I will arise and pursue
2] after David this night: and I will
come upon him while he is weary and
weak handed, and will make him afraid:
and all the people that are with him shall
flee; and I will smite the king only:
3] and I will bring back all the people
unto thee: the man whom thou seekest
is as if all returned: *so* all the people
4] shall be in peace. And the saying
pleased Absalom well, and all the elders
of Israel.

5] Then said Absalom, Call now Hushai
the Archite also, and let us hear
6] likewise what he saith. And when
Hushai was come to Absalom, Absalom
spake unto him, saying Ahithophel hath
spoken after this manner: shall we do
7] *after* his saying? if not, speak thou.
And Hushai said unto Absalom, The
counsel that Ahithophel hath given this
8] time is not good. Hushai said moreover,
Thou knowest thy father and his
men, that they be mighty men, and they
be [118] chafed in their minds, as a bear
robbed of her whelps in the field: and
thy father is a man of war, and will not
9] lodge with the people. Behold, he is
hid now in some pit, or in some other
place: and it will come to pass, [119] when
some of them be fallen at the first, that
whosoever heareth it will say, There is
a slaughter among the people that follow
10] Absalom. And even he that is
valiant, whose heart is as the heart of
a lion, shall utterly melt: for all Israel
knoweth that thy father is a mighty
man, and they which be with him are
11] valiant men. But I counsel that all
Israel be gathered together unto thee,
from Dan even to Beer-sheba, as the
sand that is by the sea for multitude;
and [120] that thou go to battle in thine
12] own person. So shall we come upon
him in some place where he shall be
found, and we will light upon him as
the dew falleth on the ground: and of
him and of all the men that are with him
we will not leave so much as one.
13] Moreover, if he [121] be gotten into a
city, then shall all Israel bring ropes to
that city, and we will draw it into the
river, until there be not one small stone
14] found there. And Absalom and all
the men of Israel said, The counsel of
Hushai the Archite is better than the
counsel of Ahithophel. For the LORD had
ordained to defeat the good counsel of
Ahithophel, to the intent that the LORD
might bring evil upon Absalom.

15] Then said Hushai unto Zadok and
to Abiathar the priests, Thus and thus
did Ahithophel counsel Absalom and the
elders of Israel; and thus and thus have
16] I counselled. Now therefore send
quickly, and tell David, saying, Lodge
not this night [122] at the fords of the wilderness,
but in any wise pass over; lest
the king be swallowed up, and all the
17] people that are with him. [123] Now
Jonathan and Ahimaaz stayed by En-rogel;
and a maidservant used to go and
tell them; and they went and told king
David: for they might not be seen to
18] come into the city. But a lad saw
them, and told Absalom: and they went
both of them away quickly, and came
to the house of a man in Bahurim, who
had a well in his court; and they went
19] down thither. And the woman took
and spread the covering over the well's
mouth, and strewed bruised corn thereon;
20] and nothing was known. And
Absalom's servants came to the woman
to the house; and they said, Where are
Ahimaaz and Jonathan? And the woman
said unto them, They be gone over the
brook of water. And when they had
sought and could not find them, they
21] returned to Jerusalem. And it came
to pass, after they were departed, that
they came up out of the well, and went
and told king David; and they said unto
David, Arise ye, and pass quickly over
the water: for thus hath Ahithophel
22] counselled against you. Then David
arose, and all the people that were with
him, and they passed over Jordan: by

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[118] Heb. *bitter of soul.*

[119] Or, *when he falleth upon them.*

[120] Or, *that thy presence* (Heb. *face*) *go to the battle.*

[121] Or, *withdraw himself.*

[122] Another reading is, *in the plains.*

[123] Or, *Now Jonathan and Ahimaaz stay by En-rogel; so let the maid-servant go and tell them, and let them go and tell king David; for they may not be seen to come into the city.*

the morning light there lacked not one
of them that was not gone over Jordan.
23] And when Ahithophel saw that his
counsel was not followed, he saddled his
ass, and arose, and gat him home, unto
his city, and set his house in order, and
hanged himself; and he died, and was
buried in the sepulchre of his father.

24] Then David came to Mahanaim.
And Absalom passed over Jordan, he
and all the men of Israel with him.
25] And Absalom set Amasa over the
host instead of Joab. Now Amasa was
the son of a man, whose name was
[124] Ithra the Israelite, that went in to
[125] Abigal the daughter of Nahash, sister
26] to Zeruiah Joab's mother. And
Israel and Absalom pitched in the land
of Gilead.

27] And it came to pass, when David
was come to Mahanaim, that Shobi the
son of Nahash of Rabbah of the children
of Ammon, and Machir the son of
Ammiel of Lo-debar, and Barzillai the
28] Gileadite of Rogelim, brought beds,
and basons, and earthen vessels, and
wheat, and barley, and meal, and parched
corn, and beans, and lentils, and parched
29] *pulse,* and honey, and butter, and
sheep, and cheese of kine, for David,
and for the people that were with him,
to eat: for they said, The people is hungry,
and weary, and thirsty, in the wilderness.

18. And David numbered the people
that were with him, and set captains
of thousands and captains of hundreds
2] over them. And David sent forth the
people, a third part under the hand of
Joab, and a third part under the hand of
Abishai the son of Zeruiah, Joab's
brother, and a third part under the hand
of Ittai the Gittite. And the king said
unto the people, I will surely go forth
3] with you myself also. But the people
said, Thou shalt not go forth: for if we
flee away, they will not care for us;
neither if half of us die, will they care
for us: [126] but thou art worth ten thousand
of us: therefore now it is better
that thou be ready to succour us out of
4] the city. And the king said unto them,
What seemeth you best I will do. And
the king stood by the gate side, and all
the people went out by hundreds and
5] by thousands. And the king commanded
Joab and Abishai and Ittai, saying,
Deal gently for my sake with the
young man, even with Absalom. And all
the people heard when the king gave all
the captains charge concerning Absalom.
6] So the people went out into the field
against Israel: and the battle was in
7] the forest of Ephraim. And the people
of Israel were smitten there before
the servants of David, and there was a
great slaughter there that day of twenty
8] thousand men. For the battle was
there spread over the face of all the
country: and the forest devoured more
people that day than the sword devoured.
9] And Absalom chanced to meet the
servants of David. And Absalom rode
upon his mule, and the mule went under
the thick boughs of a great [127] oak, and
his head caught hold of the oak, and he
was taken up between the heaven and
the earth; and the mule that was under
10] him went on. And a certain man saw
it, and told Joab, and said, Behold, I saw
11] Absalom hanging in an oak. And
Joab said unto the man that told him,
And, behold, thou sawest it, and why
didst thou not smite him there to the
ground? and I would have given thee
12] ten *pieces of* silver, and a girdle. And
the man said unto Joab, Though I should
receive a thousand *pieces of* silver in
mine hand, yet would I not put forth
mine hand against the king's son: for in
our hearing the king charged thee and
Abishai and Ittai, saying, [128] Beware that
none touch the young man Absalom.
13] Otherwise if I had dealt falsely
against [129] his life, (and there is no matter
hid from the king,) then thou thyself
14] [130] wouldest have stood aloof. Then
said Joab, I may not tarry thus with thee.

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[124] In *1 Chr. 2: 17, Jether the Ishmaelite.*

[125] In *1 Chr. 2: 16, 17, Abigail.*

[126] So some ancient authorities. The Hebrew text has, *for now are there ten thousand such as we.*

[127] Or, *terebinth.*

[128] Heb. *Have a care, whosoever ye be, of &c.*

[129] Another reading is, *my.*

[130] Or, *wouldest have set thyself against me.*

And he took three [131] darts in his hand,
and thrust them through the heart of
Absalom, while he was yet alive in the
15] midst of the oak. And ten young men
that bare Joab's armour compassed about
and smote Absalom, and slew him.
16] And Joab blew the trumpet, and the
people returned from pursuing after Israel:
for Joab [132] held back the people.
17] And they took Absalom, and cast
him into the great pit in the forest, and
raised over him a very great heap of
stones: and all Israel fled every one to
18] his tent. Now Absalom in his life
time had taken and reared up for himself
the pillar, which is in the king's dale:
for he said, I have no son to keep my
name in remembrance: and he called the
pillar after his own name: and it is called
Absalom's monument, unto this day.

19] Then said Ahimaaz the son of
Zadok, Let me now run, and bear the
king tidings, how that the LORD hath
20] [133] avenged him of his enemies. And
Joab said unto him, Thou shalt not be
the bearer of tidings this day, but thou
shalt bear tidings another day: but this
day thou shalt bear no tidings, because
21] the king's son is dead. Then said Joab
to the Cushite, Go tell the king what
thou hast seen. And the Cushite bowed
22] himself unto Joab, and ran. Then
said Ahimaaz the son of Zadok yet again
to Joab, But come what may, let me, I
pray thee, also run after the Cushite.
And Joab said, Wherefore wilt thou
run, my son, seeing that thou [134] wilt
23] have no reward for the tidings? But
come what may, *said he,* I will run. And
he said unto him, Run. Then Ahimaaz
ran by the way of the Plain, and overran
the Cushite.

24] Now David sat between the two
gates: and the watchman went up to the
roof of the gate unto the wall, and lifted
up his eyes, and looked, and, behold, a
25] man running alone. And the watchman
cried, and told the king. And the
king said, If he be alone, there is tidings
in his mouth. And he came apace, and
26] drew near. And the watchman saw
another man running: and the watchman
called unto the porter, and said, Behold,
another man running alone. And
the king said, He also bringeth tidings.
27] And the watchman said, Me thinketh
the running of the foremost is like
the running of Ahimaaz the son of Zadok.
And the king said, He is a good
man, and cometh with good tidings.
28] And Ahimaaz called, and said unto
the king, [135] All is well. And he bowed
himself before the king with his face to
the earth, and said, Blessed be the LORD
thy God, which hath delivered up the
men that lifted up their hand against my
29] lord the king. And the king said,
[136] Is it well with the young man Absalom?
And Ahimaaz answered, When
Joab sent the king's servant, [137] even me
thy servant, I saw a great tumult, but
30] I knew not what it was. And the
king said, Turn aside, and stand here.
And he turned aside, and stood still.
31] And, behold, the Cushite came; and
the Cushite said, Tidings for my lord
the king: for the LORD hath avenged thee
this day of all them that rose up against
32] thee. And the king said unto the
Cushite, Is it well with the young man
Absalom? And the Cushite answered,
The enemies of my lord the king, and
all that rise up against thee to do thee
33] hurt, be as that young man is. [138] And
the king was much moved, and went up
to the chamber over the gate, and wept:
and as he went, thus he said, O my son
Absalom, my son, my son Absalom!
would God I had died for thee, O Absalom,
my son, my son!

19. And it was told Joab, Behold, the
king weepeth and mourneth for Absa-
2] lom. And the [139] victory that day was
turned into mourning unto all the people:
for the people heard say that day,
3] The king grieveth for his son. And
the people gat them by stealth that day
into the city, as people that are ashamed
steal away when they flee in battle.
4] And the king covered his face, and

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[131] Heb. *staves.*
[132] Or, *spared.*
[133] Heb. *judged him from the hand &c.*
[134] Or, *hast no sufficient tidings.*
[135] Heb. *Peace.*
[136] Heb. Is there *peace with &c.?*
[137] Or, *and.*
[138] [Ch. 19: 1 in *Heb.*]
[139] Heb. *salvation.*

the king cried with a loud voice, O my
son Absalom, O Absalom, my son, my
5] son! And Joab came into the house
to the king, and said, Thou hast shamed
this day the faces of all thy servants,
which this day have saved thy life, and
the lives of thy sons and of thy daughters,
and the lives of thy wives, and the
6] lives of thy concubines; in that thou
lovest them that hate thee, and hatest
them that love thee. For thou hast declared
this day, that princes and servants
are nought unto thee: for this day I perceive,
that if Absalom had lived, and all
we had died this day, then it had pleased
7] thee well. Now therefore arise, go
forth, and speak comfortably unto thy
servants: for I swear by the LORD, if
thou go not forth, there will not tarry a
man with thee this night: and that will
be worse unto thee than all the evil that
hath befallen thee from thy youth until
8] now. Then the king arose, and sat in
the gate. And they told unto all the people,
saying, Behold, the king doth sit in
the gate: and all the people came before
the king.

Now Israel had fled every man to his
9] tent. And all the people were at strife
throughout all the tribes of Israel, saying,
The king delivered us out of the
hand of our enemies, and he saved us out
of the hand of the Philistines; and now
he is fled out of the land from Absalom.
10] And Absalom, whom we anointed
over us, is dead in battle. Now therefore
why speak ye not a word of bringing the
king back?

11] And king David sent to Zadok
and to Abiathar the priests, saying,
Speak unto the elders of Judah, saying,
Why are ye the last to bring the king
back to his house? seeing the speech of
all Israel is come to the king, *to bring*
12] *him* to his house. Ye are my brethren,
ye are my bone and my flesh:
wherefore then are ye the last to bring
13] back the king? And say ye to
Amasa, Art thou not my bone and my
flesh? God do so to me, and more also,
if thou be not captain of the host before
me continually in the room of Joab.
14] And he bowed the heart of all the
men of Judah, even as *the heart of* one
man; so that they sent unto the king,
saying, Return thou, and all thy servants.
15] So the king returned, and came
to Jordan. And Judah came to Gilgal,
to go to meet the king, to bring the king
over Jordan.

16] And Shimei the son of Gera, the
Benjamite, which was of Bahurim,
hasted and came down with the men of
17] Judah to meet king David. And there
were a thousand men of Benjamin with
him, and Ziba the servant of the home
of Saul, and his fifteen sons and his
twenty servants with him; and they
went through Jordan in the presence of
18] the king. And there went over [140] a
ferry boat to bring over the king's household,
and to do what he thought good.
And Shimei the son of Gera fell down
before the king, when he [141] was come
19] over Jordan. And he said unto
the king, Let not my lord impute iniquity
unto me, neither do thou remember
that which thy servant did perversely
the day that my lord the king went out
of Jerusalem, that the king should take
20] it to his heart. For thy servant doth
know that I have sinned: therefore, behold,
I am come this day the first of
all the house of Joseph to go down to
21] meet my lord the king. But Abishai
the son of Zeruiah answered and said,
Shall not Shimei be put to death for this,
because he cursed the LORD's anointed?
22] And David said, What have I to do
with you, ye sons of Zeruiah, that ye
should this day be adversaries unto me?
shall there any man be put to death this
day in Israel? for do not I know that I
23] am this day king over Israel? And
the king said unto Shimei, Thou shalt
not die. And the king sware unto him.

24] And Mephibosheth the son of Saul
came down to meet the king; and he had
neither dressed his feet, nor trimmed his
beard, nor washed his clothes, from the
day the king departed until the day he
25] came home in peace. And it came to

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[140] Or, *the convoy.*

[141] Or, *would go over.*

pass, [142] when he was come to Jerusalem
to meet the king, that the king said unto
him, Wherefore wentest not thou with
26] me, Mephibosheth? And he answered,
My lord, O king, my servant deceived
me: for thy servant said, I will saddle
me an ass, that I may ride thereon, and
go [143] with the king; because thy servant
27] is lame. And he hath slandered
thy servant unto my lord the king; but
my lord the king is as [144] an angel of
God: do therefore what is good in thine
28] eyes. For all my father's house were
but [145] dead men before my lord the
king: yet didst thou set thy servant
among them that did eat at thine own
table. What right therefore have I yet
that I should cry any more unto the
29] king? And the king said unto him,
Why speakest thou any more of thy matters?
I say, Thou and Ziba divide the
30] land. And Mephibosheth said unto
the king, Yea, let him take all, forasmuch
as my lord the king is come in peace unto
his own house.

31] And Barzillai the Gileadite came
down from Rogelim; and he went over
Jordan with the king, to conduct him
32] over Jordan. Now Barzillai was a
very aged man, even fourscore years
old: and he had provided the king with
sustenance while he lay at Mahanaim;
33] for he was a very great man. And
the king said unto Barzillai, Come thou
over with me, and I will sustain thee with
34] me in Jerusalem. And Barzillai said
unto the king, How many are the days
of the years of my life, that I should
go up with the king unto Jerusalem?
35] I am this day fourscore years old:
can I discern between good and bad?
can thy servant taste what I eat or what
I drink? can I hear any more the voice
of singing men and singing women?
wherefore then should thy servant be
yet a burden unto my lord the king?
36] Thy servant would but just go over
Jordan with the king: and why should
the king recompense it me with such a
37] reward? Let thy servant, I pray thee,
turn back again, that I may die in mine
own city, by the grave of my father and
my mother. But behold, thy servant
Chimham; let him go over with my lord
the king; and do to him what shall seem
38] good unto thee. And the king answered,
Chimham shall go over with me,
and I will do to him that which shall
seem good unto thee: and whatsoever
thou shalt [146] require of me, that will I
39] do for thee. And all the people went
over Jordan, and the king went over:
and the king kissed Barzillai, and blessed
him: and he returned unto his own
place.

40] So the king went over to Gilgal,
and Chimham went over with him: and
all the people of Judah brought the king
over, and also half the people of Israel.
41] And, behold, all the men of Israel
came to the king, and said unto the king,
Why have our brethren the men of
Judah stolen thee away, and brought the
king, and his household, over Jordan,
42] and all David's men with him? And
all the men of Judah answered the men
of Israel, Because the king is near of
kin to us: wherefore then be ye angry
for this matter? have we eaten at all of
the king's cost? or hath he given us any
43] gift? And the men of Israel answered
the men of Judah, and said, We
have ten parts in the king, and we have
also more *right* in David than ye: why
then did ye despise us, [147] that our advice
should not be first had in bringing
back our king? And the words of the
men of Judah were fiercer than the words
of the men of Israel.

The preceding history of this unhappy incident, if followed on the map, needs no comment to make it clearer. Out of it, however, grew another rebellion.

[142] Or, *when Jerusalem was come.*

[143] Another reading is, *to.*

[144] Or, *the.*

[145] Heb. *men of death.*

[146] Heb. *choose* to lay *upon.*

[147] Or, *and were not we the first to speak of bringing back our king?*

THE REBELLION OF SHEBA, *2 Sam. 20*

2 Sam. 20. And there happened to be
there a man of [148] Belial, whose name
was Sheba, the son of Bichri, a Benjamite: and he blew the trumpet, and
said, We have no portion in David,
neither have we inheritance in the son
of Jesse: every man to his tents, O
2] Israel. So all the men of Israel went
up from following David, and followed
Sheba the son of Bichri: but the men of
Judah clave unto their king, from Jordan
even to Jerusalem.

3] And David came to his house at
Jerusalem; and the king took the ten
women his concubines, whom he had left
to keep the house, and put them in ward,
and provided them with sustenance, but
went not in unto them. So they were shut
up unto the day of their death, [149] living
in widowhood.

4] Then said the king to Amasa, Call
me the men of Judah together within
three days, and be thou here present.
5] So Amasa went to call *the men of*
Judah together: but he tarried longer
than the set time which he had appointed
6] him. And David said to Abishai, Now
shall Sheba the son of Bichri do us more
harm than did Absalom: take thou thy
lord's servants, and pursue after him,
lest he get him fenced cities, and escape
7] out of our sight. And there went out
after him Joab's men, and the Cherethites
and the Pelethites, and all the mighty
men: and they went out of Jerusalem,
to pursue after Sheba the son of Bichri.
8] When they were at the great stone
which is in Gibeon, Amasa came to meet
them. And Joab was girded with his
apparel of war that he had put on, and
thereon was a girdle with a sword fastened upon his loins in the sheath
thereof; and as he went forth it fell out.
9] And Joab said to Amasa, Is it well
with thee, my brother? And Joab took
Amasa by the beard with his right hand
10] to kiss him. But Amasa took no heed
to the sword that was in Joab's hand: so
he smote him therewith in the belly, and
shed out his bowels to the ground, and
struck him not again; and he died. And
Joab and Abishai his brother pursued
11] after Sheba the son of Bichri. And
there stood by him one of Joab's young
men, and said, He that favoureth Joab,
and he that is for David, let him follow
12] Joab. And Amasa lay wallowing
in his blood in the midst of the high way.
And when the man saw that all the people stood still, he carried Amasa out of
the high way into the field, and cast a
garment over him, when he saw that
every one that came by him stood still.
13] When he was removed out of the
high way, all the people went on after
Joab, to pursue after Sheba the son of
14] Bichri. And he went through all the
tribes of Israel unto Abel, and to Bethmaacah, and all the Berites: and they
were gathered together, and went also
15] after him. And they came and besieged him in Abel of Beth-ma-acah, and
they cast up a mount against the city,
and it stood against the rampart; and
all the people that were with Joab
[150] battered the wall, to throw it down.
16] Then cried a wise woman out of the
city, Hear, hear; say, I pray you, unto
Joab, Come near hither, that I may
17] speak with thee. And he came near
unto her; and the woman said, Art thou
Joab? And he answered, I am. Then she
said unto him, Hear the words of thine
handmaid. And he answered, I do hear.
18] Then she spake, saying, They were
wont to speak in old time, saying, They
shall surely ask *counsel* at Abel: and so
19] they ended *the matter.* I am of them
that are peaceable and faithful in Israel:
thou seekest to destroy a city and a
mother in Israel: why wilt thou swallow
20] up the inheritance of the Lord? And
Joab answered and said, Far be it, far
be it from me, that I should swallow up
21] or destroy. The matter is not so:
but a man of the hill country of Ephraim,
Sheba the son of Bichri by name, hath
lifted up his hand against the king, even
against David: deliver him only, and I
will depart from the city. And the woman

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[148] That is, *worthlessness.*
[149] Heb. *in widowhood of life.*

[150] Or, *undermined.*

said unto Joab, Behold, his head shall be
22] thrown to thee over the wall. Then
the woman went unto all the people in
her wisdom. And they cut off the head of
Sheba the son of Bichri, and threw it
out to Joab. And he blew the trumpet,
and they were dispersed from the city,
every man to his tent. And Joab returned
to Jerusalem unto the king.
23] Now Joab was over all the host
of Israel: and Benaiah the son of
Jehoiada was over the [151] Cherethites
24] and over the Pelethites: and Adoram
was over the [152] tribute: and Jehoshaphat
the son of Ahilud was the [153] recorder:
25] and Sheva was [154] scribe:
and Zadok and Abiathar were priests:
26] and Ira also the Jairite was [155] priest
unto David.

The decisive battle in the rebellion of Absalom took place in the country east of the Jordan; that in the rebellion of Sheba, near the headwaters of the Jordan. *2 Samuel* 20 concludes with a statement of the reorganization of David's kingdom after the period of rebellion.

THE REBELLION OF ADONIJAH, ACCESSION OF SOLOMON, AND DEATH OF DAVID

How long David lived after the two rebellions just described, we do not know. The first book of *Kings* opens with a graphic story of David's last days, which appears to have been taken from the same document as *2 Samuel* 9–20; it is a part of what has been called "the court history of David." Its account is as follows:

1 Kings 1. Now king David was old
and stricken in years; and they covered
him with clothes, but he gat no heat.
2] Wherefore his servants said unto him,
Let there be sought for my lord the king
a young virgin: and let her stand before
the king, and cherish him; and let her
lie in thy bosom, that my lord the king
3] may get heat. So they sought for a
fair damsel throughout all the coasts of
Israel, and found Abishag the Shunammite,
and brought her to the king.
4] And the damsel was very fair; and
she cherished the king, and ministered
to him; but the king knew her not.
5] Then Adonijah the son of Haggith
exalted himself saying, I will be king:
and he prepared him chariots and horsemen,
and fifty men to run before him.
6] And his father had not displeased him
[156] at any time in saying, Why hast thou
done so? and he was also a very goodly
man; and he was born after Absalom.
7] And he conferred with Joab the son
of Zeruiah, and with Abiathar the priest:
and they following Adonijah helped him.
8] But Zadok the priest, and Benaiah the
son of Jehoiada, and Nathan the prophet,
and Shimei, and Rei, and the mighty men
which belonged to David, were not with
9] Adonijah. And Adonijah [157] slew
sheep and oxen and fatlings by the stone
of Zoheleth, which is beside En-rogel;
and he called all his brethren the king's
sons, and all the men of Judah the king's
10] servants: but Nathan the prophet,
and Benaiah, and the mighty men, and
Solomon his brother, he called not.
11] Then Nathan spake unto Bath-sheba
the mother of Solomon, saying, Hast
thou not heard that Adonijah the son
of Haggith doth reign, and David our
12] lord knoweth it not? Now therefore
come, let me, I pray thee, give thee counsel,
that thou mayest save thine own life,
13] and the life of thy son Solomon. Go

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[151] Another reading is, *Carites. See 2 Kings* 11: 4.

[152] Or, *levy.*

[153] Or, *chronicler.*

[154] Or, *secretary.*

[155] Or, *a chief minister.* See *1 Chr.* 18: 17.

[156] Or, *all his life.*

[157] Or, *sacrificed.*

and get thee in unto king David, and say
unto him, Didst not thou, my lord, O
king, swear unto thine handmaid, saying,
Assuredly Solomon thy son shall reign
after me, and he shall sit upon my
14] throne? why then doth Adonijah
reign? Behold, while thou yet talkest
there with the king, I also will come in
after thee, and confirm thy words.
15] And Bath-sheba went in unto the
king into the chamber: and the king was
very old; and Abishag the Shunammite
16] ministered unto the king. And Bath-sheba
bowed, and did obeisance unto the
king. And the king said, What wouldest
17] thou? And she said unto him, my
lord, thou swarest by the LORD thy God
unto thine handmaid, *saying,* Assuredly
Solomon thy son shall reign after me,
18] and he shall sit upon my throne. And
now, behold, Adonijah reigneth; [158] and
thou, my lord the king, knowest it not:
19] and he hath [159] slain oxen and fatlings
and sheep in abundance, and hath
called all the sons of the king, and
Abiathar the priest, and Joab the captain
of the host: but Solomon thy servant
20] hath he not called. And [159] thou,
my lord the king, the eyes of all Israel
are upon thee, that thou shouldest tell
them who shall sit on the throne of my
21] lord the king after him. Otherwise it
shall come to pass, when my lord the
king shall sleep with his fathers, that I
and my son Solomon shall be counted
22] [160] offenders. And, lo, while she yet
talked with the king, Nathan the prophet
23] came in. And they told the king, saying,
Behold, Nathan the prophet. And
when he was come in before the king, he
bowed himself before the king with his
24] face to the ground. And Nathan said,
My lord, O king, hast thou said, Adonijah
shall reign after me, and he shall sit
25] upon my throne? For he is gone
down this day, and hath slain oxen and
fatlings and sheep in abundance, and
hath called all the king's sons, and the
captains of the host, and Abiathar the
priest; and, behold, they eat and drink
before him, and say, God save king
26] Adonijah. But me, even me thy servant,
and Zadok the priest, and Benaiah
the son of Jehoiada, and thy servant
27] Solomon, hath he not called. Is this
thing done by my lord the king, and thou
hast not shewed unto thy [161] servants
who should sit on the throne of my lord
28] the king after him? Then king David
answered and said, Call me Bath-sheba.
And she came into the king's presence,
29] and stood before the king. And the
king sware, and said, As the LORD liveth,
who hath redeemed my soul out of all
30] adversity, verily as I sware unto thee
by the LORD, the God of Israel, saying,
Assuredly Solomon thy son shall reign
after me, and he shall sit upon my throne
in my stead; verily so will I do this day.
31] Then Bath-sheba bowed with her
face to the earth, and did obeisance to the
king, and said, Let my lord king David
32] live for ever. And king David said,
Call me Zadok the priest, and Nathan
the prophet, and Benaiah the son of
Jehoiada. And they came before the king.
33] And the king said unto them, Take
with you the servants of your lord, and
cause Solomon my son to ride upon mine
own mule, and bring him down to Gihon:
34] and let Zadok the priest and Nathan
the prophet anoint him there king over
Israel: and blow ye with the trumpet,
and say, God save king Solomon.
35] Then ye shall come up after him,
and he shall come and sit upon my
throne; for he shall be king in my stead:
and I have appointed him to be [162] prince
36] over Israel and over Judah. And
Benaiah the son of Jehoiada answered
the king, and said, Amen: the LORD, the
God of my lord the king, say so *too.*
37] As the LORD hath been with my
lord the king, even so be he with Solomon,
and make his throne greater than
the throne of my lord king David.
38] So Zadok the priest, and Nathan the
prophet, and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada,
and the Cherethites and the Pelethites,
went down, and caused Solomon to ride
upon king David's mule, and brought him
39] to Gihon. And Zadok the priest took

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[158] Another reading is, *and now, my lord the king, thou &c.*

[159] Another reading is, *now.*

[160] Heb. *sinners.*

[161] Another reading is, *servant.*

[162] Or, *leader.*

the horn of oil out of the Tent and
anointed Solomon. And they blew the
trumpet; and all the people said, God
40] save king Solomon. And all the people
came up after him, and the people
piped with pipes, and rejoiced with great
joy, so that the earth rent with the sound
41] of them. And Adonijah and all the
guests that were with him heard it as
they had made an end of eating. And
when Joab heard the sound of the
trumpet, he said, Wherefore is this noise
42] of the city being in an uproar? While
he yet spake, behold, Jonathan the son of
Abiathar the priest came: and Adonijah
said, Come in; for thou art a worthy
43] man, and bringest good tidings. And
Jonathan answered and said to Adonijah,
Verily our lord king David hath made
44] Solomon king: and the king hath
sent with him Zadok the priest, and
Nathan the prophet, and Benaiah the son
of Jehoiada, and the Cherethites and the
Pelethites, and they have caused him to
45] ride upon the king's mule: and
Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet
have anointed him king in Gihon: and
they are come up from thence rejoicing,
so that the city rang again. This is the
46] noise that ye have heard. And also
Solomon sitteth on the throne of the
47] kingdom. And moreover the king's
servants came to bless our lord king
David, saying, [163] Thy God make the
name of Solomon better than thy name,
and make his throne greater than thy
throne: and the king bowed himself upon
48] the bed. And also thus said the king,
Blessed be the LORD, the God of Israel,
which hath given one to sit on my throne
this day, mine eyes even seeing it.
49] And all the guests of Adonijah were
afraid, and rose up, and went every man
50] his way. And Adonijah feared because
of Solomon; and he arose, and
went, and caught hold on the horns of the
51] altar. And it was told Solomon, saying,
Behold, Adonijah feareth king Solomon:
for, lo, he hath laid hold on the
horns of the altar, saying, Let king
Solomon swear unto me [164] this day that
he will not slay his servant with the
52] sword. And Solomon said, If he
shall shew himself a worthy man, there
shall not an hair of him fall to the earth:
but if wickedness be found in him, he
53] shall die. So king Solomon sent,
and they brought him down from the
altar. And he came and did obeisance to
king Solomon: and Solomon said unto
him, Go to thine house.

2. Now the days of David drew nigh
that he should die; and he charged Solomon
2] his son, saying, I go the way
of all the earth: be thou strong there-
3] fore, and shew thyself a man; and
keep the charge of the LORD thy God,
to walk in his ways, to keep his statutes,
and his commandments, and his
judgements, and his testimonies, according
to that which is written in the law
of Moses, that thou mayest [165] prosper
in all that thou doest, and whithersoever
4] thou turnest thyself: that the LORD
may establish his word which he spake
concerning me, saying, If thy children
take heed to their way, to walk before
me in truth with all their heart and with
all their soul, there shall not fail thee
(said he) a man on the throne of Israel.
5] Moreover thou knowest also what
Joab the son of Zeruiah did unto me,
even what he did to the two captains of
the hosts of Israel, unto Abner the son
of Ner, and unto Amasa the son of
Jether, whom he slew, and [166] shed the
blood of war in peace, and put the blood
of war upon his girdle that was about
his loins, and in his shoes that were on
6] his feet. Do therefore according to
thy wisdom, and let not his hoar head
go down to [167] the grave in peace.
7] But shew kindness unto the sons of
Barzillai the Gileadite, and let them be
of those that eat at thy table: for so they
came to me when I fled from Absalom
8] thy brother. And, behold, there is
with thee Shimei the son of Gera, the
Benjamite, of Bahurim, who cursed me
with a grievous curse in the day when
I went to Mahanaim: but he came down
to meet me at Jordan, and I sware to

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[163] Another reading omits *Thy*.
[164] Or, *first of all*.
[165] Or, *do wisely*.
[166] Heb. *set*.
[167] Heb. *Sheol*.

him by the Lord, saying, I will not put
9] thee to death with the sword. Now
therefore hold him not guiltless, for thou
art a wise man; and thou wilt know what
thou oughtest to do unto him, and thou
shalt bring his hoar head down to [168] the
10] grave with blood. And David slept
with his fathers, and was buried in the
11] city of David. And the days that
David reigned over Israel were forty
years: seven years reigned he in Hebron,
and thirty and three years reigned he in
Jerusalem.

Thus the reign of David ended. In morals it was a crude age—a hard and cruel time. David was a child of his time. His death-bed charge to Solomon was not that of a saint according to our ideas of sainthood. Joab had been to David a most loyal and useful general. Perhaps a part of his loyalty had been due to self-interest; he could not hope for a similar position under another master. True, he had at times been treacherous and cruel, but David had profited by his treachery and cruelty. For political considerations he had never himself punished Joab, but now he imposed upon Solomon the sacred obligation of taking Joab's life! Not content with this, he left Solomon a similar legacy with reference to Shimei, who had cursed David at the time of Absalom's rebellion. Now that we know that most of the Psalms were not written by David we can understand this hardness, but it used to be a great puzzle.

David was, however, a great warrior and a great king—the greatest that Israel ever had. To his reign, its greatness and its glory, all future generations looked back.

[168] Heb. *Sheol.*

CHAPTER XI

THE REIGN OF SOLOMON

THE day of David's death was a fateful day for the kingdom of Israel. The old king had risen from the people by sheer ability. He had been trained in the hard school of experience. To the end he was simple in his habits and tastes; he made no vain display. Although he had become old and feeble, his reputation for energy, ability, and ruthlessness kept subject nations in awe. He was succeeded by an untried youth—a youth born in the purple, raised in luxury, and undisciplined by experience. The full consequences, however, were not felt at once.

HOW SOLOMON CARRIED OUT DAVID'S DYING WISHES, *1 Kings 2: 12–46*

1 Kings 2. 12] And Solomon sat upon
the throne of David his father; and
his kingdom was established greatly.
13] Then Adonijah the son of Haggith
came to Bath-sheba the mother of Solomon.
And she said, Comest thou peaceably?
14] And he said, Peaceably. He
said moreover, I have somewhat to say
15] unto thee. And she said, Say on. And
he said, Thou knowest that the kingdom
was mine, and that all Israel set their
faces on me, that I should reign: howbeit
the kingdom is turned about, and is
become my brother's: for it was his from
16] the Lord. And now I ask one petition
of thee,[1] deny me not. And she said
17] unto him, Say on. And he said,
Speak, I pray thee, unto Solomon the
king, (for he will not say thee nay,)
that he give me Abishag the Shunammite
18] to wife. And Bath-sheba said, Well;
I will speak for thee unto the king.
19] Bath-sheba therefore went unto king
Solomon, to speak unto him for Adonijah.
And the king rose up to meet her,
and bowed himself unto her, and sat
down on his throne, and caused a throne
to be set for the king's mother; and she
20] sat on his right hand. Then she said,
I ask one small petition of thee; deny
me not. And the king said unto her, Ask
on, my mother: for I will not deny thee.
21] And she said, Let Abishag the Shunammite
be given to Adonijah thy
22] brother to wife. And king Solomon
answered and said unto his mother, And
why dost thou ask Abishag the Shunammite
for Adonijah? ask for him the kingdom
also; for he is mine elder brother;
even for him, and for Abiathar the priest,
and for Joab the son of Zeruiah.
23] Then king Solomon sware by the
Lord, saying, God do so to me, and
more also, if Adonijah have not spoken
24] this word against his own life. Now
therefore as the Lord liveth, who hath
established me, and set me on the throne
of David my father, and who hath made
me an house, as he promised, surely
Adonijah shall be put to death this day.
25] And king Solomon sent by the hand
of Benaiah the son of Jehoiada; and he
26] fell upon him, that he died. And unto
Abiathar the priest said the king, Get
thee to Anathoth, unto thine own fields;
for thou art [2] worthy of death: but I
will not at this time put thee to death,
because thou barest the ark of the Lord

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[1] Heb. *turn not away my face.*

[2] Heb. *a man of.*

God before David my father, and be-
cause thou wast afflicted in all wherein
27] my father was afflicted. So Solomon
thrust out Abiathar from being priest
unto the Lord; that he might fulfil [3] the
word of the Lord, which he spake con-
cerning the house of Eli in Shiloh.
28] And the tidings came to Joab: for
Joab had turned after Adonijah, though
he turned not after Absalom. And Joab
fled unto the Tent of the Lord, and
caught hold on the horns of the altar.
29] And it was told king Solomon, Joab
is fled unto the Tent of the Lord, and,
behold, he is by the altar. Then Solomon
sent Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, saying,
30] Go, fall upon him. And Benaiah came
to the Tent of the Lord, and said unto
him. Thus saith the king, Come forth.
And he said, Nay; but I will die here.
And Benaiah brought the king word
again, saying, Thus said Joab, and thus
31] he answered me. And the king said
unto him, Do as he hath said, and fall
upon him, and bury him; that thou may-
est take away the blood, which Joab shed
without cause, from me and from my
32] father's house. And the Lord shall
return his blood upon his own head, be-
cause he fell upon two men more right-
eous and better than he, and slew them
with the sword, and my father David
knew it not, *to wit,* Abner the son of
Ner, captain of the host of Israel, and
Amasa the son of Jether, captain of the
33] host of Judah. So shall their blood
return upon the head of Joab, and upon
the head of his seed for ever: but unto
David, and unto his seed, and unto his
house, and unto his throne, shall there
be peace for ever from the Lord.
34] Then Benaiah the son of Jehoiada
went up, and fell upon him, and slew
him; and he was buried in his own
35] house in the wilderness. And the
king put Benaiah the son of Jehoiada in
his room over the host: and Zadok the
priest did the king put in the room of
36] Abiathar. And the king sent and
called for Shimei, and said unto him,
Build thee an house in Jerusalem, and
dwell there, and go not forth thence any
37] whither. For on the day thou goest
out, and passest over the brook Kidron,
know thou for certain that thou shalt
surely die: thy blood shall be upon thine
38] own head. And Shimei said unto the
king, The saying is good: as my lord
the king hath said, so will thy servant
do. And Shimei dwelt in Jerusalem many
39] days. And it came to pass at the
end of three years, that two of the serv-
ants of Shimei ran away unto Achish,
son of Maacah, king of Gath. And they
told Shimei, saying, Behold, thy servants
40] be in Gath. And Shimei arose, and
saddled his ass, and went to Gath to
Achish, to seek his servants: and Shimei
went, and brought his servants from
41] Gath. And it was told Solomon that
Shimei had gone from Jerusalem to
42] Gath, and was come again. And the
king sent and called for Shimei, and said
unto him, Did I not make thee to swear
by the Lord, and protested unto thee,
saying, Know for certain, that on the
day thou goest out, and walkest abroad
any whither, thou shalt surely die? and
thou saidst unto me, The saying that I
43] have heard is good. Why then hast
thou not kept the oath of the Lord, and
the commandment that I have charged
44] thee with? The king said moreover
to Shimei, Thou knowest all the wicked-
ness which thine heart is privy to, that
thou didst to David my father: there-
fore the Lord shall return thy wicked-
45] ness upon thine own head. But king
Solomon shall be blessed, and the throne
of David, shall be established before the
46] Lord for ever. So the king com-
manded Benaiah the son of Jehoiada;
and he went out, and fell upon him, that
he died. And the kingdom was estab-
lished in the hand of Solomon.

The preceding excerpt from the first book of *Kings* graphically describes how Solomon executed the unpleasant tasks David's last wishes had imposed upon him, and how, in part, he organized his kingdom.

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[3] See *I Sam.* 2: 27–36.

SOLOMON'S CORONATION SACRIFICE AT GIBEON, *1 Kings* 3:4–15

1 Kings 3. 4] [4] And the king went to
Gibeon to sacrifice there; for that was
the great high place: a thousand burnt
offerings did Solomon offer upon that
5] altar. In Gibeon the LORD appeared to
Solomon in a dream by night: and God
6] said, Ask what I shall give thee. And
Solomon said, Thou hast shewed unto
thy servant David my father great kindness,
according as he walked before thee
in truth, and in righteousness, and in
uprightness of heart with thee; and thou
hast kept for him this great kindness,
that thou hast given him a son to sit on
7] his throne, as it is this day. And now,
O LORD my God, thou hast made thy
servant king instead of David my father:
and I am but a little child; I know not
8] how to go out or come in. And thy
servant is in the midst of thy people
which thou hast chosen, a great people,
that cannot be numbered nor counted
9] for multitude. Give thy servant therefore
an [5] understanding heart to judge
thy people, that I may discern between
good and evil; for who is able to judge
10] this thy [6] great people? And the
speech pleased the Lord, that Solomon
11] had asked this thing. And God said
unto him, Because thou hast asked this
thing, and hast not asked for thyself
[7] long life; neither hast asked riches for
thyself, nor hast asked the life of thine
enemies; but hast asked for thyself understanding
to [8] discern judgement;
12] behold, I have done according to
thy word: lo, I have given thee a wise
and an [5] understanding heart; so that
there hath been none like thee before
thee, neither after thee shall any arise
13] like unto thee. And I have also given
thee that which thou hast not asked,
both riches and honour, so that there
[9] shall not be any among the kings like
14] unto thee, all thy days. And if thou
wilt walk in my ways, to keep my
statutes and my commandments, as thy
father David did walk, then I will
15] lengthen thy days. And Solomon
awoke, and, behold, it was a dream:
and he came to Jerusalem, and stood before
the ark of the covenant of the LORD,
and offered up burnt offerings, and offered
peace offerings, and made a feast
to all his servants.

Although David had made the threshing-floor of the Jebusites, just north of Jerusalem, a sanctuary of Yahweh, and although he had placed there the ark of the covenant which Moses had made, that sanctuary was not regarded as equal in holiness or importance to the sanctuary at Gibeon, six miles northwest of Jerusalem, which had been in the possession of the Hebrews since the days of Joshua. There were many sanctuaries in Israel at the time, and the religious leaders of the nation freely worshiped in them. The law, which made all places of worship except the one in Jerusalem illegal, came into existence, as we shall see, long afterwards. Solomon accordingly went to Gibeon to celebrate the sacrifice which inaugurated his kingship. Gibeon, at this time, was a kind of Westminster Abbey for the country. The story of his consecration includes an account of a dream, in which Yahweh offered him anything he might choose, and he chose wisdom. Whether Solomon really had such a dream, we do not know. By later generations he was regarded as the wisest man their nation ever produced, and the story of this dream may have grown up to explain how he happened to be so wise.

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[4] See *2 Chr.* 1:3, &c.
[5] Heb. *hearing.*
[6] Heb. *heavy.*
[7] Heb. *many days.*
[8] Heb. *hear.*
[9] Or, *hath not been.*

AN EXAMPLE OF SOLOMON'S WISDOM, *1 Kings* 3:16–28

1 Kings 3. 16] Then came there two
women, that were harlots, unto the king,
17] and stood before him. And the one
woman said, Oh my lord, I and this
woman dwell in one house; and I was
delivered of a child with her in the
18] house. And it came to pass the third
day after I was delivered, that this
woman was delivered also; and we were
together; there was no stranger with us
in the house, save we two in the house.
19] And this woman's child died in the
20] night; because she overlaid it. And
she arose at midnight, and took my son
from beside me, while thine handmaid
slept, and laid it in her bosom, and laid
21] her dead child in my bosom. And
when I rose in the morning to give my
child suck, behold, it was dead: but when
I had considered it in the morning, behold,
it was not my son, which I did
22] bear. And the other woman said,
Nay; but the living is my son, and the
dead is thy son. And this said, No; but
the dead is thy son, and the living is my
son. Thus they spake before the king.
23] Then said the king, The one saith,
This is my son that liveth, and thy son
is the dead: and the other saith, Nay;
but thy son is the dead, and my son is the
24] living. And the king said, Fetch me
a sword. And they brought a sword before
25] the king. And the king said,
Divide the living child in two, and give
half to the one, and half to the other.
26] Then spake the woman whose the
living child was unto the king, for her
bowels yearned upon her son, and she
said, Oh my lord, give her the living
child, and in no wise slay it. But the other
said, It shall be neither mine nor thine;
27] divide it. Then the king answered
and said, Give her the living child, and
in no wise slay it: she is the mother
28] thereof. And all Israel heard of the
judgement which the king had judged;
and they feared the king: for they saw
that the wisdom of God was in him, to
do judgement.

The Hebrews did not have the Greek conception of wisdom as a kind of abstract entity, and the wise men of Israel did not, like the Greek philosophers, make metaphysical explanations of the universe. Wisdom, to the Hebrew, was insight into practical affairs—an understanding of the motives which control human conduct—ability to touch the springs of action and induce men to do one's will. According to the passage just quoted, Solomon exhibited such insight in the decision of the case described. He understood the heart of a mother, and was thus able to ascertain to which woman the child belonged.

SOLOMON'S LATER REPUTATION FOR WISDOM, *1 Kings* 4:29–34

1 Kings 4. 29] And God gave Solomon
wisdom and understanding exceeding
much, and largeness of heart, even
as the sand that is on the sea shore.
30] And Solomon's wisdom excelled the
wisdom of all the children of the east,
31] and all the wisdom of Egypt. For
he was wiser than all men: than Ethan
the Ezrahite, and Heman, and Calcol,
and Darda, the sons of Mahol: and his
fame was in all the nations round about.
32] And he spake three thousand proverbs:
and his sons were a thousand and
33] five. And he spake of trees, from the
cedar that is in Lebanon even unto the
hyssop that springeth out of the wall:
he spake also of beasts, and of fowl,
and of creeping things, and of fishes.
34] And there came of all peoples to hear
the wisdom of Solomon, from all kings
of the earth, which had heard of his
wisdom.

SOLOMON MARRIES AN EGYPTIAN PRINCESS

Solomon, born and reared in a palace, had different ideas from his father as to how a king should live. He determined to ally himself with his most powerful neighbor and to furnish his capital with a palace worthy of a king. The first step was taken when he married a daughter of the Egyptian Pharaoh. The Biblical account of this is contained in two brief verses, as follows:

I **Kings** 3. And Solomon made affinity with Pharaoh king of Egypt, and took Pharaoh's daughter, and brought her into the city of David, until he had made an end of building his own house, and the house of the LORD, and the wall of Jerusalem round about.

. . . . . .

9. 16] Pharaoh king of Egypt had gone up, and taken Gezer, and burnt it with fire, and slain the Canaanites that dwelt in the city, and given it for a portion unto his daughter, Solomon's wife.

These Biblical statements are from two different hands: the first was written by the editor of the book, who lived about 600 B.C.; the second is from an older chronicle. From them we learn that Solomon's father-in-law sent an army into Palestine and captured Gezer, a city of the Shephelah which the Israelites had never succeeded in taking (see *Jud.* 1:29), and turned it over to Solomon, that the revenue from it might serve as a dowry for the Egyptian princess, who had become Solomon's chief wife. Considerable speculation has been expended upon the question what the name of this Egyptian king might be. If Solomon's reign lasted from 977 to 937 B.C., as seems probable, three different kings occupied the throne of the Pharaohs during that time. They were Siamon (976–958) and Pesibkhenno II (958–945), the last two kings of the twenty-first dynasty, and Sheshonk I (the Shishak of the Bible), the first king of the twenty-second dynasty. Some scholars, among whom is Professor Breasted, think that it was Sheshonk whose daughter Solomon married. If, however, as the Bible implies, the marriage occurred at the beginning of Solomon's reign before he had constructed his palace and the temple, it could not have been Sheshonk. The present writer believes that it was a daughter of Siamon whom Solomon married, and that the marriage was consummated, as the Bible implies, early in his reign.

SOLOMON'S TAXATION OF THE COUNTRY, *1 Kings* 4:1–28

I **Kings** 4. And king Solomon was
2] king over all Israel. And these were the princes which he had; Azariah the
3] son of Zadok, [10] the priest; Elihoreph and Ahijah, the sons of Shisha, [11] scribes; Jehoshaphat the son of
4] Ahilud, the [12] recorder; and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada was over the host; and Zadok and Abiathar were priests;
5] and Azariah the son of Nathan was

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[10] See *1 Chr.* 6:10.

[11] Or, *secretaries.*

[12] Or, *chronicler.*

over [13] the officers; and Zabud the son
of Nathan was [14] priest, *and* the king's
6] friend; and Ahishar was over the
household; and Adoniram the son of
7] Abda was over the levy. And Solomon
had twelve officers over all Israel,
which provided victuals for the king and
his household: each man had to make
8] provision for a month in the year. And
these are their names: Benhur, in the
9] hill country of Ephraim: Ben-deker,
in Makaz, and in Shaalbim, and Beth-
10] shemesh, and Elonbeth-hanan: Ben-
hesed, in Arubboth; to him *pertained*
Socoh, and all the land of Hepher:
11] Ben-abinadab, in all [15] the [16] height
of Dor; he had Taphath the daughter of
12] Solomon to wife: Baana the son of
Ahilud, in Taanach and Megiddo, and
all Beth-shean which is beside Zarethan,
beneath Jezreel, from Beth-shean to
Abel-meholah, as far as [17] beyond Jok-
13] meam: Ben-geber, in Ramoth-gilead;
to him *pertained* [18] the towns of Jair the
son of Manasseh, which are in Gilead;
even to him *pertained* the region of
Argob, which is in Bashan, three-score
great cities with walls and brasen bars:
14] Ahinadab the son of Iddo, in Ma-
15] hanaim: Ahimaaz, in Naphtali; he
also took Basemath the daughter of
16] Solomon to wife: Baana the son of
17] Hushai, in Asher and [19] Bealoth: Je-
hoshaphat the son of Paruah, in Is-
18] sachar: Shimei the son of Ela, in
19] Benjamin: Geber the son of Uri,
in the land of Gilead, the country of
Sihon king of the Amorites and of Og
king of Bashan; [20] and *he was* the only
20] officer which was in the land. Judah
and Israel were many, as the sand which
is by the sea in multitude, eating and
drinking and making merry.

21] [21] And Solomon ruled over all the
kingdoms from the River unto the land
of the Philistines, and unto the border of
Egypt: they brought presents, and served
22] Solomon all the days of his life. And
Solomon's provision for one day was
thirty [22] measures of fine flour, and
23] three-score measures of meal; ten
fat oxen, and twenty oxen out of the
pastures, and an hundred sheep, beside
harts, and gazelles, and roe-bucks, and
24] fatted fowl. For he had dominion
over all the *region* [23] on this side the
River, from Tiphsah even to Gaza, over
all the kings [23] on this side the River:
and he had peace [24] on all sides round
25] about him. And Judah and Israel
dwelt safely, every man under his vine
and under his fig tree, from Dan even
to Beer-sheba, all the days of Solomon.
26] And Solomon had [25] forty thousand
stalls of horses for his chariots, and
27] twelve thousand horsemen. And those
officers provided victual for king Solomon,
and for all that came unto king
Solomon's table, every man in his month:
28] they let nothing be lacking. Barley
also and straw for the horses and swift
steeds brought they unto the place
[26] where *the officers* were, every man
according to his charge.

The passage just quoted is an excerpt from an early Hebrew chronicle. It gives a historical picture of Solomon's organization of the economic side of his government. Were one to identify on a map the twelve economic districts into which Solomon divided the country, it would appear that they in many instances cut across tribal lines, and, were the map one which distinguished the fertile from the barren and rocky sections of the country, it would be evident that Solomon possessed the wisdom to select the twelve sections into which he divided the land for their productivity only. In this the student may find another example of his wisdom. This aspect of the matter was not, however, appreciated by the Hebrews. Accustomed to a free life, not unlike that of modern Arabian tribes, they resented the heavy burdens of taxation, and, although they sullenly submitted during Solomon's reign, after his death this resentment bore fruit, as we shall see.

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[13] See ver. 7.
[14] Or, *chief minister.* See *2 Sam.* 8: 18.
[15] Or, *Naphath-dor.*
[16] Or, *region.*
[17] Or, *over against.*
[18] Or, *Havvothjair.*
[19] Or, *in Aloth.*
[20] Heb. *and one officer.*
[21] Ch. 5: 1 in Heb. See *2 Chr.* 9: 26.
[22] Heb. *cor.*
[23] Or, *beyond the River.*
[24] Some authorities read, *with all his servants.*
[25] In *2 Chr.* 9: 25, *four thousand.*
[26] Or, *where he* (that is, the king) *was.* Or, *where it should be.*

THE BUILDING OF SOLOMON'S PALACE AND TEMPLE

One of the ways in which Solomon determined to enhance his dignity was by building a larger and more ornate palace than that built by his father. In connection with it he also erected a temple, which in later time became the center of Hebrew worship, but which was intended by Solomon as his private chapel. As the site of these buildings he selected the position north of the city wall on the eastern hill; that is, he simply extended the city northward, for the whole of the Jerusalem of David's time ("the city of David") was on that eastern hill. The buildings were so planned that the temple stood just west of the sacred rock which had been the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite. An altar was erected on this rock over the ancient sacred cave. This altar accordingly stood in the open air just east of the temple. Between the northern wall of the city and the temple stood the other buildings. As one went northward from the "city of David" one came first to a portico the roof of which, like the hypostile hall of an Egyptian temple, was supported by many columns. This was graphically named "The House of the Forest of Lebanon." North of this were the offices of state; north of these Solomon's own palace, at the northwest corner of which, but connected with Solomon's palace, was a palace for the Egyptian princess, the most important woman of Solomon's large harem.[27] While these buildings were surrounded by a wall which even on the north separated them from the temple, a gateway led from the palace enclosure to the temple enclosure, and the king had a private entrance into the temple. How these buildings were constructed is graphically told in the following sections from the Bible.

THE TYRIANS HELP SOLOMON TO BUILD, *1 Kings* 5: 1–18

1 Kings 5. [28] And Hiram king of Tyre
sent his servants unto Solomon; for he
had heard that they had anointed him
king in the room of his father: for
Hiram was ever a lover of David.
2] And Solomon sent to Hiram, saying,
3] Thou knowest how that David my
father could not build an house for the
name of the LORD his God for the wars
which were about him on every side,
until the LORD put them under the soles
4] of his feet. But now the LORD my god
hath given me rest on every side; there
is neither adversary, nor evil occurrent.

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[27] See G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., Fig. 243.
[28] Ch. 5: 15 in Heb. See *2 Chr.* 2: 3 &c.

5] And, behold, I purpose to build an
house for the name of the Lord my God,
as the Lord spake unto David my father,
saying, Thy son, whom I will set upon
thy throne in thy room, he shall build
6] the house for my name. Now therefore
command thou that they hew me
cedar trees out of Lebanon; and my
servants shall be with thy servants; and
I will give thee hire for thy servants
according to all that thou shalt say: for
thou knowest that there is not among
us any that can skill to hew timber like
7] unto the Zidonians. And it came to
pass, when Hiram heard the words of
Solomon, that he rejoiced greatly, and
said, Blessed be the Lord this day, which
hath given unto David a wise son over
8] this great people. And Hiram sent to
Solomon, saying, I have heard *the message*
which thou hast sent unto me: I
will do all thy desire, concerning timber
9] of [29] fir. My servants shall bring them
down from Lebanon unto the sea: and
I will make them into rafts to go by sea
unto the place that thou shalt appoint me,
and will cause them to be broken up
there, and thou shalt [30] receive them:
and thou shalt accomplish my desire, in
10] giving food for my household. So
[31] Hiram gave Solomon timber of cedar
and timber of fir according to all his desire.
11] And Solomon gave Hiram
twenty thousand [32] measures of wheat
for food to his household, and twenty
measures of [33] pure oil: thus gave Solomon
12] to Hiram year by year. And the
Lord gave Solomon wisdom, as he
promised him; and there was peace between
Hiram and Solomon; and they
two made a league together.

13] And king Solomon raised a levy
out of all Israel; and the levy was thirty
14] thousand men. And he sent them to
Lebanon, ten thousand a month by
courses: a month they were in Lebanon,
and two months at home: and Adoniram
15] was over the levy. And Solomon had
three-score and ten thousand that bare
burdens, and fourscore thousand that
16] were hewers in the mountains; besides
Solomon's chief officers that were
over the work, three thousand and three
hundred, which bare rule over the people
17] that wrought in the work. And
the king commanded, and they [34] hewed
out great stones, costly stones, to lay the
foundation of the house with wrought
18] stone. And Solomon's builders and
Hiram's builders and the Gebalites did
fashion them, and prepared the timber
and the stones to build the house.

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE PALACE, *1 Kings* 7: 1–12

1 Kings 7. And Solomon was building
his own house thirteen years, and he
2] finished all his house. For he built the
house of the forest of Lebanon; the
length thereof was an hundred cubits,
and the breadth thereof fifty cubits, and
the height thereof thirty cubits, upon
four rows of cedar pillars, with cedar
3] beams upon the pillars. And it was
covered with cedar above over the forty
and five [35] beams, that were upon the
4] pillars; fifteen in a row. And there
were [36] prospects in three rows, and light
was over against light in three ranks.
5] And all the doors and posts [37] were
square in prospect: and light was over
6] against light in three ranks. And he
made the porch of pillars; the length
thereof was fifty cubits, and the breadth
thereof thirty cubits; and a porch before
them; and pillars and [38] thick beams before
7] them. And he made the porch of
the throne where he might judge, even
the porch of judgement: and it was covered
with cedar from floor to floor.
8] And his house where he might dwell,
the other court within the porch, was of
the like work. He made also an house
for Pharaoh's daughter, (whom Solomon
had taken to wife,) like unto this porch.

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[29] Or, *cypress.*
[30] Or, *carry them away.*
[31] Heb. *Hirom,* and in ver. 18.
[32] Heb. *cor.*
[33] Or, *beaten.*
[34] Or, *brought away.*
[35] Or, *side-chambers* (Heb. *ribs*).
[36] Or, *beams.*
[37] Or, *were made square with beams.*
[38] Or, *a threshold.*

9] All these were of costly stones, even
of hewn stone, [39] according to measure,
sawed with saws, within and without,
even from the foundation unto the coping,
and so on the outside unto the great
10] court. And the foundation was of
costly stones, even great stones, stones
of ten cubits, and stones of eight cubits.
11] And above were costly stones, even
hewn stone, according to measure, and
12] cedar wood. And the great court
round about had three rows of hewn
stone, and a row of cedar beams; [40] like
as the inner court of the house of the
Lord, and the porch of the house.

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE TEMPLE, *1 Kings* 6: 1–10, 14–36; 7: 13–22

1 Kings 6. [41] And it came to pass in
the four hundred and eightieth year after
the children of Israel were come out of
the land of Egypt, in the fourth year
of Solomon's reign over Israel, in the
month Ziv, which is the second month,
that he [42] began to build the house of the
2] Lord. And the house which king Solomon
built for the Lord, the length thereof
was threescore cubits, and the breadth
thereof twenty *cubits*, and the height
3] thereof thirty cubits. And the porch
before [43] the temple of the house, twenty
cubits was the length thereof, according
to the breadth of the house; *and* ten
cubits was the breadth thereof before
4] the house. And for the house he made
5] [44] windows of fixed lattice-work. And
against the wall of the house he built
stories round about against the walls of
the house round about, both of the temple
and of [45] the oracle: and he made side-chambers
6] round about: the nethermost
story was five cubits broad, and the
middle was six cubits broad, and the
third was seven cubits broad: for on the
outside he made rebatements *in the wall*
of the house round about, that *the beams*
should not have hold in the walls of the
7] house. And the house, when it was in
building, was built of stone made ready
[46] at the quarry: and there was neither
hammer nor axe nor any tool of iron
8] heard in the house, while it was in
building. The door for the [47] middle
side-chambers was in the right [48] side of
the house: and they went up by winding
stairs into the middle *chambers*, and out
9] of the middle into the third. So he
built the house, and finished it; and he
covered the house with beams and
10] [49] planks of cedar. And he built the
stories against all the house, each five
cubits high: and [50] they rested on the
house with timber of cedar.

. . . . . .

14] So Solomon built the house, and
15] finished it. And he built the walls of
the house within with boards of cedar;
[51] from the floor of the house unto the
walls of the ceiling, he covered them on
the inside with wood: and he covered the
floor of the house with boards of [52] fir.
16] [53] And he built twenty cubits on the
hinder part of the house with boards of
cedar from the floor unto the [54] walls:
he even built *them* for it within, for
an oracle, even for the most holy place.
17] And the house, that is, the temple
before *the oracle*, was forty cubits *long*.
18] And there was cedar on the house
within, carved with [55] knops and open
flowers: all was cedar; there was no
19] stone seen. And he prepared an
oracle in the midst of the house within,
to set there the ark of the covenant of
20] the Lord. And within the oracle was
a space of twenty cubits in length, and
twenty cubits in breadth, and twenty
cubits in the height thereof; and he over-

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[39] Or, *after* divers *measures*.
[40] Or, *both for . . . and for*.
[41] See *2 Chr.* 3: 1, 2.
[42] Heb. *built*.
[43] That is, the holy place.
[44] Or, *windows broad* within, and *narrow* without.
[45] That is, the most holy place.
[46] Or, *when it was brought away*.
[47] The Sept. and Targum have, *lowest*.
[48] Heb. *shoulder*.
[49] Heb. *rows*.
[50] Or, *he fastened the house*.
[51] Or, *both the floor of the house and the walls &c.* and so ver. 16.
[52] Or, *cypress*.
[53] See *2 Chr.* 3: 8.
[54] The Sept. has, *beams*.
[55] Or, *gourds*.

laid it with pure gold: [56] and he covered
21] the altar with cedar. So Solomon
overlaid the house within with pure
gold: and he drew chains of gold across
before the oracle; and he overlaid it with
22] gold. And the whole house he overlaid
with gold, until all the house was
finished: also the whole altar that belonged
to the oracle he overlaid with
23] gold. [57] And in the oracle he made
two cherubim of olive wood, each ten
24] cubits high. And five cubits was the
one wing of the cherub, and five cubits
the other wing of the cherub: from the
uttermost part of the one wing unto the
uttermost part of the other were ten
25] cubits. And the other cherub was
ten cubits: both the cherubim were of
26] one measure and one form. The
height of the one cherub was ten cubits,
and so was it of the other cherub.
27] And he set the cherubim within the
inner house: and the wings of the
cherubim were stretched forth, so that
the wing of the one touched the one wall,
and the wing of the other cherub touched
the other wall; and their wings touched
one another in the midst of the house.
28] And he overlaid the cherubim with
29] gold. And he carved all the walls of
the house round about with carved figures
of cherubim and palm trees and open
30] flowers, within and without. And the
floor of the house he overlaid with gold,
31] within and without. And for the entering
of the oracle he made doors of
olive wood: the [58] lintel *and* door posts
32] were a fifth part *of the wall.* So *he
made* two doors of olive wood; and he
carved upon them carvings of cherubim
and palm trees and open flowers, and
overlaid them with gold; and he spread
the gold upon the cherubim, and upon the
33] palm trees. So also made he for the
entering of the temple door posts of olive
wood, out of a fourth part *of the wall;*
34] and two doors of [59] fir wood; the
two leaves of the one door were folding,
and the two leaves of the other door were
35] folding. And he carved *thereon*
cherubim and palm trees and open
flowers: and he overlaid them with gold
36] fitted upon the graven work. And he
built the inner court with three rows of
hewn stone, and a row of cedar beams.
37] In the fourth year was the foundation
of the house of the LORD laid, in the
38] month Ziv. And in the eleventh
year, in the month Bul, which is the
eighth month, was the house finished
[60] throughout all the parts thereof, and
according to all the fashion of it. So was
he seven years in building it.

. . . . . .

7. 13] And king Solomon sent and
14] fetched Hiram out of Tyre. [61] He
was the son of a widow woman of the
tribe of Naphtali, and his father was a
man of Tyre, a worker in brass; and he
was filled with wisdom and understanding
and cunning, to work all works in
brass. And he came to king Solomon,
15] and wrought all his work. For he
fashioned the two pillars of brass, [62] of
eighteen cubits high apiece: and a line of
twelve cubits compassed [63] either of them
16] about. And he made two chapiters of
molten brass, to set upon the tops of the
pillars: the height of the one chapiter
was five cubits, and the height of the
17] other chapiter was five cubits. There
were nets of checker work, and wreaths
of chain work, for the chapiters which
were upon the top of the pillars; seven
for the one chapiter, and seven for the
18] other chapiter. So he made the pillars;
and there were two rows round
about upon the one network, to cover the
chapiters that were upon the top of the
[64] pillars: and so did he for the other
19] chapiter. And the chapiters that were
upon the top of the pillars in the porch
20] were of lily work, four cubits. And
there were chapiters above also upon the
two pillars, close by the belly which was
beside the network: and the pomegran-

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[56] Or, *he overlaid the altar also,* which was of *cedar.*

[57] See *2 Chr.* 3: 10–12

[58] Or, *posts.*

[59] Or, *cypress.*

[60] Or, *with all the appurtenances thereof, and with all the ordinances thereof.*

[61] See *2 Chr.* 2: 14.

[62] Heb. *eighteen cubits was the height of one pillar.*

[63] Heb. *the other pillar.*

[64] So some ancient authorities. The text has, *pomegranates.*

ates were two hundred, in rows round
21] about upon the other chapiter. [65] And
he set up the pillars at the porch of the
temple: and he set up the right pillar,
and called the name thereof [66] Jachin:
and he set up the left pillar, and called the
22] name thereof [67] Boaz. And upon the
top of the pillars was lily work: so was
the work of the pillars finished.

The temple of Solomon was the finest building which the people of Palestine—whose houses, as excavations have shown, were built of rough stones without architectural beauty—had ever seen. In the lapse of centuries it became, through causes which will be traced as we proceed, the one sacred temple in all the land. As time passed, therefore, reverence led men to magnify its splendor. Doubtless it was ornamented to a degree with gold, but probably not so overlaid with gold as the preceding account would indicate.

The architects of the temple were Tyrian (Phenician) workmen. When compared with the temples of Babylonia and Egypt, it appears that the architects adapted, in constructing it, elements from the temples of both those countries. In many ways it departed from standards which later religious Hebrew thought regarded as orthodox. The carvings of palm trees and open flowers as well as the figures of the cherubim violated what was afterward regarded as a divine command: "Thou shalt not make unto thee the likeness of anything in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth" (*Ex.* 20:4). In Solomon's time, however, this command had not been formulated. Although later generations gloried in the ornateness of the temple, the simple folk who had to pay the taxes which produced the funds for its erection felt differently.

THE BRAZEN IMPLEMENTS OF THE TEMPLE, *1 Kings* 7:23–51

1 Kings 7. 23] [68] And he made the
molten sea of ten cubits from brim to
brim, round in compass, and the height
thereof was five cubits: and a line of
thirty cubits compassed it round about.
24] And under the brim of it round about
there were knops which did compass it,
[69] for ten cubits, compassing the sea
round about: the knops were in two
25] rows, cast when it was cast. It stood
upon twelve oxen, three looking toward
the north, and three looking toward the
west, and three looking toward the south,
and three looking toward the east: and
the sea was set upon them above, and all
26] their hinder parts were inward. And
it was an handbreadth thick; and the
brim thereof was wrought like the brim
of a cup, like the flower of a lily: it
27] held two thousand baths. And he
made the ten bases of brass; four cubits
was the length of one base, and four
cubits breadth thereof, and three cubits
28] the height of it. And the work of the
bases was on this manner: they had
[70] borders; [71] and there were borders be-
29] tween the ledges: and on the borders
that were between the ledges were lions,
oxen, and cherubim; and upon the ledges
[72] there was a pedestal above: and be-

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[65] See *2 Chr.* 3:17.
[66] That is, *He shall establish.*
[67] That is perhaps, *In it is strength.*
[68] See *2 Chr.* 4:2 &c.
[69] Or, *ten in a cubit.*
[70] Or, *panels* (and so in ver. 29, &c.)
[71] Or, *even borders.*
[72] Or, *it was in like manner above.*

neath the lions and oxen were wreaths
30] of hanging work. And every base
had four brasen wheels, and axles of
brass: and the four feet thereof had
[73] undersetters: beneath the laver were
the undersetters molten, with wreaths at
31] the side of each. And the mouth of
it within the chapiter and above was a
cubit: and the mouth thereof was round
after the work of a pedestal, a cubit and
an half: and also upon the mouth of it
were gravings, and their borders were
32] foursquare, not round. And the four
wheels were underneath the borders;
and the axletrees of the wheels were in
the base: and the height of a wheel was
33] a cubit and half a cubit. And the
work of the wheels was like the work
of a chariot wheel: their axletrees, and
their felloes, and their spokes, and their
34] naves, were all molten. And there
were four undersetters at the four corners
of each base: the undersetters
35] thereof were of the base itself. And
in the top of the base was there a round
compass of half a cubit high: and on the
top of the base the [74] stays thereof and
the borders thereof were of the same.
36] And on the plates of the stays thereof,
and on the borders thereof, he graved
cherubim, lions, and palm trees, according
to the space of each, with wreaths
37] round about. [75] After this manner
he made the ten bases: all of them had
one casting, one measure, and one form.
38] [76] And he made ten lavers of brass:
one laver contained forty baths: and
every laver was four cubits: and upon
every one of the ten bases one laver.
39] And he set the bases, five on the
right [77] side of the house, and five on the
left side of the house: and he set the
sea on the right side of the house east-
40] ward, toward the south. And [78] Hiram
made the [79] lavers, and the shovels,
and the basons. So Hiram made an end
of doing all the work that he wrought
for king Solomon in the house of the
41] Lord: the two pillars, and the two
bowls of the chapiters that were on the
top of the pillars; and the two networks
to cover the two bowls of the chapiters
that were on the top of the pillars;
42] and the four hundred pomegranates
for the two networks; two rows of pomegranates
for each network, to cover the
two bowls of the chapiters that were
43] [80] upon the pillars; and the ten bases,
44] and the ten lavers on the bases; and
the one sea, and the twelve oxen under
45] the sea; and the pots, and the shovels,
and the basons: even all [81] these vessels,
which Hiram made for king Solomon,
in the house of the Lord, were of
46] burnished brass. In the plain of Jordan
did the king cast them, in the clay
ground between Succoth and Zarethan.
47] And Solomon left all the vessels *unweighed*,
because they were exceeding
many: the weight of the brass [82] could
48] not be found out. And Solomon made
all the vessels that were in the house of
the Lord: the golden altar, and the table
whereupon the shew bread was, of gold;
49] and the candlesticks, five on the
right side, and five on the left, before
the oracle, of pure gold; and the flowers,
and the lamps, and the tongs, of
50] gold; and the cups, and the snuffers,
and the basons, and the spoons, and the
firepans, of pure gold; and the hinges,
both for the doors of the inner house, the
most holy place, and for the doors of the
house, *to wit*, of the temple, of gold.
51] [83] Thus all the work that king Soloman
wrought in the house of the Lord
was finished. And Solomon brought in
the things which David his father had
dedicated, *even* the silver, and the gold,
and the vessels, and put them in the
treasuries of the house of the Lord.

The metal furnishings and implements described in the preceding quotation represented a departure from ancient Hebrew religious custom which Solomon's contemporaries could hardly regard with indifference. This religious custom is embodied in the law that an altar should be made of earth or of unhewn stone (*Ex.* 20: 24, 25). This law represented the immemorial custom of nomadic and agricultural peoples. To substitute a bronze altar, as Solomon did, in imitation of the temple furniture of Phenicians, an artisan people, was rank heresy. Throughout Israel at this time were many altars, but they conformed to the old type: they were of earth or stone. Not only was Solomon's temple not intended by him as more than his chapel—a place of worship for him, his courtiers, and the people of Jerusalem—it was a heretical temple. Together with his heavy taxes it helped to alienate from his house the loyalty of his subjects.

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[73] Heb. *shoulders.*
[74] Heb. *hands.*
[75] See *2 Chr.* 4: 14.
[76] See *2 Chr.* 4: 6, &c.
[77] Heb. *shoulder.*
[78] Heb. *Hirom.*
[79] Many ancient authorities read, *pots.*
[80] Heb. *upon the face of the pillars.*
[81] Another reading is, *the vessels of the Tent.*
[82] Or, *was not searched out.*
[83] See *2 Chr.* 5: 1, &c.

SOLOMON PAYS HIRAM IN TERRITORY, *1 Kings* 9: 10–14

1 Kings 9. 10] [84] And it came to pass at the end of twenty years, wherein Solomon had built the two houses, the house of the LORD and the king's house, 11] (now Hiram the king of Tyre had furnished Solomon with cedar trees and fir trees, and with gold, according to all his desire,) that then king Solomon gave Hiram twenty cities in the land of Gali- 12] lee. And Hiram came out from Tyre to see the cities which Solomon had given him; and they pleased him not. 13] And he said, What cities are these which thou hast given me, my brother? And [85] he called them the land of [86] Ca- 14] bul, unto this day. And Hiram sent to the king sixscore talents of gold.

This selling of Hebrew territory to the king of Tyre was probably good statesmanship; it is certainly in accord with the policies of modern statecraft. It was, however, quite out of accord with later Hebrew religious ideas, according to which Palestine was Yahweh's gift to his people, and the land must not be estranged.

SOLOMON FORTIFIES HIS KINGDOM, *1 Kings* 9: 15, 17–25

1 Kings 9. 15] And this is the [87] reason of the levy which king Solomon raised; for to build the house of the LORD, and his own house, and Millo, and the wall of Jerusalem, and Hazor, and Megiddo, and Gezer.

. . . . . .

17] And Solomon built Gezer, and 18] Beth-horon the nether, and Baalath, and [88] Tamar in the wilderness, in the 19] land, and all the store cities that Solomon had, and the cities for his chariots, and the cities for his horsemen, and that which Solomon desired to build for his pleasure in Jerusalem, and in Lebanon, and in all the land of his dominion. 20] As for all the people that were left of the Amorites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites, which were not of the children of Is- 21] rael; their children that were left after them in the land, whom the children of Israel were not able utterly to destroy, of them did Solomon raise a 22] levy of bondservants, unto this day. But of the children of Israel did Solomon make no bondservants: but they were the men of war, and his servants, and his princes, and his captains, and rulers of his chariots and of his horse-

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[84] See *2 Chr.* 8: 1, &c.

[85] Or, *they were called.*

[86] *I. e.* "as good as nothing."

[87] Or, *account.*

[88] Another reading is, *Tadmor.* So *2 Chr.* 8: 4.

23] men. These were the chief officers that were over Solomon's work, five hundred and fifty, which bare rule over the people that wrought in the work. 24] But Pharaoh's daughter came up out of the city of David unto her house which *Solomon* had built for her: then 25] did he build Millo. And three times in a year did Solomon offer burnt offerings and peace offerings upon the altar which he built unto the LORD, burning incense therewith, *upon the altar* that was before the LORD. So he finished the house.

The preceding passage sketches the ethnic development during Solomon's reign and the measures which he took to protect the vulnerable parts of his kingdom from invasion. Hazor commanded the upper valley of the Jordan; Megiddo, the Plain of Jezreel; Gezer and Beth-horon, the approach to the highlands of southern Palestine from the west. Centuries before, when Israel first entered the land, she could only gain a foothold for herself among hostile peoples whom she could not conquer; now she had become the dominant race and could force the descendants of her ancient neighbors to do her will.

SOLOMON'S COMMERCE, *1 Kings* 9:26–28; 10:11, 12, 22, 28, 29

1 Kings 9. 26] And king Solomon made a navy of ships in Ezion-geber, which is beside Eloth, on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom. 27] And Hiram sent in the navy his servants, shipmen that had knowledge of the sea, with the servants of Solomon. 28] And they came to Ophir, and fetched from thence gold, four hundred and twenty talents, and brought it to king Solomon.

. . . . . .

10. 11] And the navy also of Hiram, that brought gold from Ophir, brought in from Ophir great plenty of [89] almug 12] trees and precious stones. And the king made of the almug trees [90] pillars for the house of the LORD, and for the king's house, harps also and psalteries for the singers: there came no such almug trees, nor were seen, unto this day.

. . . . . .

22] For the king had at sea a navy of Tarshish with the navy of Hiram: once every three years came the navy of Tarshish, bringing gold, and silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks.

. . . . . .

28] [91] And the horses which Solomon had were brought out of Egypt; and the king's merchants received them in 29] droves, each drove at a price. And a chariot came up and went out of Egypt for six hundred *shekels* of silver, and an horse for an hundred and fifty: and so for all the kings of the Hittites, and for the kings of Syria, did they bring them out [92] by their means.

Edom apparently was still a country tributary to Israel as it had been in the reign of David. At Ezion-geber at the head of the Gulf of Akabah on the Red Sea in Edomite territory Solomon established a port and in conjunction with the king of Tyre, who furnished the experienced sailors, embarked a fleet on the Red Sea to trade with the land of Ophir. Ophir was, apparently, the Punt of the Egyptians. It included the southwest part of Arabia and what is now Somaliland. From this region Egyptian monarchs had brought back treasures and extensive merchandise from the time of the old Egyptian kingdom, 3000–2500 B.C. From this trade Solomon, and apparently some of his favored subjects, gained great wealth.

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[89] In *2 Chr.* 2:8, 9:10, *algum trees.* Perhaps, *sandal wood.*

[90] Or, *a railing;* Heb. *a prop.*

[91] See *2 Chr.* 1:16, 9:28.

[92] Heb. *in their hand.*

Another source of Solomon's wealth was his trade in horses. The horse, which evolved apparently in central Asia, was unknown either in Palestine or in Egypt until about 1800–1600 B.C. The supply in the time of Solomon was either central Asia or southern Europe. Horses were in great demand in Egypt, and it was probably for the Egyptians that Solomon bought them. In the opinion of the writer *1 Kings* 10:28 should be translated "and the horses which Solomon had were brought on account of Egypt; and the king's merchants received them in droves, each drove for a price." An interesting comment on Solomon's traffic in horses has been found at Megiddo, where the archæologists of the University of Chicago, in excavating, unearthed the ruins of extensive horse-stables. Evidently it was at Megiddo that horses were received from the north and made ready for the Egyptian market.

SOLOMON'S RICHES AND SPLENDOR, *1 Kings* 10:22; 11:1, 3

1 Kings 10: 22. So king Solomon exceeded all the kings of the earth in riches and in wisdom.

11. Now king Solomon loved many strange women, [93] together with the daughter of Pharaoh, women of the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Zidonians,
3] and Hittites; And he had seven hundred wives, princesses, and three hundred concubines: and his wives turned away his heart.

THE LEGEND OF THE VISIT OF THE QUEEN OF SHEBA

South Arabia is a land the civilization of which extends back into unknown antiquity. Across it for two thousand years and more before Solomon, traffic between Egypt and Babylonia had crossed and recrossed. The people of South Arabia did not, however, develop a system of writing until two or three hundred years before Solomon's time. When it is first possible to trace their history in their inscriptions, two cities appear to be the leaders in civilization, Ma'in and Saba, the Sheba of the Bible. Of these the kingdom of Ma'in was first the controlling power. Her kings can be traced back to 1200 B.C. or earlier. Saba does not appear to have been an independent power until two or three hundred years after the time of Solomon. Perhaps a queen of Ma'in actually visited Solomon, but, if so, a later writer, who lived after Saba had superseded Ma'in, thought she had been a queen of Saba or Sheba. The story as he told it is as follows:

1 Kings 10. [94] And when the queen of Sheba heard of the fame of Solomon concerning the name of the Lord, she came to prove him with hard questions.

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[93] Or, *besides.*

[94] See *2 Chr.* 9:1, &c.

2] And she came to Jerusalem with a very great train, with camels that bare spices, and very much gold, and precious stones: and when she was come to Solomon, she communed with him of all that 3] was in her heart. And Solomon told her all her questions: there was not any thing hid from the king which he told 4] her not. And when the queen of Sheba had seen all the wisdom of Solomon, and 5] the house that he had built, and the meat of his table, and the sitting of his servants, and the [95] attendance of his ministers, and their apparel, and his cupbearers, and [96] his ascent by which he went up unto the house of the LORD; 6] there was no more spirit in her. And she said to the king, It was a true report that I heard in mine own land of thine [97] acts, and of thy wisdom. 7] Howbeit I believed not the words, until I came, and mine eyes had seen it: and, behold, the half was not told me: [98] thy wisdom and prosperity exceedeth 8] the fame which I heard. Happy are thy men, happy are these thy servants, which stand continually before thee, *and* 9] that hear thy wisdom. Blessed be the LORD thy God, which delighted in thee, to set thee on the throne of Israel: because the LORD loved Israel for ever, therefore made he thee king, to do judge-10] ment and justice. And she gave the king an hundred and twenty talents of gold, and of spices very great store, and precious stones: there came no more such abundance of spices as these which the queen of Sheba gave to king Solomon.

. . . . . .

13] And king Solomon gave to the queen of Sheba all her desire, whatsoever she asked, beside that [99] which Solomon gave her of his royal bounty. So she turned, and went to her own land, she and her servants.

How much of this story is history and how much is legend, it is impossible to determine. Solomon's trade with South Arabia made such a visit as this possible, but, if it occurred, probably the queen did not come from Sheba (Saba). Hebrews of later centuries, when their kingdom had lost its splendor, enjoyed this tale of how the magnificence of Solomon had astonished the queen of a country which they regarded as one of the richest in the world. Although the Bible does not mention her name, later Arabian tradition gave her the name of Bilkis.

After Saba became the head of an independent kingdom about 500 B.C., it sent colonies across into Africa. About 115 B.C. one of these colonies conquered the mother country and established the kingdom of Saba and Raidhan, which continued until about 350 A.D., when it was superseded by the kingdom of Aksum in Abyssinia. It thus happens that the modern Abyssinians are in part descendants of the ancient people of Sheba, and the king of Abyssinia claims descent from Bilkis.

VARIOUS REBELLIONS DURING SOLOMON'S REIGN, *1 Kings* 11: 14–31, 40

1 Kings 11. 14] And the LORD raised up an adversary unto Solomon, Hadad the Edomite: he was of the king's seed 15] in Edom. For it came to pass, when David [100] was in Edom, and Joab the captain of the host was gone up to bury

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[95] Heb. *standing.*

[96] Or, *his burnt offering which he offered in &c.*

[97] Or, *sayings.*

[98] Heb. *thou hast added wisdom and goodness to the fame.*

[99] Heb. *which he gave her according to the hand of king Solomon.*

[100] The Sept. and Syr. read, *destroyed Edom.*

the slain, and had smitten every male
16] in Edom; (for Joab and all Israel
remained there six months, until he had
17] cut off every male in Edom;) that
Hadad fled, he and certain Edomites of
his father's servants with him, to go into
Egypt; Hadad being yet a little child.
18] And they arose out of Midian, and
came to Paran: and they took men with
them out of Paran, and they came to
Egypt, unto Pharaoh king of Egypt;
which gave him an house, and appointed
19] him victuals, and gave him land. And
Hadad found great favour in the sight
of Pharaoh, so that he gave him to wife
the sister of his own wife, the sister of
20] Tahpenes the queen. And the sister
of Tahpenes bare him Genubath his son,
whom Tahpenes weaned in Pharaoh's
house: and Genubath was in Pharaoh's
house among the sons of Pharaoh.
21] And when Hadad heard in Egypt
that David slept with his fathers, and
that Joab the captain of the host was
dead, Hadad said to Pharaoh, Let me
depart, that I may go to mine own country.
22] Then Pharaoh said unto him,
But what hast thou lacked with me, that,
behold, thou seekest to go to thine own
country? And he answered, Nothing:
howbeit let me depart in any wise.

23] And God raised up *another* adversary
unto him, Rezon the son of Eliada,
which had fled from his lord Hadadezer
24] king of Zobah: and he gathered men
unto him, and became captain over a
troop, when David slew them *of Zobah:*
and they went to Damascus, and dwelt therein,
and reigned in Damascus.
25] And he was an adversary to Israel
all the days of Solomon, beside the mischief
that Hadad *did:* and he abhorred
Israel, and reigned over Syria.

26] And Jeroboam the son of Nebat,
an Ephraimite of Zeredah, a servant of
Solomon, whose mother's name was
Zeruah, a widow woman, he also lifted
27] up his hand against the king. And
this was the cause that he lifted up his
hand against the king: Solomon built
Millo, and [101] repaired the breach of
28] the city of David his father. And
the man Jeroboam was a mighty man of
valour: and Solomon saw the young man
that he was industrious, and he gave him
charge over all the [102] labour of the
29] house of Joseph. And it came to pass
at that time, when Jeroboam went out of
Jerusalem, that the prophet Ahijah the
Shilonite found him in the way; now
Ahijah had clad himself with a new garment;
and they two were alone in the
30] field. And Ahijah laid hold of the
new garment that was on him, and rent it
31] in twelve pieces. And he said to Jeroboam,
Take thee ten pieces: for thus
saith the Lord, the God of Israel, Behold,
I will rend the kingdom out of the
hand of Solomon, and will give ten
tribes to thee.

. . . . . .

40] Solomon sought therefore to kill
Jeroboam: but Jeroboam arose, and fled
into Egypt, unto Shishak king of Egypt,
and was in Egypt until the death of Solomon.

Of the three disaffected men described in the passage just quoted, Genubath and Rezon were descendants of kings whom David had conquered. Both became enemies of Solomon at the beginning of his reign. Rezon established himself as an independent king at Damascus, but, beyond maintaining his freedom (Damascus had been subject to David; *2 Sam.* 8:6), he apparently did Solomon little harm. Genubath appears to have accomplished nothing. With Jeroboam, however, the case was different. He was a Hebrew—an Ephraimite. The tribe of Ephraim had, in the period of the judges, been restless of any leadership but their own. Jeroboam had been a trusted officer of Solomon, and, late in Solomon's reign, sought to raise the standard of rebellion. In this he was encouraged by a man whom later generations counted as a prophet. When his design became known to Solomon and the king sought to punish him for his treason, Jeroboam fled to Egypt. Siamon, Solomon's father-in-law, had been long dead and Sheshonk (Shishak), the founder of a new dynasty, was on the throne of Egypt. Shishak, as we shall see, had an ambition to revive Egypt's empire in Asia, and the strong kingdom of Solomon stood in his way. Desirous of employing every means of weakening the strong Israelitish monarchy, he welcomed Jeroboam and gave him asylum. We shall meet Jeroboam again.

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[101] Heb. *closed up.*

[102] Heb. *burden.*

SOLOMON'S DEATH, *1 Kings* 11:41–43

1 Kings 11. 41] [103] Now the rest of the [104] acts of Solomon, and all that he did, and his wisdom, are they not written in the book of the acts of Solomon? 42] And the time that Solomon reigned in Jerusalem over all Israel was forty 43] years. And Solomon slept with his fathers, and was buried in the city of David his father: and Rehoboam his son reigned in his stead.

Thus ended the reign of Israel's most ostentatious king. Solomon reaped the fruits of David's conquests. David had been a man of war; Solomon enjoyed a period of peace. Egypt, Assyria, and Babylonia were all governed by weak and unwarlike princes. They did not invade Palestine, and David had cowed Israel's immediate neighbors. Trade was developed. Trade brought wealth, and wealth made splendor possible.

[103] See *2 Chr.* 9: 29 &c.

[104] Or, *words;* or, *matters.*

CHAPTER XII

THE FIRST FIFTY YEARS OF THE DIVIDED KINGDOM

BEFORE the death of Solomon discontent had been long brewing. His energy and wisdom together with the greatness of his name had held it in check, but it now found expression. Chief among the causes of this discontent was the heavy taxation which Solomon had imposed on the people; but that was not the only cause. His temple was thought not to be a good orthodox Hebrew temple. It was filled with bronze unorthodox implements of Phenician manufacture. The details of cult have a great power over the religious imagination, and it was felt that somehow Solomon was worshiping a different God from the one who had brought Israel from Egypt and whose cult was so much more simple. Then, too, the powerful tribe of Ephraim, which had submitted to the leadership of Judah during the reigns of David and Solomon, was, as we have seen, growing restless; it wished to assert its own leadership. On the death of Solomon, Jeroboam returned to his native land. Solomon's heir was his son Rehoboam. In order to placate the discontented Ephraimites, Rehoboam went to the Ephraimite shrine at Shechem to be crowned. There the crisis culminated. Had Rehoboam been a wise and conciliatory statesman, he might have averted disaster, but he was not. The Bible tells what happened in the following story.

THE CORONATION OF REHOBOAM AND THE DIVISION OF THE KINGDOM, *1 Kings* 12: 1–24

1 Kings 12. [1] And Rehoboam went to
Shechem: for all Israel were come to
2] Shechem to make him king. And it
came to pass, when Jeroboam the son of
Nebat heard of it, (for he was yet in
Egypt, whither he had fled from the
presence of king Solomon, and Jeroboam
3] dwelt in Egypt, and they sent
and called him;) that Jeroboam and all
the congregation of Israel came, and
4] spake unto Rehoboam, saying, Thy father
made our yoke grievous: now therefore
make thou the grievous service of
thy father, and his heavy yoke which
he put upon us, lighter, and we will serve
5] thee. And he said unto them, Depart
yet for three days, then come again to
6] me. And the people departed. And
king Rehoboam took counsel with the old
men, that had stood before Solomon his
father while he yet lived, saying, What
counsel give ye me to return answer to
7] this people? And they spake unto him,
saying, If thou wilt be a servant unto
this people this day, and wilt serve them,
and answer them, and speak good words
to them, then they will be thy servants
8] for ever. But he forsook the counsel
of the old men which they had given
him, and took counsel with the young

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[1] See *2 Chr.* 10: 1, &c.

men that were grown up with him, that
9] stood before him. And he said unto
them, What counsel give ye, that we
may return answer to this people, who
have spoken to me, saying, Make the
yoke that thy father did put upon us
10] lighter? And the young men that
were grown up with him spake unto
him, saying, Thus shalt thou say unto
this people that spake unto thee, saying,
Thy father made our yoke heavy, but
make thou it lighter unto us: speak unto
them, My little finger is thicker than my
11] father's loins. And now whereas my
father did lade you with a heavy yoke,
I will add to your yoke: my father chastised you with whips, but I will chastise
12] you with scorpions. So Jeroboam
and all the people came to Rehoboam
the third day, as the king bade, saying,
13] Come to me again the third day. And
the king answered the people roughly,
and forsook the counsel of the old men
14] which they had given him; and spake
to them after the counsel of the young
men, saying, My father made your yoke
heavy, but I will add to your yoke: my
father chastised you with whips, but I
15] will chastise you with scorpions. So
the king hearkened not unto the people;
for it was a thing brought about of the
Lord, that he might establish his word,
which the Lord spake by the hand of
Ahijah the Shilonite to Jeroboam the
16] son of Nebat. And when all Israel
saw that the king hearkened not unto
them, the people answered the king, saying, What portion have we in David?
neither have we inheritance in the son
of Jesse: to your tents, O Israel: now
see to thine own house, David. So Israel
17] departed unto their tents. But as for
the children of Israel which dwelt in
the cities of Judah, Rehoboam reigned
18] over them. Then king Rehoboam
sent Adoram, who was over the levy;
and all Israel stoned him with stones,
that he died. And king Rehoboam made
speed to get him up to his chariot, to flee
19] to Jerusalem. So Israel rebelled
against the house of David, unto this
20] day. And it came to pass, when all
Israel heard that Jeroboam was returned, that they sent and called him
unto the congregation, and made him
king over all Israel: there was none that
followed the house of David, but the
tribe of Judah only.

21] [2] And when Rehoboam was come
to Jerusalem, he assembled all the house
of Judah, and the tribe of Benjamin,
an hundred and fourscore thousand
chosen men, which were warriors, to
fight against the house of Israel, to bring
the kingdom again to Rehoboam the son
22] of Solomon. But the word of God
came unto Shemaiah the man of God,
23] saying, Speak unto Rehoboam the
son of Solomon, king of Judah, and unto
all the house of Judah and Benjamin,
and to the [3] rest of the people, saying,
24] Thus saith the Lord, Ye shall not go
up, nor fight against your brethren the
children of Israel: return every man to
his house; for this thing is of me. So
they hearkened unto the word of the
Lord, and returned and went their way,
according to the word of the Lord.

Rehoboam, whose tactlessness and arrogance had precipitated the revolution of the greater portion of his subjects, and who would not then listen to the advice of experienced statesmen, was apparently overawed by the situation in which he found himself. He listened to the advice of the prophet and refrained from civil war. It was a wise decision. With only the tribe of Judah and a part of the tribe of Benjamin from which to draw soldiers, he was no match for Jeroboam, who had all the rest of Israel at his back. Thus the kingdom was divided. Of course all vassal kingdoms immediately asserted their independence, and the days of the Hebrew empire were at an end. This was just what the king of Egypt desired, and we shall soon see the advantage which he took of it.

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[2] See *2 Chr.* 11: 1, &c.

[3] See ver. 17.

JEROBOAM'S MEASURES OF DEFENSE, *1 Kings* 12:25–33

1 Kings 12. 25] Then Jeroboam built
Shechem in the hill country of Ephraim,
and dwelt therein; and he went out from
26] thence, and built Penuel. And Jeroboam
said in his heart, Now shall the
kingdom return to the house of David:
27] if this people go up to offer sacrifices
in the house of the LORD at Jerusalem,
then shall the heart of this people turn
again unto their lord, even unto Rehoboam
king of Judah; and they shall kill
me, and return to Rehoboam king of Judah.
28] Whereupon the king took counsel,
and made two calves of gold; and
he said unto them, [4] It is too much for
you to go up to Jerusalem; behold thy
gods, O Israel, which brought thee up
29] out of the land of Egypt. And he
set the one in Beth-el, and the other put
30] he in Dan. And this thing became a
sin: for the people went *to worship* before
31] [5] the one, even unto Dan. And
he made houses of high places, and made
priests from among all the people, which
32] were not of the sons of Levi. And
Jeroboam ordained a feast in the eighth
month, on the fifteenth day of the month,
like unto the feast that is in Judah, and
he [6] went up unto the altar; so did he in
Beth-el, [7] sacrificing unto the calves that
he had made: and he placed in Beth-el
the priests of the high places which he
33] had made. And he [6] went up unto the
altar which he had made in Beth-el on
the fifteenth day in the eighth month,
even in the month which he had devised
[8] of his own heart: and he ordained a
feast for the children of Israel, and
[6] went up unto the altar, to burn incense.

The fortification of Shechem between Mount Ebal and Mount Gerizim was a natural measure of defense for Jeroboam to take. Jerusalem was strongly fortified, and it was but prudent for Jeroboam to have also a strongly fortified town in the heart of his own tribe where, in case of necessity, he could stand a siege. Penuel, on the precipitous shore of the Jabbok east of the Jordan, he also fortified, that he might have a military stronghold in the trans-Jordanian sections of his dominions.

In judging of the motives of Jeroboam in lavishing his royal patronage upon the two temples of Bethel and Dan, we must bear in mind the religious bias of the editor of the books of *Kings*. He lived and wrote after the introduction of the code of *Deuteronomy* as the organic law of Judah in the year 621 B.C., and he compiled these books to persuade people to observe the Deuteronomic law. That law made all sanctuaries except the one at Jerusalem illegal; hence the compiler of *Kings* regarded all sanctuaries except the one at Jerusalem as wrong, and the men who patronized them as sinful. The passage from *Kings* last quoted (*1 Kings* 12:25–33) is largely the work of this writer, and we may be sure that the point of view of the Israelites of the time of Jeroboam was quite different. The many sanctuaries scattered over the land—there was one on the hill above every large town—were all still considered legitimate and sacred. In patronizing them Jeroboam was acting, not as an innovator in religion, but as a conservative. At all these sanctuaries there were either dirt altars or altars of stone; the implements of their worship

[4] Or, *Ye have gone up long enough.*
[5] Or, *each of them.*
[6] Or, *offered upon.*
[7] Or, *to sacrifice.*
[8] Another reading is, *apart.*

were, too, of the simple sort long employed by an agricultural people. The temple in Jerusalem, on the other hand, was equipped with a bronze altar and with bronze implements. In encouraging the old sanctuaries Jeroboam was acting conservatively. The feast in the eighth month, too, was a festival which had long been celebrated in sanctuaries all over the land. Jeroboam's one innovation—and possibly that had been made by some one before—was the presenting of little golden bullocks as symbols of Yahweh to the temples of Bethel and Dan. Bullocks were symbols of divinity among several of the agricultural peoples of western Asia. They had been symbols of the Canaanite Baals in several Palestinian temples which the Hebrews had taken over as temples of Yahweh. As we have seen, Yahweh had himself been called *Baal* or "Lord" in the days of Gideon, Saul, and David. Once the God of nomads, he had now become the God of an agricultural people, and they saw no impropriety in employing in his worship the symbols which other agricultural peoples employed in the worship of their gods. True, molten gods had been prohibited in the decalogue of the time of Moses, but many now disregarded that. Jeroboam was able to say "Behold thy God, Oh Israel, who brought thee up out of the land of Egypt." The struggle to separate Yahweh from Baal and to banish images from his worship came, as we shall see, in a later generation.

REHOBOAM'S CONTEMPORARY REIGN IN JUDAH, *1 Kings* 14:21–28 and *2 Chr.* 11:5–12

1 Kings 14. 21] [9] And Rehoboam the
son of Solomon reigned in Judah. Rehoboam
was forty and one years old when
he began to reign, and he reigned seventeen
years in Jerusalem, the city which
the LORD had chosen out of all the tribes
of Israel, to put his name there: and
his mother's name was Naamah the Ammonitess.
22] And Judah did that which
was evil in the sight of the LORD; and
they provoked him to jealousy with their
sins which they committed, above all
23] that their fathers had done. For they
also built them high places, and [10] pillars,
and Asherim, on every high hill, and under
24] every green tree; and there were
also [11] sodomites in the land: they did
according to all the abominations of the
nations which the LORD drave out before
the children of Israel.

2 Chron. 11. 5] And Rehoboam dwelt in Jerusalem, and built cities for defence
6] in Judah. He built even Beth-lehem,
7] and Etam, and Tekoa, and Beth-zur,
8] and Soco, and Adullam, and Gath,
9] and Mareshah and Ziph, and Adoraim,
10] and Lachish, and Azekah,
and Zorah, and Aijalon, and Hebron,
which are in Judah and in Benjamin,
11] fenced cities. And he fortified the
strong holds, and put captains in them,
and store of victual, and oil and wine.
12] And in every several city *he put*
shields and spears, and made them exceeding
strong. And Judah and Benjamin
belonged to him.

1 Kings 14. 25] [12] And it came to pass
in the fifth year of king Rehoboam, that
Shishak king of Egypt came up against
26] Jerusalem: and he took away the
treasures of the house of the LORD, and
the treasures of the king's house; he

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[9] See *2 Chr.* 12: 13.

[10] Or, *obelisks.*

[11] See *Deut.* 23: 17.

[12] See *2 Chr.* 12: 2, 9–11.

even took away all: and he took away
all the shields of gold which Solomon
27] had made. And king Rehoboam
made in their stead shields of brass, and
committed them to the hands of the
captains of the [13] guard, which kept the
28] door of the king's house. And it was
so, that as oft as the king went into the
house of the LORD, the guard bare them,
and brought them back into the guard
chamber.

The editor of the first book of *Kings* ascribes sin to the Judeans of Rehoboam's time because they worshiped in "high places," or the old open-air sanctuaries outside of every town, but that is due to the purpose which controlled his writing. In Rehoboam's time no one had thought such worship wrong.

The second book of *Chronicles* records the fact that Rehoboam for the protection of his kingdom built (or rebuilt) several fortified towns. Several of these—Gath, Maresha (the modern Beit-Gibrin), Azekah (the modern Tell Zakariya), Lachish (the modern Tell el-Hesy), and Zorah, the birthplace of Samson—were on his western frontier, where attack from the Philistine plain was easy. Either Jeroboam or the king of Egypt might attack him from this direction. Bethlehem, Beth-zur, Hebron, and Ziph were fortresses in the heart of his domain, should an enemy penetrate that far, while Aijalon was an outpost against Jeroboam on the north.

These prudent measures were taken none too soon, for in the fifth year of his reign Shishak (Sheshonk), king of Egypt—the same that had earlier given asylum to Jeroboam—invaded Palestine with an army and compelled Rehoboam to pay a heavy tribute. To meet this tribute the Judean king was compelled to take the temple treasure and to sacrifice many of the golden implements of the temple.

The Bible gives the impression that Sheshonk's operations were directed against Judah alone, but the Egyptian account gives a different impression. Sheshonk, on returning to Egypt, had an account of his conquests written on the walls of a pylon, or temple gate, which he was erecting at Karnak in Thebes. This account includes the names of about a hundred and twenty cities which Pharaoh had captured. Among them are Gath, Taanach, Shunem, Bethshean, Mahanaim, Gibeon, Beth-horon, Aijalon, Soco, and Megiddo. Several of these—Taanach, Megiddo, Shunem, Bethshean—were cities of Jeroboam's kingdom, and at least one of them—Mahanaim—was east of the Jordan. It is clear that Sheshonk's attack was directed against both the kingdom of Israel and the kingdom of Judah, and that, by reducing both these monarchies to the position of tribute-paying vassals, he had for the time revived the old Egyptian empire in Asia. The division of the kingdom had given Sheshonk his opportunity. Although he had sheltered Jeroboam that he might become an instrument for weakening the Hebrew monarchy by dividing it, the

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[13] Heb. *runners.*

Egyptian king cared nothing for him. He took his cities as ruthlessly as he did those of Judah. Why the Bible does mention this, we do not know.

REHOBOAM'S DEATH AND ABIJAM'S REIGN, *1 Kings* 14:29—15:9

1 Kings 14. 29] [14] Now the rest of the
acts of Rehoboam, and all that he did,
are they not written in the book of the
chronicles of the kings of Judah?
30] And there was war between Rehoboam
31] and Jeroboam continually. And
Rehoboam slept with his fathers, and
was buried with his fathers in the city
of David: and his mother's name was
Naamah the Ammonitess. And [15] Abijam
his son reigned in his stead.

15. [16] Now in the eighteenth year of
king Jeroboam the son of Nebat began
2] Abijam to reign over Judah. Three
years reigned he in Jerusalem: and his
mother's name was [17] Maacah the daughter
3] of [18] Abishalom. And he walked
in all the sins of his father, which he
had done before him: and his heart was
not perfect with the Lord his God, as
4] the heart of David his father. Nevertheless
for David's sake did the Lord
his God give him a lamp in Jerusalem,
to set up his son after him, and to establish
5] Jerusalem: because David did
that which was right in the eyes of the
Lord, and turned not aside from any
thing that he commanded him all the
days of his life, save only in the matter
6] of Uriah the Hittite. Now there was
war between [19] Rehoboam and Jeroboam
7] all the days of his life. And the
rest of the acts of Abijam, and all that
he did, are they not written in the book
of the chronicles of the kings of Judah?
And there was war between Abijam and
8] Jeroboam. [20] And Abijam slept with
his fathers; and they buried him in the
city of David: and Asa his son reigned
in his stead.

9] And in the twentieth year of Jeroboam
king of Israel began Asa to reign
over Judah.

The brief reign of Abijam, like that of Rehoboam, fell within the limits of Jeroboam's reign. While no details of the civil war which followed the division of the kingdom are recorded, the fact is stated that hostilities between the two kingdoms existed during the whole of the reigns of Rehoboam and Abijam.

JEROBOAM'S LAST DAYS AND NADAB'S REIGN, *1 Kings* 14:1–20 and 15:25–31

1 Kings 14. At that time Abijah the
2] son of Jeroboam fell sick. And Jeroboam
said to his wife, Arise, I pray
thee, and disguise thyself, that thou be
not known to be the wife of Jeroboam:
and get thee to Shiloh; behold, there is
Ahijah the prophet, which spake concerning
me that I should be king over
3] this people. And take with thee ten
loaves, and cracknels, and a [21] cruse of
honey, and go to him: he shall tell thee
4] what shall become of the child. And
Jeroboam's wife did so, and arose, and
went to Shiloh, and came to the house
of Ahijah. Now Ahijah could not see;
for his eyes were set by reason of his
5] age. And the Lord said unto Ahijah,
Behold, the wife of Jeroboam cometh

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[14] See *2 Chr.* 12: 15, 16.

[15] In *2 Chr.* 12: 16, *Abijah.*

[16] See *2 Chr.* 13: 1, &c.

[17] In *2 Chr.* 13: 2, *Micaiah the daughter of Uriel.*

[18] In *2 Chr.* 11: 20, 21, *Absalom.*

[19] According to some authorities, *Abijam.*

[20] See *2 Chr.* 14: 1, &c.

[21] Or, *bottle.*

to inquire of thee concerning her son;
for he is sick: thus and thus shalt thou
say unto her: for it shall be, when she
cometh in, that she shall feign herself
6] to be another woman. And it was so,
when Ahijah heard the sound of her
feet, as she came in at the door, that he
said, Come in, thou wife of Jeroboam;
why feignest thou thyself to be another?
for I am sent to thee with heavy tidings.
7] Go, tell Jeroboam, Thus saith the
Lord, the God of Israel: Forasmuch as
I exalted thee from among the people,
and made thee [22] prince over my people
8] Israel, and rent the kingdom away
from the house of David, and gave it
thee: and yet thou hast not been as my
servant David, who kept my commandments,
and who followed me with all
his heart, to do that only which was
9] right in mine eyes; but hast done evil
above all that were before thee, and
hast gone and made thee other gods, and
molten images, to provoke me to anger,
and hast cast me behind thy back:
10] therefore, behold, I will bring evil
upon the house of Jeroboam, and will
cut off from Jeroboam every man child,
him that is shut up and him that is left at
large in Israel, and will utterly sweep
away the house of Jeroboam, as a man
sweepeth away dung, till it be all gone.

. . . . . .

17] And Jeroboam's wife arose, and
departed, and came to Tirzah: *and* as
she came to the threshold of the house,
18] the child died. And all Israel buried
him, and mourned for him; according to
the word of the Lord, which he spake
by the hand of his servant Ahijah the
19] prophet. And the rest of the acts
of Jeroboam, how he warred, and how
he reigned, behold, they are written in
the book of the chronicles of the kings
20] of Israel. And the days which Jeroboam
reigned were two and twenty
years: and he slept with his fathers, and
Nahab his son reigned in his stead.

. . . . . .

1 **Kings** 15. 25] And Nadab the son
of Jeroboam began to reign over Israel
in the second year of Asa king of Judah;
and he reigned over Israel two years.
26] And he did that which was evil
in the sight of the Lord, and walked in
the way of his father, and in his sin
wherewith he made Israel to sin.
27] And Baasha the son of Ahijah, of
the house of Issachar, conspired against
him; and Baasha smote him at Gibbethon,
which belonged to the Philistines;
for Nadab and all Israel were laying
28] siege to Gibbethon. Even in the third
year of Asa king of Judah did Baasha
slay him, and reigned in his stead.
29] And it came to pass that, as soon
as he was king, he smote all the house
of Jeroboam; he left not to Jeroboam
any that breathed, until he had destroyed
him; according unto the saying
of the Lord, which he spake by the hand
of his servant Ahijah the Shilonite:
30] for the sins of Jeroboam which he
sinned, and wherewith he made Israel to
sin; because of his provocation wherewith
he provoked the Lord, the God of
31] Israel, to anger. Now the rest of the
acts of Nadab, and all that he did, are
they not written in the book of the chronicles
of the kings of Israel? And there
was war between Asa and Baasha king
of Israel all their days.

The preceding excerpt from *1 Kings* 14 gives us an insight into the view the religious people of the time took of the overthrow of Jeroboam's dynasty. They thought that had he pleased Yahweh, his house would have been established. Because his dynasty fell, they inferred that he had offended Yahweh, and a later generation understood the offense to be that he had introduced molten gods, which, as we have pointed out, violated a commandment of the time of Moses. The excerpt from *1 Kings* 15 relates how Baasha rebelled, overthrew Nadab, Jeroboam's son, and, assuming the crown, endeavored to found a new dynasty.

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[22] Or, *leader*.

THE REIGN OF KING ASA OF JUDAH, *1 Kings* 15:9–24

1 Kings 15. 9] And in the twentieth
year of Jeroboam king of Israel began
10] Asa to reign over Judah. And forty
and one years reigned he in Jerusalem:
and his mother's name was Maacah the
11] daughter of Abishalom. And Asa
did that which was right in the eyes of
the Lord, as did David his father.
12] And he put away the sodomites out
of the land, and removed all the idols
13] that his fathers had made. [23] And
also Maacah his mother he removed
from being [24] queen, because she had
made an abominable image [25] for an
Asherah; and Asa cut down her image,
14] and burnt it at the brook Kidron. But
the high places were not taken away:
nevertheless the heart of Asa was perfect
15] with the Lord all his days. And
he brought into the house of the Lord
the things that his father had dedicated,
and the things that himself had dedicated,
silver, and gold, and vessels.
16] And there was war between Asa and
Baasha king of Israel all their days.
17] [26] And Baasha king of Israel went
up against Judah, and built Ramah, that
he might not suffer any to go out or
18] come in to Asa king of Judah. Then
Asa took all the silver and the gold that
were left in the treasures of the house
of the Lord, and the treasures of the
king's house, and delivered them into
the hand of his servants: and king Asa
sent them to Ben-hadad, the son of
Tabrimmon, the son of Hezion, king of
Syria, that dwelt at Damascus, saying,
19] [27] *There is* a league between me and
thee, between my father and thy father:
behold, I have sent unto thee a present
of silver and gold; go, break thy league
with Baasha king of Israel, that he may
20] depart from me. And Ben-hadad
hearkened unto king Asa, and sent the
captains of his armies against the cities
of Israel, and smote Ijon, and Dan, and
Abel-beth-maacah, and all Chinneroth,
21] with all the land of Naphtali. And it
came to pass, when Baasha heard thereof,
that he left off building of Ramah,
22] and dwelt in Tirzah. Then King Asa
made a proclamation unto all Judah;
none was exempted: and they carried
away the stones of Ramah, and the timber
thereof, wherewith Baasha had
builded; and king Asa built therewith
Geba of Benjamin, and Mizpah.
23] [28] Now the rest of all the acts of
Asa, and all his might, and all that he
did, and the cities which he built, are
they not written in the book of the chronicles
of the kings of Judah? But in the
time of his old age he was diseased in
24] his feet. And Asa slept with his fathers,
and was buried with his fathers
in the city of David his father: and Jehoshaphat
his son reigned in his stead.

In the narrative just quoted there are two historical points to be remembered. The first of them concerns the disgusting image into which Asa's mother had had an *ashera*—a wooden post connected with a sanctuary—carved. The nomadic customs of the steppe, where the religion of Yahweh had begun, were simple. Although not overrefined, they lacked the open suggestions of sensuality which often characterized the worship of the wealthier agricultural and commercial Semites. Since the settlement in Canaan, the religion of Yahweh had been slowly absorbing ideas and customs belonging to the worship of the Baals. Jeroboam's golden bullocks were an instance of this; this *ashera* of Maacah, Asa's mother, was another. In this last instance, however, public sentiment was so outraged that Asa was compelled to remove his mother from her honorable position as queen dowager. That act secured for him the commendation of the later Hebrew chronicler; he thought Asa orthodox according to the standards of the book of *Deuteronomy*.

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[23] See *2 Chr.* 15: 16–18.
[24] Or, *queen mother.*
[25] Or, *for Asherah.*
[26] See *2 Chr.* 16: 1–6.
[27] Or, Let there be.
[28] See *2 Chr.* 16: 11–14.

The other noteworthy event is the war between Baasha and Asa. Ramah, which Baasha was fortifying, is only five miles north of Jerusalem. Thus near to Asa's capital city had Baasha pushed his frontier. By bribing the king of Damascus to break his alliance with Baasha and attack the cities of northern Israel, Asa succeeded in compelling Baasha to abandon the fortification of Ramah. Then, taking the abandoned material, he fortified with it Geba and Mizpeh, both towns about seven miles north of Jerusalem, the first on the south side of a deep ravine which itself formed a natural defense, and the second, on the highroad from Jerusalem to the north. This passage shows how the northern frontier of Judah varied with circumstances. In the time of Rehoboam it had been at Aijalon, several miles farther north; in the reign of Asa it varied from five to seven miles from Jerusalem. During much of the divided kingdom only a part of the tribe of Benjamin belonged to the kingdom of Judah.

THE REIGN OF BAASHA AND THE FALL OF HIS DYNASTY, *I Kings* 15:33—16:14

1 Kings 15. 33] In the third year of
Asa king of Judah began Baasha the
son of Ahijah to reign over all Israel in
Tirzah, *and reigned* twenty and four
34] years. And he did that which was
evil in the sight of the LORD, and walked
in the way of Jeroboam, and in his sin
wherewith he made Israel to sin.

16. And the word of the LORD came to
Jehu the son of Hanani against Baasha,
2] saying, Forasmuch as I exalted thee
out of the dust, and made thee [29] prince
over my people Israel; and thou hast
walked in the way of Jeroboam, and hast
made my people Israel to sin, to provoke
3] me to anger with their sins; behold, I
will utterly sweep away Baasha and his
house; and I will make thy house like
the house of Jeroboam the son of Nebat.
4] Him that dieth of Baasha in the city
shall the dogs eat; and him that dieth of
his in the field shall the fowls of the
5] air eat. Now the rest of the acts of
Baasha, and what he did, and his might,
are they not written in the book of the
6] chronicles of the kings of Israel? And
Baasha slept with his fathers, and was
buried in Tirzah: and Elah his son
7] reigned in his stead. And moreover by
the prophet Jehu the son of Hanani came
the word of the LORD against Baasha, and
against his house, both because of all the
evil that he did in the sight of the LORD,
to provoke him to anger with the work
of his hands, in being like the house of
Jeroboam, and because he smote [30] him.

8] In the twenty and sixth year of
Asa king of Judah began Elah the son
of Baasha to reign over Israel in Tirzah,
9] *and reigned* two years. And his servant
Zimri, captain of half his chariots,
conspired against him: now he was in
Tirzah, drinking himself drunk in the
house of Arza, which was over the
10] household in Tirzah: and Zimri went
in and smote him, and killed him, in the
twenty and seventh year of Asa king of
11] Judah, and reigned in his stead. And
it came to pass, when he began to reign,
as soon as he sat on his throne, that he
smote all the house of Baasha: he left
him not a single man child, neither of

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[29] Or, *leader.*

[30] Or, *it.*

12] his kinsfolks, nor of his friends. Thus
did Zimri destroy all the house of Baasha,
according to the word of the LORD,
which he spake against Baasha by Jehu
13] the prophet, for all the sins of Baasha,
and the sins of Elah his son, which
they sinned, and wherewith they made
Israel to sin, to provoke the LORD, the
God of Israel, to anger with their vanities.
14] Now the rest of the acts of
Elah, and all that he did, are they not
written in the book of the chronicles
of the kings of Israel?

Neither Jeroboam nor Baasha succeeded in founding a dynasty.

THE REIGN OF OMRI, *1 Kings* 16:15–28

1 Kings 16. 15] In the twenty and
seventh year of Asa king of Judah did
Zimri reign seven days in Tirzah. Now
the people were encamped against Gibbethon,
which belonged to the Philistines.
16] And the people that were encamped
heard say, Zimri hath conspired, and
hath also smitten the king: wherefore
all Israel made Omri, the captain of the
host, king over Israel that day in the
17] camp. And Omri went up from Gibbethon,
and all Israel with him, and they
18] besieged Tirzah. And it came to
pass, when Zimri saw that the city was
taken, that he went into the [31] castle of
the king's house, and burnt the king's
19] house over him with fire, and died,
for his sins which he sinned in doing that
which was evil in the sight of the LORD,
in walking in the way of Jeroboam, and
in his sin which he did, to make Israel to
20] sin. Now the rest of the acts of
Zimri, and his treason that he wrought,
are they not written in the book of the
chronicles of the kings of Israel?

21] Then were the people of Israel divided
into two parts: half of the people
followed Tibni the son of Ginath, to
make him king; and half followed Omri.
22] But the people that followed Omri
prevailed against the people that followed
Tibni the son of Ginath: so Tibni
23] died, and Omri reigned. In the thirty
and first year of Asa king of Judah began
Omri to reign over Israel, *and
reigned* twelve years: six years reigned
24] he in Tirzah. And he bought the hill
[32] Samaria of Shemer for two talents of
silver; and he [33] built on the hill, and
called the name of the city which he
built, after the name of Shemer, the
25] owner of the hill [32] Samaria. And
Omri did that which was evil in the
sight of the LORD, and dealt wickedly
26] above all that were before him. For
he walked in all the way of Jeroboam
the son of Nebat, and in his sins wherewith
he made Israel to sin, to provoke
the LORD, the God of Israel, to anger
27] with their vanities. Now the rest
of the acts of Omri which he did, and
his might that he shewed, are they not
written in the book of the chronicles of
28] the kings of Israel? So Omri slept
with his fathers, and was buried in Samaria:
and Ahab his son reigned in his
stead.

The first book of *Kings,* in the passage just quoted, graphically describes how one Israelitish general, Zimri, seized the throne only to be overthrown after a brief reign of seven days by a more powerful general, Omri. Omri was one of Israel's ablest kings. Although the Bible dismisses his reign in a few verses, we fortunately know from outside sources something of his accomplishments and reputation. One thing of importance, however, the Bible does tell: Omri's founding of the city of Samaria. From the time of Jeroboam to that of Omri the residence of the kings of Israel had been at Tirza, a place the location of which has not yet been identified. Omri selected a circular hilltop, about twelve miles northwest of Shechem, that was surrounded on three sides by deep valleys and on the fourth (the eastern side) was connected with the adjacent hills by a ridge which was considerably lower than the top of the hill. It was an ideal place to fortify, and Omri surrounded it with a strong wall. On the summit of the hill he built a strong palace, the foundations of which were laid bare a few years ago by Harvard University.[34] In course of time this city gave its name to the central part of Palestine, and its name to the oldest Jewish sect, the Samaritans.

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[31] Or, *palace.*
[32] Heb. *Shomeron.*
[33] Or, *fortified the hill.*

Mesha, king of Moab, who ruled just after Omri's time, wrote an inscription on a stone pillar which was found at Diban in Moab about seventy years ago. In his inscription Mesha says: [35] "Omri, king of Israel oppressed Moab many days because Chemosh [36] was angry with his land." This is evidence that Omri reduced the Moabites to a state of vassalage. Other neighboring lands probably suffered the same fate. His fame was so great that a king in far-off Assyria seventy or more years after his death referred to the Hebrew territory as "the land of Omri." [37] Omri made an alliance with Ethbaal, king of Tyre, by marrying his son Ahab to Ethbaal's daughter, Jezebel.

This brings us to the end of the first half-century after Solomon's death. It was a half-century of constant hostilities between Israel and Judah. In Israel there were frequent changes of dynasty; in Judah the dynasty of David maintained itself. Israel was, however, much the more powerful and important kingdom of the two.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Kings of Israel	**Kings of Judah**
Jeroboam I, 937–915 B.C.	Rehoboam, 937–920 B.C.
Nadab, 915–913	Abijah, 919–916
Baasha, 913–889	Asa, 915–874
Elah, 889–888	
Zimri, 7 days	
Omri, 888–876.	

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[34] See G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., p. 143 and Fig. 52.

[35] See G. A. Barton, *op. cit.*, p. 422.

[36] Chemosh was the god of Moab.

[37] See G. A. Barton, *op. cit.*, p. 424.

CHAPTER XIII

THE EPOCH-MAKING REIGNS OF AHAB AND JEHOSHAPHAT

THE reign of Ahab marks an epoch in the history of Israel. Politically it was not more brilliant than that of his father, but religiously it was much more significant. It is for their religion that the Hebrew people are especially noteworthy, and in the reign of Ahab a religious movement began, more important than any that had occurred since the days of Moses.

A SUMMARY OF AHAB'S REIGN, *1 Kings* 16:29–34

1 Kings 16. 29] And in the thirty and
eighth year of Asa king of Judah: began
Ahab the son of Omri to reign over Israel:
and Ahab the son of Omri reigned
over Israel in Samaria twenty and two
30] years. And Ahab the son of Omri
did that which was evil in the sight of
the LORD above all that were before him.
31] And it came to pass, as if it had
been a light thing for him to walk in
the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat,
that he took to wife [1] Jezebel the daughter
of Ethbaal king of the Zidonians,
and went and served Baal, and worshipped
32] him. And he reared up an
altar for Baal in the house of Baal,
33] which he had built in Samaria. And
Ahab made [2] the Asherah; and Ahab
did yet more to provoke the LORD, the
God of Israel, to anger than all the kings
34] of Israel that were before him. [3] In
his days did Hiel the Beth-elite build
Jericho: he laid the foundation thereof
with the loss of Abiram his firstborn,
and set up the gates thereof with the loss
of his youngest son Segub; according to
the word of the LORD, which he spake
by the hand of Joshua the son of Nun.

Two facts are of great importance to the understanding of the reign of Ahab. The first is the marriage with Jezebel, just mentioned, and the second, the alliance with Jehoshaphat, king of Judah. The first made an ally of the powerful commercial city of Tyre: the second insured an era of peace and cooperation between the two Hebrew kingdoms. For fifty years they had been at war; they had weakened each other and made themselves the prey of their neighbors. Now, by becoming friends, they inaugurated a period of internal peace, and strengthened each other.

THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF JEHOSHAPHAT, *1 Kings* 22:41–44

1 Kings 22. 41] [4] And Jehoshaphat
the son of Asa began to reign over Judah
in the fourth year of Ahab king of Israel.
42] Jehoshaphat was thirty and five

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[1] Heb. *Izebel.*

[2] See *2 Kings* 13: 6.

[3] See *Josh.* 6: 26.

[4] See *2 Chr.* 20: 31, &c.

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years old when he began to reign; and
he reigned twenty and five years in Jeru-
salem. And his mother's name was Azu-
43] bah the daughter of Shilhi. And he
walked in all the way of Asa his father;
he turned not aside from it, doing that
which was right in the eyes of the Lord:
howbeit the high places were not taken
away; the people still sacrificed and
44] burnt incense in the high places. And
Jehoshaphat made peace with the king
of Israel.

The "peace with the king of Israel" which Jehoshaphat made was cemented by the marriage of Jehoshaphat's son Jehoram to Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel (see *2 Kings* 8: 18).

THE PROPHET ELIJAH CHAMPIONS YAHWEH AGAINST THE BAALS

At this point the prophet Elijah appears. In order to understand his work we need to remember that originally the religion of Yahweh was the religion of nomads. These nomads had settled in agricultural Canaan among the Canaanites and had taken over for Yahweh the Canaanite high places or shrines. With them they had taken over Canaanite ritual and customs, and, as has been pointed out, Yahweh was becoming the God of an agricultural people. In other words he was becoming agriculturized. Then came Jezebel, the Tyrian princess, who was, according to the custom of the age (Solomon had done the same), permitted to have a place for the worship of the Baal of Tyre (he was called Melqart), the god of an artisan and commercial people. The worship of the Tyrian Baal was more ornate and sensuous than that of the Canaanite Baals by as much as that of the Canaanite agricultural Baals was more ornate and sensuous than that of the nomadic Yahweh. Elijah, from Tishbeh, in the east-Jordan country on the edge of the desert, was not only a worshiper and a prophet of Yahweh, but a champion of the nomadic ideal. Thus three ideals in religion were struggling for the mastery in the reign of Ahab. The dramatic story as told by the first book of *Kings* is as follows:

1 Kings 17. And Elijah the Tishbite,
who was [5] of the sojourners of Gilead,
said unto Ahab, As the Lord, the God of
Israel, liveth, before whom I stand, there
shall not be dew nor rain these years,
2] but according to my word. And the
3] word of the Lord came unto him, say-
ing, Get thee hence, and turn thee east-
ward, and hide thyself by the brook Che-
4] rith, that is before Jordan. And it
shall be, that thou shalt drink of the
brook; and I have commanded the rav-
5] ens to feed thee there. So he went and
did according unto the word of the Lord:
for he went and dwelt by the brook
6] Cherith, that is before Jordan. And
the ravens brought him bread and flesh
in the morning, and bread and flesh in
the evening; and he drank of the brook.
7] And it came to pass after a while,
that the brook dried up, because there
was no rain in the land.

8] And the word of the Lord came
9] unto him, saying, Arise, get thee to
Zarephath, which belongeth to Zidon,
and dwell there: behold, I have com-
manded a widow woman there to sustain
10] thee. So he arose and went to Zare-

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[5] According to the Sept., *of Tishbeh of Gilead.*

phath; and when he came to the gate of the city, behold, a widow woman was there gathering sticks: and he called to her, and said, Fetch me, I pray thee, a little water in a vessel, that I may drink. 11] And as she was going to fetch it, he called to her, and said, Bring me, I pray thee, a morsel of bread in thine 12] hand. And she said, As the LORD thy God liveth, I have not a cake, but an handful of meal in the barrel, and a little oil in the cruse: and, behold, I am gathering two sticks, that I may go in and dress it for me and my son, that we 13] may eat it, and die. And Elijah said unto her, Fear not; go and do as thou hast said: but make me thereof a little cake first, and bring it forth unto me, and afterward make for thee and for 14] thy son. For thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel, The barrel of meal shall not waste, neither shall the cruse of oil fail, until the day that the LORD 15] sendeth rain upon the earth. And she went and did according to the saying of Elijah: and she, and he, and her house, 16] did eat *many* days. The barrel of meal wasted not, neither did the cruse of oil fail, according to the word of the 17] LORD, which he spake by Elijah. And it came to pass after these things, that the son of the woman, the mistress of the house, fell sick; and his sickness was so sore, that there was no breath left in 18] him. And she said unto Elijah, What have I to do with thee, O thou man of God? [6] thou art come unto me to bring my sin to remembrance, and to slay my 19] son! And he said unto her, Give me thy son. And he took him out of her bosom, and carried him up into the chamber, where he abode, and laid him upon 20] his own bed. And he cried unto the LORD, and said, O LORD my God, hast thou also brought evil upon the widow with whom I sojourn, by slaying her 21] son? And he stretched himself upon the child three times, and cried unto the LORD, and said, O LORD my God, I pray thee, let this child's soul come into him 22] again. And the LORD hearkened unto the voice of Elijah; and the soul of the child came into him again, and he re-23] vived. And Elijah took the child, and brought him down out of the chamber into the house, and delivered him unto his mother: and Elijah said, See, thy son 24] liveth. And the woman said to Elijah, Now I know that thou art a man of God, and that the word of the LORD in thy mouth is truth.

This introductory chapter concerning Elijah affords a good picture of the dire effects of a famine in that country brought on by lack of rainfall; also, of what it was believed a prophet could do. The account of the religious struggle begins in the next chapter.

1 Kings 18. And it came to pass after many days, that the word of the LORD came to Elijah, in the third year, saying, Go, shew thyself unto Ahab; and I 2] will send rain upon the earth. And Elijah went to shew himself unto Ahab. And the famine was sore in Samaria. 3] And Ahab called Obadiah, which was over the household. (Now Obadiah 4] feared the LORD greatly: for it was so, when Jezebel cut off the prophets of the LORD, that Obadiah took an hundred prophets, and hid them by fifty in a cave, and fed them with bread and wa-5] ter.) And Ahab said unto Obadiah, Go through the land, unto all the fountains of water, and unto all the brooks: peradventure we may find grass and save the horses and mules alive, [7] that we lose 6] not all the beasts. So they divided the land between them to pass throughout it: Ahab went one way by himself, and Obadiah went another way by himself. 7] And as Obadiah was in the way, behold, Elijah met him: and he knew him, and fell on his face, and said, Is it thou, 8] my lord Elijah? And he answered him, It is I: go, tell thy lord, Behold, 9] Elijah is *here*. And he said, Wherein have I sinned, that thou wouldest deliver

[6] Or, *art thou &c.*

[7] Or, *and lose none of.*

thy servant unto the hand of Ahab, to
10] slay me? As the Lord thy God liveth,
there is no nation or kingdom,
whither my lord hath not sent to seek
thee: and when they said, He is not here,
he took an oath of the kingdom and nation,
11] that they found thee not. And
now thou sayest, Go, tell thy lord, Behold,
12] Elijah *is here*. And it shall
come to pass, as soon as I am gone from
thee, that the spirit of the Lord shall
carry thee whither I know not; and so
when I come and tell Ahab, and he cannot
find thee, he shall slay me: but I thy
servant fear the Lord from my youth.
13] Was it not told my lord what I did
when Jezebel slew the prophets of the
Lord, how I hid an hundred men of the
Lord's prophets by fifty in a cave, and
14] fed them with bread and water? And
now thou sayest, Go, tell thy lord, Behold,
Elijah *is here:* and he shall slay
15] me. And Elijah said, As the Lord
of hosts liveth, before whom I stand, I
will surely shew myself unto him to-day.
16] So Obadiah went to meet Ahab, and
told him: and Ahab went to meet Elijah.
17] And it came to pass, when Ahab saw
Elijah, that Ahab said unto him, Is it
18] thou, thou troubler of Israel? And
he answered, I have not troubled Israel;
but thou, and thy father's house, in that
ye have forsaken the commandments of
the Lord, and thou hast followed the
19] Baalim. Now therefore send, and
gather to me all Israel unto mount Carmel,
and the prophets of Baal four hundred
and fifty, and the prophets of the
Asherah four hundred, which eat at Jezebel's
20] table. So Ahab sent unto all
the children of Israel, and gathered the
prophets together unto mount Carmel.
21] And Elijah came near unto all the
people, and said, How long halt ye between
two opinions? if the Lord be God,
follow him: but if Baal, then follow him.
And the people answered him not a
22] word. Then said Elijah unto the people,
I, even I only, am left a prophet of
the Lord; but Baal's prophets are four
23] hundred and fifty men. Let them
therefore give us two bullocks; and let
them choose one bullock for themselves,
and cut it in pieces, and lay it on the
wood, and put no fire under: and I will
dress the other bullock, and lay it on the
24] wood, and put no fire under. And
call ye on the name of your god, and I
will call on the name of the Lord: and
the God that answereth by fire, let him
be God. And all the people answered
25] and said, It is well spoken. And Elijah
said unto the prophets of Baal,
Choose you one bullock for yourselves,
and dress it first; for ye are many, and
call on the name of your god, but put no
26] fire under. And they took the bullock
which was given them, and they
dressed it, and called on the name of
Baal from morning even until noon, saying,
O Baal, [8] hear us. But there was no
voice, nor any that answered. And they
[9] leaped about the altar which was made.
27] And it came to pass at noon, that
Elijah mocked them, and said, Cry
aloud: for he is a god; either he is
musing, or he is gone aside, or he is in a
journey, or peradventure he sleepeth,
28] and must be awaked. And they
cried aloud, and cut themselves after
their manner with [10] knives and lances,
till the blood gushed out upon them.
29] And it was so, when midday was
past, that they prophesied until the time
of the offering of the *evening* oblation;
but there was neither voice, nor any to
30] answer, nor any [11] that regarded. And
Elijah said unto all the people, Come
near unto me; and all the people came
near unto him. And he repaired the altar
of the Lord that was thrown down.
31] And Elijah took twelve stones, according
to the number of the tribes of
the sons of Jacob, unto whom the word
of the Lord came, saying, Israel shall be
32] thy name. And with the stones he
built an altar in the name of the Lord;
and he made a trench about the altar,
as great as would contain [12] two measures
33] of seed. And he put the wood
in order, and cut the bullock in pieces,
and laid it on the wood. And he said, Fill

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[8] Or, *answer*.
[9] Or, *limped*.
[10] Or, *swords*.
[11] Heb. *attention*.
[12] Or, *a two-seah measure*.

four barrels with water, and pour it on
the burnt offering, and on the wood.
34] And he said, Do it the second time;
and they did it the second time. And
he said, Do it the third time; and they
35] did it the third time. And the water
ran round about the altar; and he filled
36] the trench also with water. And it
came to pass at the time of the offering
of the *evening* oblation, that Elijah the
prophet came near, and said, O Lord,
the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of
Israel, let it be known this day that thou
art God in Israel, and that I am thy servant,
and that I have done all these things
37] at thy word. Hear me, O Lord, hear
me, that this people may know that thou,
Lord, art God, [13] and *that* thou hast
38] turned their heart back again. Then
the fire of the Lord fell, and consumed
the burnt offering, and the wood, and the
stones, and the dust, and licked up the
39] water that was in the trench. And
when all the people saw it, they fell on
their faces: and they said, The Lord, he
40] is God; the Lord, he is God. And
Elijah said unto them, Take the prophets
of Baal; let not one of them escape.
And they took them: and Elijah brought
them down to the brook Kishon, and
41] slew them there. And Elijah said
unto Ahab, Get thee up, eat and drink;
for there is the sound of abundance of
42] rain. So Ahab went up to eat and to
drink. And Elijah went up to the top of
Carmel; and he bowed himself down
upon the earth, and put his face between
43] his knees. And he said to his servant,
Go up now, look toward the sea. And he
went up, and looked, and said, There is
nothing. And he said, Go again seven
44] times. And it came to pass at the seventh
time, that he said, Behold, there
ariseth a cloud out of the sea, as small
as a man's hand. And he said, Go up, say
unto Ahab, [14] Make ready *thy chariot,*
and get thee down, that the rain stop
45] thee not. And it came to pass in a
little while, that the heaven grew black
with clouds and wind, and there was a
great rain. And Ahab rode, and went to
46] Jezreel. And the hand of the Lord
was on Elijah; and he girded up his
loins, and ran before Ahab to the entrance
of Jezreel.

19. And Ahab told Jezebel all that
Elijah had done, and withal how he had
slain all the prophets with the sword.
2] Then Jezebel sent a messenger unto
Elijah, saying, So let the gods do to me,
and more also, if I make not thy life as
the life of one of them by to-morrow
3] about this time. [15] And when he saw
that, he arose, and went for his life, and
came to Beer-sheba, which belongeth to
4] Judah, and left his servant there. But
he himself went a day's journey into the
wilderness, and came and sat down under
a [16] juniper tree: and he requested
for himself that he might die; and said,
It is enough; now, O Lord, take away
my life; for I am not better than my fathers.
5] thers. And he lay down and slept under
a juniper tree; and, behold, an angel
touched him, and said unto him, Arise
6] and eat. And he looked, and, behold,
there was at his head a cake baken on the
[17] coals, and a cruse of water. And he
did eat and drink, and laid him down
7] again. And the angel of the Lord came
again the second time, and touched him,
and said, Arise and eat; because the
8] journey is too great for thee. And he
arose, and did eat and drink, and went in
the strength of that meat forty days and
forty nights unto Horeb the mount of
9] God. And he came thither unto a
cave, and lodged there; and, behold, the
word of the Lord came to him, and he
said unto him, What doest thou here,
10] Elijah? And he said, I have been
very jealous for the Lord, the God of
hosts; for the children of Israel have
forsaken thy covenant, thrown down
thine altars, and slain thy prophets with
the sword: and I, even I only, am left;
and they seek my life, to take it away.
11] And he said, Go forth, and stand
upon the mount before the Lord. And,
behold, the Lord passed by, and a great

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[13] Or, *for thou didst turn their heart backward.*

[14] Or, *Yoke.*

[15] According to some ancient authorities, *And he was afraid, and arose.*

[16] Or, *broom.*

[17] Or, *hot stones.*

and strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks before the LORD; but the LORD was not in the wind: and after the wind an earthquake; but the LORD was not in the earthquake: and
12] after the earthquake a fire; but the LORD was not in the fire: and after the
13] fire [18] a still small voice. And it was so, when Elijah heard it, that he wrapped his face in his mantle, and went out, and stood in the entering in of the cave. And, behold, there came a voice unto him, and said, What doest thou here, Elijah?
14] And he said, I have been very jealous for the LORD, the God of hosts; for the children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, thrown down thine altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword; and I, even I only, am left; and they seek
15] my life, to take it away. And the LORD said unto him, Go, return on thy way [19] to the wilderness of Damascus: and when thou comest, thou shalt anoint
16] Hazael to be king over Syria, and Jehu the son of Nimshi shalt thou anoint to be king over Israel: and Elisha the son of Shaphat of Abel-meholah shalt thou anoint to be prophet in thy room.
17] And it shall come to pass, that him that escapeth from the sword of Hazael shall Jehu slay: and him that escapeth from the sword of Jehu shall Elisha
18] slay. Yet will I leave *me* seven thousand in Israel, all the knees which have not bowed unto Baal, and every mouth
19] which hath not kissed him. So he departed thence, and found Elisha the son of Shaphat, who was plowing, with twelve yoke of *oxen* before him, and he with the twelfth: and Elijah passed over unto him, and cast his mantle upon him.
20] And he left the oxen, and ran after Elijah, and said, Let me, I pray thee, kiss my father and my mother, and then I will follow thee. And he said unto him, Go back again; for what have I done to
21] thee? And he returned from following him, and took the yoke of oxen, and slew them, and [20] boiled their flesh with the instruments of the oxen, and gave unto the people, and they did eat. Then he arose, and went after Elijah, and ministered unto him.

This dramatic story, told by some writer who lived near the events, has interwoven in its strands elements of supernatural marvels, but its main theme is genuine history. Men in Elijah's time knew nothing of natural law and believed that all things were possible to a prophet. Whatever one may think of the wonders in the account, Elijah's championship of the pure nomadic ideals of the worship of Yahweh in opposition to the agricultural and commercial Baals is genuine history. In his exaltation of spirit the prophet dared to oppose both king and queen and the host of the prophets of Baal; but, like many a religious devotee, Elijah was a man of fluctuating moods. When the exaltation of spirit which enabled him successfully in public to defy the court and all its favorites had passed, his exaltation gave way to depression, and Jezebel's threat caused him to run away; he went to the wilderness and prayed to die. Then, with spirit refreshed by religious communion, he later returned to other tasks.

Elijah inaugurated a new era in the religion of Israel, not alone because he sought to revive the nomadic purity of the worship of Yahweh, but in part because he championed popular rights, when the king and queen overrode them, and he insisted that Yahweh would punish those who infringed those rights. He thus linked the service of Yahweh with economic and social justice. This is brought out in the story of Naboth and his vineyard in *1 Kings* 21.

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[18] Heb. *a sound of gentle stillness.*
[19] Or, *by the wilderness to.*
[20] Or, *roasted.*

1 Kings 21. And it came to pass after
these things, that Naboth the Jezreelite
had a vineyard, which was in Jezreel,
hard by the palace of Ahab king of Samaria.
2] And Ahab spake unto Naboth,
saying, Give me thy vineyard, that I may
have it for a garden of herbs, because it
is near unto my house; and I will give
thee for it a better vineyard than it: or,
if it seem good to thee, I will give thee
3] the worth of it in money. And Naboth
said to Ahab, The LORD forbid it me,
that I should give the inheritance of my
4] fathers unto thee. And Ahab came
into his house heavy and displeased because
of the word which Naboth the
Jezreelite had spoken to him: for he had
said, I will not give thee the inheritance
of my fathers. And he laid him down
upon his bed, and turned away his face,
5] and would eat no bread. But Jezebel
his wife came to him, and said unto him,
Why is thy spirit so sad, that thou eatest
6] no bread? And he said unto her,
Because I spake unto Naboth the Jezreelite,
and said unto him, Give me thy
vineyard for money; or else, if it please
thee, I will give thee *another* vineyard
for it: and he answered, I will not give
7] thee my vineyard. And Jezebel his
wife said unto him, Dost thou now govern
the kingdom of Israel? arise, and eat
bread, and let thine heart be merry: I
will give thee the vineyard of Naboth
8] the Jezreelite. So she wrote [21] letters
in Ahab's name, and sealed them with
his seal, and sent the letters unto the elders
and to the nobles that were in his
9] city, *and* that dwelt with Naboth. And
she wrote in the letters, saying, Proclaim
a fast, and set Naboth [22] on high
10] among the people: and set two men,
sons of [23] Belial, before him, and let
them bear witness against him, saying,
Thou didst [24] curse God and the king.
And then carry him out, and stone him,
11] that he die. And the men of his city,
even the elders and the nobles who dwelt
in his city, did as Jezebel had sent unto
them, according as it was written in the
letters which she had sent unto them.
12] They proclaimed a fast, and set Naboth
[25] on high among the people.
13] And the two men, sons of Belial,
came in and sat before him: and the men
of Belial bare witness against him, even
against Naboth, in the presence of the
people, saying, Naboth did [24] curse God
and the king. Then they carried him
forth out of the city, and stoned him with
14] stones, that he died. Then they sent
to Jezebel, saying, Naboth is stoned, and
15] is dead. And it came to pass, when
Jezebel heard that Naboth was stoned,
and was dead, that Jezebel said to Ahab,
Arise, take possession of the vineyard
of Naboth the Jezreelite, which he refused
to give thee for money: for Naboth
16] is not alive, but dead. And it
came to pass, when Ahab heard that Naboth
was dead, that Ahab rose up to go
down to the vineyard of Naboth the
Jezreelite, to take possession of it.

17] And the word of the LORD came
18] to Elijah the Tishbite, saying, Arise,
go down to meet Ahab king of Israel,
which dwelleth in Samaria: behold, he
is in the vineyard of Naboth, whither he
is gone down to take possession of it.
19] And thou shalt speak unto him, saying,
Thus saith the LORD, Hast thou
killed, and also taken possession? and
thou shalt speak unto him, saying, Thus
saith the LORD, In the place where dogs
licked the blood of Naboth shall dogs
20] lick thy blood, even thine. And Ahab
said to Elijah, Hast thou found me, O
mine enemy? And he answered, I have
found thee: because thou hast sold thyself
to do that which is evil in the sight
21] of the Lord. Behold, I will bring
evil upon thee, and will utterly sweep

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[21] Or, *a letter.*
[22] Or, *at the head of.*
[23] That is, *worthlessness.*
[24] Or, *renounce.*
[25] Or, *at the head of.*

thee away, and will cut off from Ahab
every man child, and him that is shut
up and him that is left at large in Israel:
22] and I will make thine house
like the house of Jeroboam the son of
Nebat, and like the house of Baasha the
son of Ahijah, for the provocation
wherewith thou hast provoked me to anger,
23] and hast made Israel to sin. And
of Jezebel also spake the LORD, saying,
The dogs shall eat Jezebel [26] by the rampart
24] of Jezreel. Him that dieth of
Ahab in the city the dogs shall eat; and
him that dieth in the field shall the fowls
25] of the air eat. (But there was none
like unto Ahab, which did sell himself to
do that which was evil in the sight of the
LORD, whom Jezebel his wife stirred up.
26] And he did very abominably in following
idols, according to all that the
Amorites did, whom the LORD cast out
27] before the children of Israel.) And
it came to pass, when Ahab heard those
words, that he rent his clothes, and put
sackcloth upon his flesh, and fasted, and
28] lay in sackcloth, and went softly. And
the word of the LORD came to Elijah the
29] Tishbite, saying, Seest thou how
Ahab humbleth himself before me? because
he humbleth himself before me,
I will not bring the evil in his days: but
in his son's days will I bring the evil
upon his house.

This story needs little comment. The sturdy Hebrew landowner, Naboth, in whom the early Hebrew sense of manly independence was still strong, the emotional king who acts like a naughty child, the unscrupulous queen who does not hesitate at falsehood and judicial murder to accomplish her ends, the prophet, once more fearless and strong, who dares to predict to the king's face the fall of his dynasty because of his oppression, are all clearly and graphically portrayed.

AHAB'S FIRST SYRIAN WAR, *1 Kings* 20

1 Kings 20. And Ben-hadad the king
of Syria gathered all his host together:
and there were thirty and two kings with
him, and horses and chariots: and he
went up and besieged Samaria, and
2] fought against it. And he sent messengers
to Ahab king of Israel, into the city,
3] and said unto him, Thus saith Ben-hadad,
Thy silver and thy gold is mine;
thy wives also and thy children, even the
4] goodliest, are mine. And the king of
Israel answered and said, It is according
to thy saying, my lord, O king; I am
5] thine, and all that I have. And the
messengers came again, and said, Thus
speaketh Ben-hadad, saying, I sent indeed
unto thee, saying, Thou shalt deliver
me thy silver, and thy gold, and
6] thy wives, and thy children; but I will
send my servants unto thee to-morrow
about this time, and they shall search
thine house, and the houses of thy servants;
and it shall be, that [27] whatsoever
is pleasant in thine eyes, they shall put it
7] in their hand, and take it away. Then
the king of Israel called all the elders of
the land, and said, Mark, I pray you,
and see how this man seeketh mischief:
for he sent unto me for my wives, and
for my children, and for my silver, and
for my gold; and I denied him not.
8] And all the elders and all the people
said unto him, Hearken thou not, neither
9] consent. Wherefore he said unto the
messengers of Ben-hadad, Tell my lord
the king, All that thou didst send for to
thy servant at the first I will do: but
this thing I may not do. And the messengers
departed, and brought him word
10] again. And Ben-hadad sent unto him,
and said, The gods do so unto me, and
more also, if the dust of Samaria shall
suffice for handfuls for all the people
11] that [28] follow me. And the king of

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[26] According to some ancient authorities, *in the portion*, as in *2 Kings* 9: 10, 36.

[27] Heb. *all the desire of thine eyes.*

[28] Heb. *are at my feet.*

Israel answered and said, Tell him, Let
not him that girdeth on *his armour* boast
12] himself as he that putteth it off. And
it came to pass, when *Ben-hadad* heard
this message, as he was drinking, he and
the kings, in the [29] pavilions, that he said
unto his servants, [30] Set *yourselves in*
array. And they set *themselves in array*
13] against the city. And, behold, a
prophet came near unto Ahab king of Israel,
and said, Thus saith the Lord, Hast
thou seen all this great multitude? behold,
I will deliver it into thine hand this
day; and thou shalt know that I am the
14] Lord. And Ahab said, By whom?
And he said, Thus saith the Lord, By
the [31] young men of the princes of the
provinces. Then he said, Who shall [32] begin
15] the battle? And he answered,
Thou. Then he mustered the young men
of the princes of the provinces, and they
were two hundred and thirty two: and
after them he mustered all the people,
even all the children of Israel, being
16] seven thousand. And they went out at
noon. But Ben-hadad was drinking himself
drunk in the [30] pavilions, he and the
kings, the thirty and two kings that
17] helped him. And the young men of
the princes of the provinces went out
first; and Ben-hadad sent out, and they
told him, saying, There are men come
18] out from Samaria. And he said,
Whether they be come out for peace,
take them alive: or whether they be come
19] out for war, take them alive. So
these went out of the city, the young men
of the princes of the provinces, and the
20] army which followed them. And
they slew every one his man; and the
Syrians fled, and Israel pursued them:
and Ben-hadad the king of Syria escaped
21] [33] on an horse with horsemen. And
the king of Israel went out, and smote
the horses and chariots, and slew the
22] Syrians with a great slaughter. And
the prophet came near to the king of
Israel, and said unto him, Go, strengthen
thyself, and mark, and see what thou
doest: for at the return of the year the
king of Syria will come up against thee.
23] And the servants of the king of
Syria said unto him, Their god is a god
of the hills; therefore they were stronger
than we: but let us fight against them
in the plain, and surely we shall be
24] stronger than they. And do this
thing; take the kings away, every man
out of his place, and put [34] captains in
25] their room: and number thee an
army, like the army that thou hast lost,
horse for horse, and chariot for chariot:
and we will fight against them in the
plain, and surely we shall be stronger
than they. And he hearkened unto their
26] voice, and did so. And it came to
pass at the return of the year, that Ben-hadad
mustered the Syrians, and went up
27] to Aphek, to fight against Israel. And
the children of Israel were mustered, and
were victualled, and went against them:
and the children of Israel encamped before
them like two little flocks of kids;
but the Syrians filled the country.
28] And [35] a man of God came near and
spake unto the king of Israel, and said,
Thus saith the Lord, Because the Syrians
have said, The Lord is a god of the hills,
but he is not a god of the valleys; therefore
will I deliver all this great multitude
into thine hand, and ye shall know that
29] I am the Lord. And they encamped
one over against the other seven days.
And so it was, that in the seventh day
the battle was joined; and the children
of Israel slew of the Syrians an hundred
thousand footmen in one day.
30] But the rest fled to Aphek, into the
city; and the wall fell upon twenty and
seven thousand men that were left. And
Ben-hadad fled, and came into the city,
31] [36] into an inner chamber. And his
servants said unto him, Behold now, we
have heard that the kings of the house
of Israel are merciful kings: let us, we
pray thee, put sackcloth on our loins,
and ropes upon our heads, and go out to
the king of Israel: peradventure he will

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[29] Or, *huts*.

[30] Or, *Place* the engines. *And they placed* the engines.

[31] Or, *servants*.

[32] Heb. *bind*.

[33] Or, *with horse and horsemen*.

[34] Or, *governors*. See ch. 10: 15.

[35] Or, *the*.

[36] Or, *from chamber to chamber*.

31] save thy life. So they girded sackcloth
on their loins, and *put* ropes on
their heads, and came to the king of
Israel, and said, Thy servant Ben-hadad
saith, I pray thee, let me live. And he
said, Is he yet alive? he is my brother.
33] Now the men [37] observed diligently,
and hasted [38] to catch whether it were
[39] his mind; and they said, Thy brother
Ben-hadad. Then he said, Go ye, bring
him. Then Ben-hadad came forth to
him; and he caused him to come up into
34] the chariot. And *Ben-hadad* said
unto him, The cities which my father
took from thy father I will restore; and
thou shalt make streets for thee in Damascus,
as my father made in Samaria.
And I, *said Ahab,* will let thee go with
this covenant. So he made a covenant
with him, and let him go.

35] And a certain man of the sons of
the prophets said unto his fellow by the
word of the Lord, Smite me, I pray thee.
And the man refused to smite him.
36] Then said he unto him, Because thou
hast not obeyed the voice of the Lord,
behold, as soon as thou art departed from
me, a lion shall slay thee. And as soon
as he was departed from him, a lion
37] found him, and slew him. Then he
found another man, and said, Smite me,
I pray thee. And the man smote him,
38] smiting and wounding him. So the
prophet departed, and waited for the king
by the way, and disguised himself with
39] his headband over his eyes. And as
the king passed by, he cried unto the
king: and he said, Thy servant went out
into the midst of the battle; and, behold,
a man turned aside, and brought a man
unto me, and said, Keep this man: if by
any means he be missing, then shall thy
life be for his life, or else thou shalt
40] pay a talent of silver. And as thy
servant was busy here and there, he was
gone. And the king of Israel said unto
him, So shall thy judgement be; thyself
41] hast decided it. And he hasted, and
took the headband away from his eyes;
and the king of Israel discerned him that
42] he was of the prophets. And he said
unto him, Thus saith the Lord, Because
thou hast let go out of thy hand the man
whom I had devoted to destruction,
therefore thy life shall go for his life,
43] and thy people for his people. And
the king of Israel went to his house heavy
and displeased, and came to Samaria.

Ahab's course in concluding this first war with Syria by a treaty did not meet the approval of all the prophetic guild. Most of the prophets were of quite a different sort from Elijah: they were men who could fall into ecstasies easily, like those of the time of King Saul (see *I Sam.* 19:23, 24). They made a profession of telling men for a fee what they wished to know about the future. The *herem* or "ban"—the curse of Yahweh—was of old thought to rest upon those who opposed his people with arms. It will be remembered how Saul was reproved by Samuel for not carrying out such a curse. One of these professional prophets, according to the passage just quoted, similarly reproved Ahab for not killing Ben-hadad, the king of Syria.

In the interval between Ahab's two Syrian wars he joined with Ben-hadad and ten other kings to repel a new invader, the powerful king of Assyria. The Bible does not mention this, but we learn it from the chronicles of Shalmeneser III, who was king of Assyria from 859 to 824 B.C. In his fifth year he invaded Syria and at Qarqar on the Orontes met the armies of twelve allied kings, among whom he names Ahab and

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[37] Or, *took it as an omen* (Heb. *divined*), *and hasted.*

[38] Another reading is, *to catch it from him.*

[39] Heb. *from him.*

Ben-hadad.[40] Shalmeneser claims a victory, but, as he took no territory, it was more nearly a defeat. His coming was, however, ominous. We shall hear of him again. Apparently, however, Ahab and Ben-hadad thought the danger from Shalmeneser ended, for the next year they began again to fight each other.

AHAB'S SECOND WAR WITH SYRIA AND HIS DEATH,
1 Kings 22: 1–40

1 Kings 22. And they continued three
years without war between Syria and
2] Israel. [41] And it came to pass in the
third year, that Jehoshaphat the king of
Judah came down to the king of Israel.
3] And the king of Israel said unto his
servants, Know ye that Ramoth-gilead
is ours, and we [42] be still, and take it not
out of the hand of the king of Syria?
4] And he said unto Jehoshaphat, Wilt
thou go with me to battle to Ramoth-gilead?
And Jehoshaphat said to the
king of Israel, I am as thou art, my
people as thy people, my horses as thy
5] horses. And Jehoshaphat said unto the
king of Israel, Inquire, I pray thee, at
6] the word of the Lord to-day. Then the
king of Israel gathered the prophets together,
about four hundred men, and said
unto them, Shall I go against Ramoth-gilead
to battle, or shall I forbear? And
they said, Go up; for the Lord shall
deliver it into the hand of the king.
7] But Jehoshaphat said, Is there not
here besides a prophet of the Lord, that
8] we might inquire of him? And the
king of Israel said unto Jehoshaphat,
There is yet one man by whom we may
inquire of the Lord, Micaiah the son of
Imlah: but I hate him; for he doth not
prophesy good concerning me, but evil.
And Jehoshaphat said, Let not the king
9] say so. Then the king of Israel called
an [43] officer, and said, Fetch quickly
10] Micaiah the son of Imlah. Now the
king of Israel and Jehoshaphat the king
of Judah sat each on his throne, arrayed
in their robes, in [44] an open place at the
entrance of the gate of Samaria; and all
the prophets prophesied before them.
11] And Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah
made him horns of iron, and said, Thus
saith the Lord, With these shalt thou
push the Syrians until they be consumed.
12] And all the prophets prophesied so,
saying, Go up to Ramoth-gilead, and
prosper: for the Lord shall deliver it
13] into the hand of the king. And the
messenger that went to call Micaiah
spake unto him, saying, Behold now, the
words of the prophets *declare* good unto
the king with one mouth: let thy word,
I pray thee, be like the word of one of
14] them, and speak thou good. And
Micaiah said, As the Lord liveth, what
the Lord saith unto me, that will I speak.
15] And when he was come to the king,
the king said unto him, Micaiah, shall
we go to Ramoth-gilead to battle, or
shall we forbear? And he answered him,
Go up, and prosper; and the Lord shall
deliver it into the hand of the king.
16] And the king said unto him, How
many times shall I adjure thee that thou
speak unto me nothing but the truth in
17] the name of the Lord? And he said,
I saw all Israel scattered upon the mountains,
as sheep that have no shepherd:
and the Lord said, These have no master;
let them return every man to his house
18] in peace. And the king of Israel said
to Jehoshaphat, Did I not tell thee that
he would not prophesy good concerning
19] me but evil? And he said, Therefore
hear thou the word of the Lord:
I saw the Lord sitting on his throne, and
all the host of heaven standing by him
20] on his right hand and on his left. And
the Lord said, Who shall [45] entice Ahab,
that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-

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[40] See G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible,* 5th ed., p. 419.
[41] See *2 Chr.* 18: 2 &c.
[42] Or, *keep silence.*
[43] Or, *eunuch.*
[44] Heb. a *threshing-floor.*
[45] Or, *deceive.*

gilead? And one said on this manner;
21] and another said on that manner. And
there came forth [46] a spirit, and stood
before the Lord, and said, I will entice
22] him. And the Lord said unto him,
Wherewith? And he said, I will go forth,
and will be a lying spirit in the mouth of
all his prophets. And he said, Thou shalt
entice him, and shalt prevail also: go
23] forth, and do so. Now therefore, behold,
the Lord hath put a lying spirit in
the mouth of all these thy prophets; and
the Lord hath spoken evil concerning
24] thee. Then Zedekiah the son of
Chenaanah came near, and smote Micaiah
on the cheek, and said, Which way went
the spirit of the Lord from me to speak
25] unto thee? And Micaiah said, Behold,
thou shalt see on that day, when
thou shalt go [47] into an inner chamber
26] to hide thyself. And the king of
Israel said, Take Micaiah, and carry him
back unto Amon the governor of the
27] city, and to Joash the king's son; and
say, Thus saith the king, Put this fellow
in the prison, and feed him with bread
of affliction and with water of affliction,
28] until I come in peace. And Micaiah
said, If thou return at all in peace, the
Lord hath not spoken by me. And he
said, [48] Hear, ye peoples, all of you.

29] So the king of Israel and Jehoshaphat
the king of Judah went up to
30] Ramoth-gilead. And the king of
Israel said unto Jehoshaphat, I will disguise
myself, and go into the battle; but
put thou on thy robes. And the king of
Israel disguised himself, and went into
31] the battle. Now the king of Syria
had commanded the thirty and two captains
of his chariots, saying, Fight neither
with small nor great, save only with the
32] king of Israel. And it came to pass,
when the captains of the chariots saw
Jehoshaphat, that they said, Surely it is
the king of Israel; and they turned aside
to fight against him: and Jehoshaphat
33] cried out. And it came to pass, when
the captains of the chariots saw that it
was not the king of Israel, that they
34] turned back from pursuing him. And
a certain man drew his bow [49] at a venture,
and smote the king of Israel between
[50] the joints of the harness: wherefore
he said unto the driver of his chariot,
Turn thine hand, and carry me out of
35] the host; for I am sore wounded. And
the battle increased that day: and the
king was stayed up in his chariot against
the Syrians, and died at even: and the
blood ran out of the wound into the bot-
36] tom of the chariot. And there went
a cry throughout the host about the going
down of the sun, saying, Every man
to his city, and every man to his country.
So the king died, and was brought
to Samaria; and they buried the king in
39] Samaria. And they washed the
chariot by the pool of Samaria; and the
dogs licked up his blood; ([51] now the
harlots washed themselves *there;*) according
unto the word of the Lord
39] which he spake. Now the rest of the
acts of Ahab, and all that he did, and the
ivory house which he built, and all the
cities that he built, are they not written
in the book of the chronicles of the kings
40] of Israel? So Ahab slept with his
fathers; and Ahaziah his son reigned in
his stead.

The chapter just quoted, besides giving a graphic and historical account of Ahab's death, also vividly sets before us how a Hebrew king, like all other monarchs of antiquity, tried, before undertaking a dangerous enterprise, to find out whether or not it would succeed. Babylonians and Romans did this by means of omens; the Hebrews, by means of prophets. Incidentally the story reveals that in the time of Ahab, Yahweh was thought to be responsible for all that happened to a Hebrew, whether it was good or bad. If he was displeased, as he was believed to be with

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[46] Heb. *the spirit.*
[47] Or, *from chamber to chamber.*
[48] See *Micah* 1: 2.
[49] Heb. *in his simplicity.*
[50] Or, *the lower armour and the breastplate.*
[51] Or, *and they washed the armour.*

Ahab, it was thought that he would not hesitate to authorize one of his attendant spirits to prompt prophets to tell lies. When people thought thus of their God, there was in their theology no room for a Satan; they did not need one; their God was believed to do all that was done.

THE REIGN OF AHAZIAH IN ISRAEL, *1 Kings* 22:51–53 and *2 Kings* 1:1–18

1 Kings 22. 51] Ahaziah the son of
Ahab began to reign over Israel in
Samaria in the seventeenth year of Jehoshaphat
king of Judah, and he reigned
52] two years over Israel. And he did
that which was evil in the sight of the
Lord, and walked in the way of his
father, and in the way of his mother, and
in the way of Jeroboam the son of
Nebat, [52] wherein he made Israel to sin.
53] And he served Baal, and worshipped
him, and provoked to anger the Lord, the
God of Israel, according to all that his
father had done.

2 Kings 1. And Moab rebelled against
2] Israel after the death of Ahab. And
Ahaziah fell down through the lattice
in his upper chamber that was in Samaria,
and was sick: and he sent messengers,
and said unto them, Go, inquire
of Baal-zebub the god of Ekron whether
3] I shall recover of this sickness. But
the angel of the Lord said to Elijah the
Tishbite, Arise, go up to meet the messengers
of the king of Samaria, and say
unto them, Is it because there is no God
in Israel, that ye go to inquire of Baal-
4] zebub the god of Ekron? Now therefore
thus saith the Lord, Thou shalt not
come down from the bed whither thou
5] art gone up, but shalt surely die. And
Elijah departed. And the messengers returned
unto him, and he said unto them,
6] Why is it that ye are returned? And
they said unto him, There came up a
man to meet us, and said unto us, Go
turn again unto the king that sent you,
and say unto him, Thus saith the Lord,
Is it because there is no God in Israel,
that thou sendest to inquire of Baal-zebub
the god of Ekron? therefore thou
shalt not come down from the bed
whither thou art gone up, but shalt surely
7] die. And he said unto them, What
manner of man was he which came up
to meet you, and told you these words?
8] And they answered him, He was [53] an
hairy man, and girt with a girdle of
leather about his loins. And he said, It
9] is Elijah the Tishbite. Then *the king*
sent unto him a captain of fifty with his
fifty. And he went up to him: and, behold,
he [54] sat on the top of the hill.
And he spake unto him, O man of God,
10] the king hath said, Come down. And
Elijah answered and said to the captain
of fifty. If I be a man of God, let
fire come down from heaven, and consume
thee and thy fifty. And there came
down fire from heaven, and consumed
11] him and his fifty. And again he sent
unto him another captain of fifty with
his fifty. And he answered and said unto
him, O man of God, thus hath the king
12] said, Come down quickly. And Elijah
answered and said unto them, If I be a
man of God, let fire come down from
heaven, and consume thee and thy fifty.
And the fire of God came down from
heaven, and consumed him and his fifty.
13] And again he sent the captain of a
third fifty with his fifty. And the third
captain of fifty went up, and came and
fell on his knees before Elijah, and besought
him, and said unto him, O man
of God, I pray thee, let my life, and the
life of these fifty thy servants, be
14] precious in thy sight. Behold, there
came fire down from heaven, and consumed
the two former captains of fifty
with their fifties: but now let my life
15] be precious in thy sight. And the
angel of the Lord said unto Elijah, Go
down with him: be not afraid of him.

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[52] Or, *who made.*

[53] Or, *a man with* a garment of *hair.*

[54] Or, *dwelt.*

And he arose, and went down with him
16] unto the king. And he said unto him,
Thus saith the LORD, Forasmuch as thou
hast sent messengers to inquire of Baal-zebub
the god of Ekron, is it because
there is no God in Israel to inquire of his
word? therefore thou shalt not come
down from the bed whither thou art
17] gone up, but shalt surely die. So he
died according to the word of the LORD
which Elijah had spoken. And Jehoram
began to reign in his stead in the second
year of Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat
king of Judah; because he had no son.
18] Now the rest of the acts of Ahaziah
which he did, are they not written in the
book of the chronicles of the kings of
Israel?

The historical kernel of this story appears to be that Ahaziah was sick and sought the help of a famous oracle at a Philistine temple at Ekron, for which he was reproved by Elijah, and that the king then tried unsuccessfully to capture Elijah. The story of the destruction by lightning of the men sent to take the prophet shows what men of the next generation thought it possible that a prophet could do.

JEHOSHAPHAT'S EMPIRE AND TRADE, *1 Kings* 22: 45–49

1 Kings 22. 45] Now the rest of the
acts of Jehoshaphat and his might that
he shewed, and how he warred, are they
not written in the book of the chronicles
46] of the kings of Judah? And the
remnant of the sodomites, which remained
in the days of his father Asa, he
47] put away out of the land. And there
was no king in Edom: a deputy was king.
48] Jehoshaphat made ships of Tarshish
to go to Ophir for gold: but they went
not; for the ships were broken at Eziongeber.
49] Then said Ahaziah the son
of Ahab unto Jehoshaphat, Let my servants
go with thy servants in the ships.
But Jehoshaphat would not.

The alliance with the kingdom of Israel had given Jehoshaphat such security on his northern frontier that he could again assert the suzerainty over Edom that David and Solomon had exercised, and attempt to revive the commerce of the days of Solomon on the Red Sea.

THE STORY OF ELIJAH'S DEATH, *2 Kings* 2: 1–18

2 Kings 2. And it came to pass, when
the LORD would take up Elijah by a
whirlwind into heaven, that Elijah went
2] with Elisha from Gilgal. And Elijah
said unto Elisha, Tarry here, I pray
thee; for the LORD hath sent me as far
as Beth-el. And Elisha said, As the LORD
liveth, and as thy soul liveth, I will not
leave thee. So they went down to Beth-el.
3] And the sons of the prophets that were
at Beth-el came forth to Elisha, and said
unto him, Knowest thou that the LORD
will take away thy master from thy head
to-day? And he said, Yea, I know it;
4] hold ye your peace. And Elijah said
unto him, Elisha, tarry here, I pray thee;
for the LORD hath sent me to Jericho. And
he said, As the LORD liveth, and as thy
5] soul liveth, I will not leave thee. So
they came to Jericho. And the sons of the
prophets that were at Jericho came near
to Elisha, and said unto him, Knowest
thou that the LORD will take away thy
master from thy head to-day? And he
answered, Yea, I know it; hold ye your
6] peace. And Elijah said unto him,
Tarry here, I pray thee; for the LORD
hath sent me to Jordan. And he said, As
the LORD liveth, and as thy soul liveth, I
will not leave thee. And they two went
7] on. And fifty men of the sons of the
prophets went, and stood over against

them afar off: and they two stood by
8] Jordan. And Elijah took his mantle,
and wrapped it together, and smote the
waters, and they were divided hither and
thither, so that they two went over on dry
9] ground. And it came to pass, [55] when
they were gone over, that Elijah said
unto Elisha, Ask what I shall do for
thee, before I be taken from thee. And
Elisha said, I pray thee, let [56] a double
10] portion of thy spirit be upon me. And
he said, Thou hast asked a hard thing:
nevertheless, if thou see me when I am
taken from thee, it shall be so unto thee;
11] but if not, it shall not be so. And it
came to pass, as they still went on, and
talked, that, behold, *there appeared* [57] a
chariot of fire, and horses of fire, which
parted them both asunder; and Elijah
went up by a whirlwind into heaven.
12] And Elisha saw it, and he cried, My
father, my father, the [58] chariots of
Israel and the horsemen thereof! And
he saw him no more: and he took hold of
his own clothes, and rent them in two
13] pieces. He took up also the mantle
of Elijah that fell from him, and went
back, and stood by the bank of Jordan.
14] And he took the mantle of Elijah
that fell from him, and smote the waters,
and said, Where is the LORD, [59] the God
of Elijah? and when he also had smitten
the waters, they were divided hither
and thither: and Elisha went over.
15] And when the sons of the prophets
which were at Jericho over against him
saw him, they said, The spirit of Elijah
doth rest on Elisha. And they came to
meet him, and bowed themselves to the
16] ground before him. And they said
unto him, Behold now, there be with thy
servants fifty strong men; let them go,
we pray thee, and seek thy master: lest
peradventure the spirit of the LORD hath
taken him up, and cast him upon some
mountain, or into some valley. And he
17] said, Ye shall not send. And when
they urged him till he was ashamed, he
said, Send. They sent therefore fifty
men; and they sought three days, but
18] found him not. And they came back
to him, while he tarried at Jericho; and
he said unto them, Did I not say unto
you, Go not?

How much of historical truth there may be in the details of Elijah's death, it is difficult to say. All his life he had been a man of mystery. He lived in the desert, from the desert he came mysteriously, he defied kings, he proclaimed a simpler and purer worship of Yahweh, he championed popular rights; he was mysterious even in his death. He had selected Elisha for his successor, and Elisha for more than a generation afterward was the leading person in the two kingdoms. The story of Elijah's death just quoted from the second book of *Kings* shows what was believed about it a generation or two later.

Elisha was a different man from Elijah. He lived among men, not in the desert, and became the head of the organized prophetic guilds. Elijah was responsible for all that made the reign of Ahab significant. He began in Israel a social and spiritual movement which, carried on in later generations by others, made the religion of Israel different from any other in the world. Since it was Israel's religion that made her so important in the history of the world, it was a true instinct which led both Jews and Christians to associate Elijah with Moses (see *Mark* 9:4).

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[55] Or, *as they went.*

[56] That is, the portion of the firstborn. See *Deut.* 21:17.

[57] Or, *chariots.*

[58] Or, *chariot.*

[59] Or, *the God of Elijah, even he? and when he had smitten &c.*

THE WAR OF JEHOSHAPHAT AND JEHORAM WITH MESHA OF MOAB, *2 Kings* 3: 1–27

2 Kings 3. Now Jehoram the son of
Ahab began to reign over Israel in
Samaria in the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat
king of Judah, and reigned
2] twelve years. And he did that which
was evil in the sight of the LORD; but not
like his father, and like his mother: for
he put away the [60] pillar of Baal that
3] his father had made. Nevertheless he
cleaved unto the sins of Jeroboam the
son of Nebat, wherewith he made Israel
to sin; he departed not therefrom.

4] Now Mesha king of Moab was a
sheepmaster; and he rendered unto the
king of Israel [61] the wool of an hundred
thousand lambs, and of an hundred thousand
5] rams. But it came to pass, when
Ahab was dead, that the king of Moab
rebelled against the king of Israel.
6] And king Jehoram went out of Samaria
at that time, and mustered all Israel.
7] And he went and sent to Jehoshaphat
the king of Judah, saying,
The king of Moab hath rebelled against
me: wilt thou go with me against Moab
to battle? And he said, I will go up: I
am as thou art, my people as thy people,
8] my horses as thy horses. And he said,
Which way shall we go up? And he answered,
The way of the wilderness of
9] Edom. So the king of Israel went,
and the king of Judah, and the king of
Edom: and they made a circuit of seven
days' journey: and there was no water
for the host, nor for the beasts that followed
10] them. And the king of Israel
said, Alas! for the LORD hath called
these three kings together to deliver them
11] into the hand of Moab. But Jehoshaphat
said, Is there not here a
prophet of the LORD, that we may inquire
of the LORD by him? And one
of the kings of Israel's servants answered
and said, Elisha the son of Shaphat is
here, which poured water on the hands
12] of Elijah. And Jehoshaphat said,
The word of the LORD is with him. So
the king of Israel and Jehoshaphat and
the king of Edom went down to him.
13] And Elisha said unto the king of
Israel, What have I to do with thee? get
thee to the prophets of thy father, and
to the prophets of thy mother. And the
king of Israel said unto him, Nay: for
the LORD hath called these three kings
together to deliver them into the hand
14] of Moab. And Elisha said, As the
LORD of hosts liveth, before whom I
stand, surely, were it not that I regard
the presence of Jehoshaphat the king of
Judah, I would not look toward thee,
15] nor see thee. But now bring me a
minstrel. And it came to pass, when the
minstrel played, that the hand of the
16] LORD came upon him. And he said,
Thus saith the LORD, Make this valley
17] full of trenches. For thus saith the
LORD, Ye shall not see wind, neither
shall ye see rain, yet that valley shall be
filled with water: and ye shall drink,
both ye and your cattle and your beasts.
18] And this is but a light thing in the
sight of the LORD: he will also deliver
19] the Moabites into your hand. And
ye shall smite every fenced city, and
every choice city, and shall fell every
good tree, and stop all fountains of
water, and mar every good piece of land
20] with stones. And it came to pass in
the morning, about the time of offering
the oblation, that, behold, there came
water by the way of Edom, and the
21] country was filled with water. Now
when all the Moabites heard that the
kings were come up to fight against them,
they [62] gathered themselves together,
all that were able to [63] put on armour,
and upward, and stood on the border.
22] And they rose up early in the morning,
and the sun shone upon the water,
and the Moabites saw the water over
23] against them as red as blood: and
they said, This is blood; the kings [64] are
surely destroyed, and they have smitten
each man his fellow: now therefore,
24] Moab, to the spoil. And when they

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[60] Or, *obelisk*.

[61] Or, *an hundred thousand lambs, and an hundred thousand rams,* with *the wool.*

[62] Or, *were called together.*

[63] Heb. *gird themselves with a girdle.*

[64] Or, *have surely fought together.*

came to the camp of Israel, the Israelites rose up and smote the Moabites, so that they fled before them: and they went forward [65] into the land smiting the
25] Moabites. And they beat down the cities; and on every good piece of land they cast every man his stone, and filled it; and they stopped all the fountains of water, and felled all the good trees: until in Kir-hareseth *only* they left the stones thereof; howbeit the slingers went about
26] it, and smote it. And when the king of Moab saw that the battle was too sore for him, he took with him seven hundred men that drew sword, to break through unto the king of Edom: but they
27] could not. Then he took his eldest son that should have reigned in his stead, and offered him for a burnt offering upon the wall. And [66] there was great wrath against Israel: and they departed from him, and returned to their own land.

For several reasons the chapter just quoted is very interesting. The defeat of the joint armies of Israel and Judah in which Ahab had lost his life had left the east-Jordan lands down to the borders of Moab in the hands of the king of Damascus. In order to subdue the rebellious king of Moab, the armies of Jehoshaphat and Jehoram had to approach Moab by going around the south end of the Dead Sea. It was an almost impossible route for an army. The way went down from the highlands of Judah, which are more than 3,000 feet above sea-level, to the Dead Sea plain, which is 1,300 feet below sea-level; when this was accomplished the armies had to clamber up again more than 5,000 feet to the heights of Moab. No wonder that in the salt plains at the south of the Dead Sea they nearly perished with thirst. When they asked the prophet Elisha, who was with them, where to find water, he called a musician to play before him and help him fall into an ecstasy before he could tell. At least, so the Biblical narrator believed. Elisha thus showed that he was of the old ecstatic type of prophet rather than of the spiritual type of Elijah.

Kir, the capital of Moab (probably the modern Kerak), was on the top of a hill. Though difficult to take, the allied armies reduced it to such straits that Mesha, thinking his god Chemosh offended or he would not have permitted them to be so beleaguered, brought out his son and offered him in sacrifice on the wall in the sight of both armies. This is proof that at this period human sacrifice was sometimes practised. Mesha, in his inscription, claims to have thrown off the yoke of Israel during the reign of Ahab.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE J DOCUMENT

During the prosperous reign of Ahab there lived in Judah a marvelous story-teller, whose name we do not know. He employed the name Yahweh (Jehovah) for God and so critics have designated him by the symbol J. He was a literary genius. In a few words he makes scenes and situations stand out before one so that the actors seem almost alive. He has been called "the Unknown Homer of the Hebrews" and there is something like Homer in the simplicity and power of his style. It was he who told the story of the Garden of Eden in *Genesis* 2 : 4b—3 : 24; the story of the tower of Babel in *Genesis* 11 : 1–9; the story of Isaac's marriage in *Genesis* 24; of Isaac and Rebecca at Gerar in *Genesis* 26; and many others. Many of his narratives have been quoted by name in the preceding pages. With this writer historical writing began in Israel. This fact, together with the work of Elijah, makes the period of Ahab and Jehoshaphat mark a new epoch in the development of the Hebrew people.

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[65] Heb. *into it*

[66] Or, *there came great wrath upon Israel.*

THE DEATH OF JEHOSHAPHAT, *1 Kings* 22 : 50

1 Kings 22. 50] [67] And Jehoshaphat slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers in the city of David his father: and Jehoram his son reigned in his stead.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Kings of Israel		**Kings of Judah**	
Ahab,	875–853 B.C.	Jehoshaphat,	873–849 B.C.
Ahaziah,	853–852	Jehoram,	849–843
Jehoram,	852–842		

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[67] See *2 Chr.* 21: 1.

CHAPTER XIV

THE TIMES OF ELISHA

THE ACCESSION OF JEHORAM OF JUDAH

THE alliance made by Ahab and Jehoshaphat, by which Jehoshaphat's son married Ahab's daughter led to the duplication of names in the two families. Jehoshaphat's son was named Jehoram (or Joram); Ahab's son, who became Jehoram's brother-in-law was named Ahaziah. Ahaziah named his son Joram (or Jehoram), and the Judean Jehoram named his son Ahaziah. Thus the two brothers-in-law showed their admiration for each other. It happened that Ahaziah, son of Ahab, died before Jehoshaphat, so that Jehoram of Israel became king before his uncle of Judah ascended the throne of that country. By the year 848 B.C., however, each Hebrew kingdom was ruled by a Jehoram. The Biblical account of the reign of Jehoram of Judah is as follows:

1 Kings 8. 16] And in the fifth year
of Joram the son of Ahab king of Israel,
[1] Jehoshaphat being then king of Judah,
Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat king of
17] Judah began to reign. [2] Thirty and
two years old was he when he began to
reign; and he reigned eight years in
18] Jerusalem. And he walked in the way
of the kings of Israel, as did the house
of Ahab: for he had [3] the daughter of
Ahab to wife: and he did that which was
19] evil in the sight of the LORD. Howbeit the LORD would not destroy Judah,
for David his servant's sake, as he
promised him to give unto him a lamp
20] [4] for his children alway. In his days
Edom revolted from under the hand of
Judah, and made a king over themselves.
21] Then Joram passed over to Zair, and
all his chariots with him: and he rose up
by night, and smote the Edomites which
compassed him about, and the captains
of the chariots: and the people fled to
22] their tents. So Edom revolted from
under the hand of Judah, unto this day.
Then did Libnah revolt at the same
time.

The passage just quoted makes it clear that Jehoram lost the control of Edom which his father had established.

While the two Jehorams were reigning the prophet Elisha was at the height of his fame. Many stories are told of his power in *2 Kings*. One of the most important of these is the story of Naaman, the Syrian general.

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[1] Some ancient authorities omit the words *Jehoshaphat being then king of Judah.*

[2] See *2 Chr.* 21: 5, &c.

[3] See ver. 26.

[4] Another reading is, *and to his children.*

THE STORY OF NAAMAN, *2 Kings* 5:1–19

2 Kings 5. Now Naaman, captain of
the host of the king of Syria, was a
great man [5] with his master, and honourable,
because by him the LORD had
given [6] victory unto Syria: he was also
a mighty man of valour, *but he was* a
2] leper. And the Syrians had gone out
in bands, and had brought away captive
out of the land of Israel a little maid;
and she [7] waited on Naaman's wife.
3] And she said unto her mistress, Would
God my lord were [5] with the prophet
that is in Samaria! then would he recover
4] him of his leprosy. And [8] one
went in, and told his lord, saying, Thus
and thus said the maid that is of the
5] land of Israel. And the king of Syria
said, Go to, go, and I will send a letter
unto the king of Israel. And he departed,
and took with him ten talents of silver,
and six thousand [9] *pieces* of gold, and
6] ten changes of raiment. And he
brought the letter to the king of Israel,
saying, And now when this letter is come
unto thee, behold, I have sent Naaman
my servant to thee, that thou mayest recover
7] him of his leprosy. And it came
to pass, when the king of Israel had read
the letter, that he rent his clothes, and
said, Am I God, to kill and to make alive,
that this man doth send unto me to recover
a man of his leprosy? but consider,
I pray you, and see how he seeketh
8] [10] a quarrel against me. And it was
so, when Elisha the man of God heard
that the king of Israel had rent his
clothes, that he sent to the king, saying,
Wherefore hast thou rent thy clothes?
let him come now to me, and he shall
know that there is a prophet in Israel.
9] So Naaman came with his horses and
with his chariots, and stood at the door
10] of the house of Elisha. And Elisha
sent a messenger unto him, saying, Go
and wash in Jordan seven times, and thy
flesh shall come again to thee, and [11] thou
11] shalt be clean. But Naaman was
wroth, and went away, and said, Behold,
I thought, He will surely come out
to me, and stand, and call on the name of
the LORD his God, and wave his hand
over the place, and recover the leper.
12] Are not [12] Abanah and Pharpar, the
rivers of Damascus, better than all the
waters of Israel? may I not wash in
them, and be clean? So he turned and
13] went away in a rage. And his servants
came near, and spake unto him, and
said, My father, if the prophet had bid
thee do some great thing, wouldest thou
not have done it? how much rather then,
when he saith to thee, Wash, and be
14] clean? Then went he down, and
dipped *himself* seven times in Jordan,
according to the saying of the man of
God: and his flesh came again like unto
the flesh of a little child, and he was
15] clean. And he returned to the man
of God, he and all his company, and came,
and stood before him: and he said, Behold
now, I know that there is no God in
all the earth, but in Israel: now therefore,
I pray thee, take a [13] present of
16] thy servant. But he said, As the
LORD liveth, before whom I stand, I will
receive none. And he urged him to take
17] it; but he refused. And Naaman said,
If not, yet I pray thee let there be given
to thy servant two mules' burden of
earth; for thy servant will henceforth
offer neither burnt offering nor sacrifice
unto other gods, but unto the LORD.
18] In this thing the LORD pardon thy
servant; when my master goeth into the
house of Rimmon to worship there, and
he leaneth on my hand, and I bow myself
in the house of Rimmon, when I
bow myself in the house of Rimmon, the
LORD pardon thy servant in this thing.
19] And he said unto him, Go in peace.
So he departed from him [14] a little way.

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[5] Heb. *before.*
[6] Heb. *salvation.*
[7] Heb. *was before.*
[8] Or, *he.*
[9] Or, shekels.
[10] Or, *an occasion.*
[11] Heb. *be thou clean.*
[12] Another reading is, *Amanah.*
[13] Heb. *blessing.*
[14] Or, *some way.*

This narrative shows that Elisha's fame had spread among the Syrians (or Arameans) of Damascus, so that an Aramean general of that kingdom sought his aid for the cure of his leprosy. Although Damascus and Israel were frequently at war, Elisha granted him the help he asked. It should be noted that under the term translated "leprosy" the Hebrews included not only actual leprosy, which has been until recent times incurable, but also many skin diseases, many of which yielded to treatment, while others passed away without treatment (see *Lev.* 14:3). It is not necessary to suppose that Naaman's leprosy was more than a skin disease. As real leprosy gradually eats away the members of the body, Naaman was naturally most anxious about it. His request to take two mules' loads of earth from Palestine to Damascus, to make, so to speak, a little Palestine in Damascus on which to worship Yahweh, shows that at this time Yahweh was regarded as to such a degree the God of the land of Palestine, that he could only be worshiped on Palestinian soil. Even Elisha thought this, apparently, for he granted Naaman's request.

ELISHA AND THE KING OF DAMASCUS, *2 Kings* 6:8–23

2 Kings 6. 8] Now the king of Syria
warred against Israel; and he took counsel
with his servants, saying, In such and
such a place shall be my [15] camp.
9] And the man of God sent unto the
king of Israel, saying, Beware that thou
pass not such a place; for thither the
10] Syrians are coming down. And the
king of Israel sent to the place which
the man of God told him and warned
him of; and he saved himself there, not
11] once nor twice. And the heart of the
king of Syria was sore troubled for this
thing; and he called his servants, and
said unto them, Will ye not shew me
which of us is for the king of Israel?
12] And one of his servants said, Nay,
my lord, O king: but Elisha, the prophet
that is in Israel, telleth the king of
Israel the words that thou speakest in
13] thy bed-chamber. And he said, Go
and see where he is, that I may send and
fetch him. And it was told him, saying,
14] Behold, he is in Dothan. Therefore
sent he thither horses, and chariots, and
a great host: and they came by night,
15] and compassed the city about. And
when the [16] servant of the man of God
was risen early, and gone forth, behold,
an host with horses and chariots was
round about the city. And his servant
said unto him, Alas, my master: how
16] shall we do? And he answered, Fear
not: for they that be with us are more
17] than they that be with them. And
Elisha prayed, and said, LORD, I pray
thee, open his eyes, that he may see.
And the LORD opened the eyes of the
young man; and he saw: and, behold,
the mountain was full of horses and
chariots of fire round about Elisha.
18] And when they came down to him,
Elisha prayed unto the LORD, and said,
Smite this [17] people, I pray thee, with
blindness. And he smote them with blindness
according to the word of Elisha.
19] And Elisha said unto them, This is
not the way, neither is this the city: follow
me, and I will bring you to the man
whom ye seek. And he led them to
20] Samaria. And it came to pass, when
they were come into Samaria, that
Elisha said, LORD, open the eyes of these
men, that they may see. And the LORD
opened their eyes, and they saw; and,
behold, they were in the midst of Sa-

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[15] Or, *encamping.*
[16] Or, *minister.*
[17] Heb. *nation.*

21] maria. And the king of Israel said
unto Elisha, when he saw them, My
father, shall I smite them? shall I smite
22] them? And he answered, Thou shalt
not smite them: wouldest thou smite
those whom thou hast taken captive with
thy sword and with thy bow? set bread
and water before them, that they may
eat and drink, and go to their master.
23] And he prepared great provision for
them: and when they had eaten and
drunk, he sent them away, and they went
to their master. And the bands of Syria
came no more into the land of Israel.

However much legend there may be mingled in this story of Elisha's deliverance, it shows us of what the Hebrews believed Elisha capable. As a man of God, he was believed to have all divine power to protect him.

THE SYRIAN SIEGE OF SAMARIA, *2 Kings* 6:24—7:20

2 Kings 6. 24] And it came to pass
after this, that Ben-hadad king of Syria
gathered all his host, and went up, and
25] besieged Samaria. And there was a
great famine in Samaria: and, behold,
they besieged it, until an ass's head was
sold for fourscore [18] *pieces* of silver,
and the fourth part of a kab of dove's
26] dung for five [18] *pieces* of silver. And
as the king of Israel was passing by upon
the wall, there cried a woman unto him,
27] saying, Help, my lord, O king. And
he said, [19] If the LORD do not help thee,
whence shall I help thee? out of the
threshing-floor, or out of the winepress?
28] And the king said unto her, What
aileth thee? And she answered, This
woman said unto me, Give thy son, that
we may eat him to-day, and we will eat
29] my son to-morrow. So we boiled my
son, and did eat him: and I said unto
her on the next day, Give thy son, that
we may eat him: and she hath hid her
30] son. And it came to pass, when the
king heard the words of the woman, that
he rent his clothes; (now he was passing
by upon the wall;) and the people looked,
and, behold, he had sackcloth within upon
31] his flesh. Then he said, God do so
to me, and more also, if the head of
Elisha the son of Shaphat shall stand on
32] him this day. But Elisha sat in his
house, and the elders sat with him; and
the king sent a man from before him:
but ere the messenger came to him, he
said to the elders, See ye how this son of
a murderer hath sent to take away mine
head? look, when the messenger cometh,
shut the door, and [20] hold the door fast
against him: is not the sound of his master's
33] feet behind him? And while he
yet talked with them, behold, the messenger
came down unto him: and he said,
Behold, this evil is of the LORD; why
should I wait for the LORD any longer?
7] And Elisha said, Hear ye the word of
the LORD: thus saith the LORD, Tomorrow
about this time shall a [21] measure of
fine flour be *sold* for a shekel, and two
measures of barley for a shekel, in the
2] gate of Samaria. Then the captain on
whose hand the king leaned answered
the man of God, and said, Behold, if the
LORD should make windows in heaven,
might this thing be? And he said, Behold,
thou shalt see it with thine eyes,
but shalt not eat thereof.

3] Now there were four leprous men
at the entering in of the gate: and they
said one to onther, Why sit we here until
4] we die? If we say, We will enter
into the city, then the famine is in the
city, and we shall die there: and if we
sit still here, we die also. Now therefore
come, and let us fall unto the host of the
Syrians: if they save us alive, we shall
live; and if they kill us, we shall but
5] die. And they rose up in the twilight,
to go unto the camp of the Syrians: and
when they were come to the outermost
part of the camp of the Syrians, behold,
6] there was no man there. For the Lord
had made the host of the Syrians to
hear a noise of chariots, and a noise of

[18] Or, shekels.
[19] Or, *Nay, let the LORD help thee!*
[20] Heb. *thrust him back with the door.*
[21] Heb. *seah.*

horses, even the noise of a great host:
and they said one to another, Lo, the
king of Israel hath hired against us the
kings of the Hittites, and the kings of
the Egyptians, to come upon us.
7] Wherefore they arose and fled in the
twilight, and left their tents, and their
horses, and their asses, even the camp
8] as it was, and fled for their life. And
when these lepers came to the outermost
part of the camp, they went into one
tent, and did eat and drink, and carried
thence silver, and gold, and raiment, and
went and hid it; and they came back, and
entered into another tent, and carried
9] thence also, and went and hid it. Then
they said one to another, We do not
well: this day is a day of good tidings,
and we hold our peace: if we tarry till
the morning light, [22] punishment will
overtake us: now therefore come, let us
10] go and tell the king's household. So
they came and called unto the [23] porter
of the city: and they told them, saying,
We came to the camp of the Syrians,
and, behold, there was no man there,
neither voice of man, but the horses
tied, and the asses tied, and the tents as
11] they were. And [24] he called the
porters; and they told it to the king's
12] household within. And the king arose
in the night, and said unto his servants,
I will now shew you what the Syrians
have done to us. They know that we be
hungry; therefore are they gone out of
the camp to hide themselves in the field,
saying, When they come out of the city,
we shall take them alive, and get into the
13] city. And one of his servants answered
and said, Let some take, I pray
thee, five of the horses that remain,
which are left [25] in the city, (behold,
they are as all the multitude of Israel
that are left in it; behold, they are as all
the multitude of Israel that are consumed:)
and let us send and see.
14] They took therefore two chariots
with horses; and the king sent after the
host of the Syrians, saying, Go and see.
15] And they went after them unto
Jordan: and, lo, all the way was full of
garments and vessels, which the Syrians
had cast away in their haste. And the
messengers returned, and told the king.
16] And the people went out, and spoiled
the camp of the Syrians. So a measure of
fine flour was *sold* for a shekel, and two
measures of barley for a shekel, according
17] to the word of the LORD. And
the king appointed the captain on whose
hand he leaned to have the charge of the
gate: and the people trode upon him in
the gate, and he died as the man of
God had said, who spake when the king
18] came down to him. And it came to
pass, as the man of God had spoken to
the king, saying, Two measures of barley
for a shekel, and a measure of fine
flour for a shekel, shall be to-morrow
about this time in the gate of Samaria;
19] and that captain answered the man
of God, and said, Now, behold, if the
LORD should make windows in heaven,
might such a thing be? and he said, Behold,
thou shalt see it with thine eyes,
20] but shalt not eat thereof: it came to
pass even so unto him; for the people
trode upon him in the gate, and he died.

ELISHA IN DAMASCUS, *2 Kings* 8:7–15

2 Kings 8. 7] And Elisha came to
Damascus; and Ben-hadad the king of
Syria was sick; and it was told him,
saying, The man of God is come hither.
8] And the king said unto Hazael, Take
a present in thine hand, and go meet the
man of God, and inquire of the LORD
by him, saying, Shall I recover of this
9] sickness? So Hazael went to meet
him, and took a present [26] with him,
[27] even of every good thing of Damascus,
forty camels' burden, and came and
stood before him, and said, Thy son
Ben-hadad king of Syria hath sent me
to thee, saying, Shall I recover of this
10] sickness? And Elisha said unto him,

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[22] Or, *our iniquity will find us out.*
[23] Or, *porters.*
[24] Or, *the porters called.*
[25] Heb. *in it.*
[26] Heb. *in his hand.*
[27] Or, *and.*

Go, [28] say unto him, Thou shalt surely
recover; howbeit the Lord hath shewed
11] me that he shall surely die. And he
settled his countenance stedfastly *upon
him,* until he was ashamed: and the man
12] of God wept. And Hazael said, Why
weepeth my lord? And he answered, Because I know the evil that thou wilt do
unto the children of Israel: their strong
holds wilt thou set on fire, and their
young men wilt thou slay with the sword,
and wilt dash in pieces their little ones,
and rip up their women with child.
13] And Hazael said, But what is thy
servant, which is but a dog, that he
should do this great thing? And Elisha
answered, The Lord hath shewed me
that thou shalt be king over Syria.
14] Then he departed from Elisha, and
came to his master; who said to him,
What said Elisha to thee? And he answered, He told me that thou shouldest
15] surely recover. And it came to pass
on the morrow, that he took the coverlet,
and dipped it in water, and spread it on
his face, so that he died: and Hazael
reigned in his stead.

The respect paid by Ben-hadad to Elisha in spite of his previous efforts to capture him, is quite in accordance with the ancient point of view. A prophet, as a man of God, was sacrosanct, and to harm him would, it was believed, bring dire disaster on oneself.

THE DEATH OF JEHORAM OF JUDAH AND THE REIGN OF AHAZIAH, *2 Kings* 8: 23–29

2 Kings 8. 23] And the rest of the
acts of Joram, and all that he did, are
they not written in the book of the
chronicles of the kings of Judah?
24] And Joram slept with his fathers, and
was buried with his fathers in the city
of David: and Ahaziah his son reigned
in his stead.
25] [29] In the twelfth year of Joram the
son of Ahab king of Israel did Ahaziah
the son of Jehoram king of Judah begin
26] to reign. Two and twenty years old
was Ahaziah when he began to reign;
and he reigned one year in Jerusalem.
And his mother's name was Athaliah the
[30] daughter of Omri king of Israel.
27] And he walked in the way of the
house of Ahab, and did that which was
evil in the sight of the Lord, as did the
house of Ahab: for he was the son in
28] law of the house of Ahab. And
he went with Joram the son of Ahab
to war against Hazael king of Syria
at Ramoth-gilead: and the Syrians
29] wounded Joram. And king Joram
returned to be healed in Jezreel of the
wounds which the Syrians had given
him at Ramah, when he fought against
Hazael king of Syria. And Ahaziah the
son of Jehoram king of Judah went down
to see Joram the son of Ahab in Jezreel,
because he was sick.

THE BLOODY REVOLUTION OF JEHU, *2 Kings* 9: 1—10: 14

2 Kings 9. And Elisha the prophet
called one of the sons of the prophets,
and said unto him, Gird up thy loins, and
take this vial of oil in thine hand, and go
2] to Ramoth-gilead. And when thou
comest thither, look out there Jehu the
son of Jehoshaphat the son of Nimshi,
and go in, and make him arise up from
among his brethren, and carry him to an
3] inner chamber. Then take the vial of
oil, and pour it on his head, and say,
Thus saith the Lord, I have anointed thee
king over Israel. Then open the door,
4] and flee, and tarry not. So the young
man, even the young man the prophet,
5] went to Ramoth-gilead. And when

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[28] According to another reading, *say, Thou shalt not recover: for the LORD &c.*

[29] See *2 Chr.* 22: 1, &c.

[30] Or, *granddaughter.* See ver. 18.

he came, behold, the captains of the host
were sitting; and he said, I have an errand
to thee, O captain. And Jehu said,
Unto which of all us? And he said, To
6] thee, O captain. And he arose, and
went into the house; and he poured the
oil on his head, and said unto him, Thus
saith the LORD, the God of Israel, I have
anointed thee king over the people of
7] the LORD, even over Israel. And thou
shalt smite the house of Ahab thy master,
that I may avenge the blood of my
servants the prophets, and the blood of
all the servants of the LORD, at the hand
8] of Jezebel. For the whole house of
Ahab shall perish: and I will cut off
from Ahab every man child, and him
that is shut up and him that is left at
9] large in Israel. And I will make the
house of Ahab like the house of Jeroboam
the son of Nebat, and like the
house of Baasha the son of Ahijah.
10] And the dogs shall eat Jezebel in
the portion of Jezreel, and there shall
be none to bury her. And he opened the
11] door, and fled. Then Jehu came forth
to the servants of his lord: and one said
unto him, Is all well? wherefore came
this mad fellow to thee? And he said
unto them, Ye know the man and what
12] his talk was. And they said, It is
false; tell us now. And he said, Thus
and thus spake he to me, saying, Thus
saith the LORD, I have anointed thee king
13] over Israel. Then they hasted, and
took every man his garment, and put it
under him [31] on the top of the stairs, and
blew the trumpet, saying, Jehu is king.
14] So Jehu the son of Jehoshaphat the
son of Nimshi conspired against Joram.
(Now Joram kept Ramoth-gilead, he
and all Israel, because of Hazael king
15] of Syria: but king [32] Joram was returned
to be healed in Jezreel of the
wounds which the Syrians had given him,
when he fought with Hazael king of
Syria.) And Jehu said, If this be your
mind, then let none escape and go forth
out of the city, to go to tell it in Jezreel.
16] So Jehu rode in a chariot, and went
to Jezreel; for Joram lay there. And
Ahaziah king of Judah was come down
17] to see Joram. Now the watchman
stood on the tower in Jezreel, and he
spied the company of Jehu as he came,
and said, I see a company. And Joram
said, Take an horseman, and send to
meet them, and let him say, [33] Is it
18] peace? So there went one on horseback
to meet him, and said, Thus saith
the king, Is it peace? And Jehu said,
What hast thou to do with peace? turn
thee behind me. And the watchman told,
saying, The messenger came to them,
19] but he cometh not again. Then he
sent out a second on horseback, which
came to them, and said, Thus saith the
king, Is it peace? And Jehu answered,
What hast thou to do with peace? turn
20] thee behind me. And the watchman
told, saying. He came even unto them,
and cometh not again: and the driving is
like the driving of Jehu the son of Nimshi;
21] for he driveth furiously. And
Joram said, [34] Make ready. And they
made ready his chariot. And Joram king
of Israel and Ahaziah king of Judah
went out, each in his chariot, and they
went out to meet Jehu, and found him
in the portion of Naboth the Jezreelite.
22] And it came to pass, when Joram saw
Jehu, that he said, Is it peace, Jehu? And
he answered, What peace, so long as the
whoredoms of thy mother Jezebel and
23] her witchcrafts are so many? And
Joram turned his hands, and fled, and
said to Ahaziah. There is treachery, O
24] Ahaziah. And Jehu [35] drew his bow
with his full strength, and smote Joram
between his arms, and the arrow went
out at his heart, and he sunk down in
25] his chariot. Then said *Jehu* to Bidkar
his captain, Take up, and cast him in
the portion of the field of Naboth the
Jezreelite: for remember how that,
when I and thou rode together after
Ahab his father, the LORD [36] laid this
26] burden upon him; Surely I have seen
yesterday the blood of Naboth, and the
blood of his sons, saith the LORD; and I

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[31] Or, *on the bare steps.*

[32] Heb. *Jehoram,* and in vv. 17, 21, 22, 23, 24.

[33] Or, *Is all well?*

[34] Or, *Yoke.*

[35] Heb. *filled his hand with the bow.*

[36] Or, *uttered this oracle against him.*

will requite thee in this [37] plat, saith the
LORD. Now therefore take and cast him
into the plat *of ground,* according to the
27] word of the LORD. [38] But when
Ahaziah the king of Judah saw this, he
fled by the way of the garden house. And
Jehu followed after him, and said, Smite
him also in the chariot: *and they smote*
him at the ascent of Gur, which is by
Ibleam. And he fled to Megiddo, and
28] died there. And his servants carried
him in a chariot to Jerusalem, and buried
him in his sepulchre with his fathers in
the city of David.

29] And in the eleventh year of Joram
the son of Ahab began Ahaziah to reign
over Judah.

30] And when Jehu was come to
Jezreel, Jezebel heard of it; and she
painted her eyes, and tired her head, and
31] looked out at the window. And as
Jehu entered in at the gate, she said,
[39] Is it peace, thou Zimri, thy master's
32] murderer? And he lifted up his face
to the window, and said, Who is on my
side? who? And there looked out to him
33] two or three eunuchs. And he said,
Throw her down. So they threw her
down: and some of her blood was
sprinkled on the wall, and on the horses:
34] and he trode her under foot. And
when he was come in, he did eat and
drink; and he said, See now to this
cursed woman, and bury her: for she is a
35] king's daughter. And they went to
bury her: but they found no more of
her than the skull, and the feet, and the
36] palms of her hands. Wherefore they
came again, and told him. And he said,
This is the word of the LORD, which he
spake by his servant Elijah the Tishbite,
saying, In the portion of Jezreel shall
37] the dogs eat the flesh of Jezebel: and
the carcase of Jezebel shall be as dung
upon the face of the field in the portion
of Jezreel; so that they shall not say,
This is Jezebel.

10. Now Ahab had seventy sons in
Samaria. And Jehu wrote letters, and
sent to Samaria, unto the rulers of Jezreel,
even the elders, and unto them that
brought up *the sons of* Ahab, saying,
2] And now as soon as this letter cometh
to you, seeing your master's sons are with
you, and there are with you chariots
and horses, a fenced city also, and
3] armour; look ye out the best and
meetest of your master's sons, and set
him on his father's throne, and fight for
4] your master's house. But they were
exceedingly afraid, and said, Behold, the
two kings stood not before him: how
5] then shall we stand? And he that was
over the household, and he that was over
the city, the elders also, and they that
brought up *the children,* sent to Jehu,
saying, We are thy servants, and will do
all that thou shalt bid us; we will not
make any man king: do thou that which
6] is good in thine eyes. Then he wrote
a letter the second time to them, saying,
If ye be on my side, and if ye will
hearken unto my voice, take ye the heads
of the men your master's sons, and come
to me to Jezreel by to-morrow this time.
Now the king's sons, being seventy persons,
were with the great men of the city,
7] which brought them up. And it came
to pass, when the letter came to them,
that they took the king's sons, and slew
them, even seventy persons, and put their
heads in baskets, and sent them unto him
8] to Jezreel. And there came a messenger,
and told him, saying, They have
brought the heads of the king's sons.
And he said, Lay ye them in two heaps
at the entering in of the gate until the
9] morning. And it came to pass in the
morning, that he went out, and stood,
and said to all the people, Ye be righteous:
behold, I conspired against my
master, and slew him: but who smote all
10] these? Know now that there shall
fall unto the earth nothing of the word
of the LORD, which the LORD spake concerning
the house of Ahab: for the LORD
hath done that which he spake by his
11] servant Elijah. So Jehu smote all
that remained of the house of Ahab in
Jezreel, and all his great men, and his
familiar friends, and his priests, until
12] he left him none remaining. And he
arose and departed, and went to Samaria.
And as he was at the [40] shearing

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[37] Or, *portion.*

[38] See 2 Chr. 22: 9.

[39] Or, *Is it well.*

[40] Or, *house of gathering.*

house of the shepherds in the way, 13] Jehu met with the brethren of Ahaziah king of Judah, and said, Who are ye? And they answered, We are the brethren of Ahaziah: and we go down to salute the children of the king and the 14] children of the queen. And he said, Take them alive. And they took them alive, and slew them at the [41] pit of the [40] shearing house, even two and forty men; neither left he any of them.

By this bloody revolution, which the prophet Elisha encouraged, the dynasty of Omri was blotted out, and the king of Judah, who was a grandson of Ahab, was also slain with many of his kinsmen. But this was not all of Jehu's work. An equally cruel religious reform followed.

A BLOODY REFORMATION, *2 Kings* 10: 15–28

2 Kings 10. 15] And when he was departed thence, he lighted on Jehonadab the son of Rechab coming to meet him: and he saluted him, and said to him, Is thine heart right, as my heart is with thy heart? And Jehonadab answered, It is. If it be, give me thine hand. And he gave him his hand; and he took him up to him 16] into the chariot. And he said, Come with me, and see my zeal for the Lord. So they made him ride in his chariot. 17] And when he came to Samaria, he smote all that remained unto Ahab in Samaria, till he had destroyed him, according to the word of the Lord, which 18] he spake to Elijah. And Jehu gathered all the people together, and said unto them, Ahab served Baal a little; 19] but Jehu shall serve him much. Now therefore call unto me all the prophets of Baal, all his worshippers, and all his priests; let none be wanting: for I have a great sacrifice *to do* to Baal; whosoever shall be wanting, he shall not live. But Jehu did it in subtilty, to the intent that he might destroy the worshippers 20] of Baal. And Jehu said, Sanctify a solemn assembly for Baal. And they pro-21] claimed it. And Jehu sent through all Israel: and all the worshippers of Baal came, so that there was not a man left that came not. And they came into the house of Baal; and the house of Baal was filled from one end to another. 22] And he said unto him that was over the vestry, Bring forth vestments for all the worshippers of Baal. And he 23] brought them forth vestments. And Jehu went, and Jehonadab the son of Rechab, into the house of Baal; and he said unto the worshippers of Baal, Search, and look that there be here with you none of the servants of the Lord, but the worshippers of Baal only. 24] And they went in to offer sacrifices and burnt offerings. Now Jehu had appointed him fourscore men without, and said, If any of the men whom I bring into your hands escape, *he that letteth him go,* his life shall be for the life of 25] him. And it came to pass, as soon as he had made an end of offering the burnt offering, that Jehu said to the [42] guard and to the captains, Go in, and slay them; let none come forth. And they smote them with the edge of the sword; and the guard and the captains cast them out, and went to the city of the house of 26] Baal. And they brought forth the [43] pillars that were in the house of Baal, 27] and burned them. And they brake down the pillar of Baal, and brake down the house of Baal, and made it a draught 28] house, unto this day. Thus Jehu destroyed Baal out of Israel.

This bloody reformation was a part of the struggle between the Baalized or agricultural Yahweh and the nomadic Yahweh. Jonadab the son

[41] Or, *cistern.*
[42] Heb. *runners.*
[43] Or, *obelisks.*

of Rechab was a man who represented the nomadic ideals of life. Neither he nor his followers would live in houses, drink wine, or sow fields, till them, or reap a harvest (see *Jer.* 34:6, 7). They persisted in this type of life down to the time of Jeremiah. They were worshipers of Yahweh and all the newfangled ways of agriculture, unknown in the wilderness, they abhorred. Jonadab helped and encouraged Jehu in his bloody work. It was still a hard and cruel time.

ATHALIAH IN JUDAH, *2 Kings* 11:1–3

2 Kings 11. [44] Now when Athaliah the mother of Ahaziah saw that her son was dead, she arose and destroyed all the 2] seed royal. But Jehosheba, the daughter of king Joram, sister of Ahaziah, took Joash the son of Ahaziah, and stole him away from among the king's sons that were slain, even him and his nurse, [45] *and put them* in the [46] bedchamber; and they hid him from Athaliah, so that 3] he was not slain. And he was with her hid in the house of the LORD six years: and Athaliah reigned over the land.

It must be remembered that Athaliah was the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel. She had been the wife of Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, and was the mother of Ahaziah, king of Judah, whom Jehu had slain as a descendant of Ahab, after a reign of but one year. While Ahaziah was king, Athaliah, as queen mother, had a position of dignity and power. In polygamous countries the mother of a young sovereign takes precedence of his wife. Athaliah, the daughter of an able and ambitious mother, had been waiting for years for this dignity, and she was not the woman to see it snatched by fate from her grasp after but a year of power. She accordingly seized the royal scepter in Jerusalem and with a cruelty not only characteristic of the age, but worthy of her mother, put to death all, as she thought, of the possible heirs to the Judean throne. For six years she was left undisturbed in her exercise of authority. It thus happened that for these six years a woman of the house of Omri and Ahab and a granddaughter of the king of Tyre sat on the throne of David.

JEHU SUBMITS TO ASSYRIA

In the preceding chapter it was noted that Shalmeneser III of Assyria, on his first campaign into the west, fought at Qarqar on the Orontes with twelve allied kings, among whom was King Ahab. Year after year through at least thirty-one years of his reign Shalmeneser sent out his armies to plunder and butcher. They went in different directions. The Assyrians were the most cruel and ruthless people known to us during this period, and possessed the best trained army of the time. For centuries they were the terror of western Asia. The chronicles of Shalmeneser tell us that he had been in the west in 849 B.C. and had fought with the king of Damascus, and again in 846 B.C. It does not appear that in either of these years he came into contact with the Israelites. It was different, however, in 842 B.C. In this year Shalmeneser came into the west for the fourth time and made a great effort to capture Damascus. Although he failed in taking the city itself, he plundered its territory from Mount Hermon to the Hauran. This happened in the year that Jehu accomplished his bloody revolution and seized the throne of Israel. He was in no position to oppose the powerful Assyrian, and hastened to purchase his favor with a heavy tribute. The payment of this tribute is not mentioned in the Bible. We only know it from Shalmeneser's records. He, however, pictures Jehu as crawling on his hands and knees to kiss Shalmeneser's toe. It is not the position in which Jehu would naturally have posed for his portrait, but it is the only picture of a Hebrew king by a contemporary artist that has come down to us.

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[44] See *2 Chr.* 22: 10–12.

[45] Or, *who were.*

[46] Or, *chamber for the beds.*

THE TENOR OF JEHU'S REIGN, *2 Kings* 10:29–34

2 Kings 10. 29] Howbeit from the
sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat,
[47] wherewith he made Israel to sin, Jehu
departed not from after them, *to wit*,
the golden calves that were in Beth-el,
30] and that were in Dan. And the LORD
said unto Jehu, Because thou hast
[48] done well in executing that which is
right in mine eyes, *and* hast done unto
the house of Ahab according to all that
was in mine heart, thy sons of the fourth
generation shall sit on the throne of Is-
31] rael. But Jehu took no heed to walk
in the law of the LORD, the God of Israel,
with all his heart: he departed not from
the sins of Jeroboam, wherewith he made
Israel to sin.

32] In those days the LORD began to
cut Israel short: and Hazael smote
33] them in all the coasts of Israel; from
Jordan eastward, all the land of Gilead,
the Gadites, and the Reubenites, and the
Manassites, from Aroer, which is by the
valley of Arnon, even Gilead and Ba-
34] shan. Now the rest of the acts of
Jehu, and all that he did, and all his
might, are they not written in the book
of the chronicles of the kings of Israel?

As Jehu lived before the promulgation of the law of *Deuteronomy*, the compiler of the second book of *Kings* could commend him only in part. He naturally patronized shrines other than that in Jerusalem.

Shalmeneser III of Assyria made a fifth expedition into the west in 839 B.C., but after that the Assyrian did not trouble the Mediterranean coast for several years. During this time Hazael of Damascus and Jehu had time to fight each other as described in the preceding passage.

THE REIGN OF JOASH (JEHOASH) OF JUDAH, *2 Kings* 11:4—12:3

2 Kings 11. 4] [49] And in the seventh
year Jehoiada sent and fetched the cap-
tains over hundreds, of the [50] Carites
and of the [51] guard, and brought them to
him into the house of the LORD; and he
made a covenant with them, and took an

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[47] Or, *who*.
[48] Or, *executed well*.
[49] See *2 Chr.* 23:1, &c.
[50] Or, *executioners*.
[51] Heb. *runners*.

oath of them in the house of the LORD,
5] and shewed them the king's son. And
he commanded them, saying, This is the
thing that ye shall do: a third part of
you, that come in on the sabbath, shall be
keepers of the watch of the king's
6] house; and a third part shall be at
the gate Sur; and a third part at the
gate behind the guard: so shall ye keep
the watch of the house, and be a barrier.
7] And the two companies of you,
even all that go forth on the sabbath,
shall keep the watch of the house of the
8] LORD about the king. And ye shall
compass the king round about, every man
with his weapons in his hand; and he
that cometh within the ranks, let him be
slain: and be ye with the king when he
goeth out, and when he cometh in.
9] And the captains over hundreds did
according to all that Jehoiada the priest
commanded: and they took every man
his men, those that were to come in on
the sabbath, with those that were to go
out on the sabbath, and came to Jehoiada
10] the priest. And the priest delivered
to the captains over hundreds the spears
and shields that had been king David's,
which were in the house of the LORD.
11] And the guard stood, every man with
his weapons in his hand, from the right
[52] side of the house to the left side of
the house, along by the altar and the
12] house, by the king round about. Then
he brought out the king's son, and [53] put
the crown upon him, and *gave him* the
testimony; and they made him king, and
anointed him; and they clapped their
hands, and said, [54] God save the king.
13] And when Athaliah heard the noise
of the guard *and of* the people, she came
to the people into the house of the LORD:
14] and she looked, and, behold, the king
stood [55] by the pillar, as the manner
was, and the captains and the trumpets
by the king; and all the people
of the land rejoiced, and blew with trumpets.
Then Athaliah rent her clothes, and
15] cried, Treason, treason. And Jehoiada
the priest commanded the captains
of hundreds that were set over the host,
and said unto them, Have her forth between
the ranks; and him that followeth
her slay with the sword: for the
priest said, Let her not be slain in the
16] house of the LORD. So they made
way for her; and she went by the way of
the horses' entry to the king's house:
and there was she slain.

17] And Jehoiada made a covenant between
the LORD and the king and the
people, that they should be the LORD's
people; between the king also and the
18] people. And all the people of the
land went to the house of Baal, and
brake it down; his altars and his images
brake they in pieces thoroughly, and slew
Mattan the priest of Baal before the altars.
And the priest appointed [56] officers
19] over the house of the LORD. And he
took the captains over hundreds, and the
Carites, and the guard, and all the people
of the land; and they brought down the
king from the house of the LORD, and
came by the way of the gate of the guard
unto the king's house. And he sat on the
20] throne of the kings. So all the people
of the land rejoiced, and the city was
quiet: and they slew Athaliah with the
sword at the king's house.

21] [57] Jehoash was seven years old
when he began to reign.

12. In the seventh year of Jehu began
Jehoash to reign; and he reigned forty
years in Jerusalem: and his mother's
2] name was Zibiah of Beer-sheba. And
Jehoash did that which was right in the
eyes of the LORD all his days wherein
Jehoiada the priest instructed him.
3] Howbeit the high places were not
taken away: the people still sacrificed
and burnt incense in the high places.

By this revolution Athaliah was put to death and a descendant of David—a boy king—was put on the throne. The localities mentioned in the chapter are all connected with the palace of Solomon, in which

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[52] Heb. *shoulder.*

[53] Or, *put upon him the crown and the testimony.*

[54] Heb. *Let the king live.*

[55] Or, *on the platform.*

[56] Heb. *offices.*

[57] Ch. 12: 1 in Heb.

Athaliah was living, and the temple. The palace adjoined the temple so closely that Athaliah in the palace could hear the shouting in the temple. (For the details of the buildings, see above in ch. XI.)

JOASH REPAIRS THE TEMPLE IN JERUSALEM, *2 Kings* 12:4–16

2 Kings 12. 4] And Jehoash said to
the priests, All the money of the hallowed
things that is brought into the
house of the LORD, [58] in current money,
[59] the money of the persons for whom
each man is rated, and all the money that
it cometh into any man's heart to bring
5] into the house of the LORD, let the
priests take it to them, every man from
his acquaintance: and they shall repair
the breaches of the house, wheresoever
6] any breach shall be found. But it was
so, that in the three and twentieth year
of king Jehoash the priests had not repaired
7] the breaches of the house. Then
king Jehoash called for Jehoiada the
priest, and for the *other* priests, and
said unto them, why repair ye not the
breaches of the house? now therefore
take no *more* money from your acquaintance,
but deliver it for the breaches
8] of the house. And the priests consented
that they should take no *more*
money from the people, neither repair
9] the breaches of the house. But Jehoiada
the priest took a chest, and bored a
hole in the lid of it, and set it beside the
altar, on the right side as one cometh
into the house of the LORD: and the
priests that kept the [60] door put therein
all the money that was brought into the
10] house of the LORD. And it was so,
when they saw that there was much
money in the chest, that the king's
[61] scribe and the high priest came up,
and they [62] put up in bags and told the
money that was found in the house of
11] the LORD. And they gave the money
that was weighed out into the hands of
them that did the work, that had the
oversight of the house of the LORD: and
they [63] paid it out to the carpenters and
the builders, that wrought upon the
12] house of the LORD, and to the masons
and the hewers of stone, and for buying
timber and hewn stone to repair the
breaches of the house of the LORD, and
for all that [64] was laid out for the house
13] to repair it. But there were not made
for the house of the LORD cups of silver,
snuffers, basons, trumpets, any vessels
of gold, or vessels of silver, of the
money that was brought into the house
14] of the LORD: for they gave that to
them that did the work, and repaired
therewith the house of the LORD.
15] Moreover they reckoned not with the
men, into whose hand they delivered the
money to give to them that did the work:
16] for they dealt faithfully. The money
for the guilt offerings, and the money
for the sin offerings, was not brought
into the house of the LORD: it was the
priests'.

By the twenty-third year of Joash 160 years had passed since Solomon began the temple, and cracks had occurred in the walls and apparently the roof needed repairing. The walls of buildings in Jerusalem are frequently cracked by earthquakes. While the Bible does not mention any as having occurred during this period, it is altogether probable that there had been seismic disturbances, and that it was due to these that repairs were necessary. The chest for offerings, mentioned in verse 9, is the earliest contribution box known to history.

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[58] Or, even *the money* of every one *that passeth* the numbering. See *Ex.* 30:13.

[59] Heb. *each man the money of the souls of his estimation.* See *Lev.* 27:2.

[60] Heb. *threshold.*

[61] Or, *secretary.*

[62] Heb. *bound up and &c.*

[63] Heb. *brought it forth.*

[64] Heb. *went forth.*

THE DEATH OF JEHU AND REIGN OF JEHOAHAZ, *2 Kings* 10: 35, 36 and 13: 1–9

2 Kings 10. 35] And Jehu slept with his fathers: and they buried him in Samaria. And Jehoahaz his son reigned in 36] his stead. And the time that Jehu reigned over Israel in Samaria was twenty and eight years.

13. In the three and twentieth year of Joash the son of Ahaziah, king of Judah, Jehoahaz the son of Jehu began to reign over Israel in Samaria, *and reigned* sev-2] enteen years. And he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, and followed the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, wherewith he made Israel to 3] sin; he departed not therefrom. And the anger of the LORD was kindled against Israel, and he delivered them into the hand of Hazael king of Syria, and into the hand of Ben-hadad the son of 4] Hazael, [65] continually. And Jehoahaz besought the LORD, and the LORD hearkened unto him: for he saw the oppression of Israel, how that the king of Syria 5] oppressed them. (And the LORD gave Israel a saviour, so that they went out from under the hand of the Syrians: and the children of Israel dwelt in their tents, 6] as beforetime. Nevertheless they departed not from the sins of the house of Jeroboam, wherewith he made Israel to sin, but [66] walked therein: and there remained the Asherah also in Samaria.) 7] For he left not to Jehoahaz of the people save fifty horsemen, and ten chariots, and ten thousand footmen; for the king of Syria destroyed them, and made them like the dust [67] in threshing. 8] Now the rest of the acts of Jehoahaz, and all that he did, and his might, are they not written in the book of the 9] chronicles of the kings of Israel? And Jehoahaz slept with his fathers; and they buried him in Samaria: and Joash his son reigned in his stead.

The reign of Jehoahaz, which fell between 814 and 797 B.C. was apparently one long struggle with the Syrians of Damascus, in which Jehoahaz had the worst of it. Adadnirari IV, king of Assyria, who ruled from 810 to 782 B.C., claims to have received tribute from "the land of Omri" [68] (*i. e.,* Israel) as well as from other kingdoms of Palestine and Syria; but evidently he did not trouble them by the presence of his armies, for they were free to fight one another.

HAZAEL ATTACKS JOASH OF JUDAH, *2 Kings* 12: 17, 18

2 Kings 12. 17] Then Hazael king of Syria went up, and fought against Gath, and took it: and Hazael set his face to 18] go up to Jerusalem. And Jehoash king of Judah took all the hallowed things that Jehoshaphat, and Jehoram, and Ahaziah, his fathers, kings of Judah, had dedicated, and his own hallowed things, and all the gold that was found in the treasures of the house of the LORD, and of the king's house, and sent it to Hazael king of Syria: and he went away from Jerusalem.

Joash secured freedom from invasion by paying tribute. In order to raise funds for this, it was necessary to strip the temple, which for similar purposes had been stripped before, still further of its treasure of silver and gold implements. This act of Joash made both the Hebrew kingdoms for a time tributary to Damascus.

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[65] Heb. *all the days.*

[66] Heb. *he walked.*

[67] Or, *to trample on.*

[68] See G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible,* 5th ed., pp. 423, 424.

THE DEATH OF JEHOAHAZ AND ACCESSION OF JOASH (JEHOASH) OF ISRAEL, *2 Kings* 13: 10, 11

2 Kings 13. 10] In the thirty and seventh
year of Joash king of Judah began
Jehoash the son of Jehoahaz to reign
over Israel in Samaria, *and reigned* sixteen
11] years. And he did that which
was evil in the sight of the LORD; he
departed not from all the sins of Jeroboam
the son of Nebat, wherewith he
made Israel to sin; but he walked therein.

As in the reign of the two Jorams (or Jehorams), so again now two monarchs bearing the same name, Joash (or Jehoash), occupied for a year or two contemporaneously the thrones of Israel and Judah.

THE DEATH OF JOASH OF JUDAH AND ACCESSION OF AMAZIAH, *2 Kings* 12: 19–21

2 Kings 12. 19] Now the rest of the
acts of Joash, and all that he did, are
they not written in the book of the chronicles
20] of the kings of Judah? And his
servants arose, and made a conspiracy,
and smote Joash at the house of Millo,
on the way that goeth down to Silla.
21] For Jozacar the son of Shimeath, and
Jehozabad the son of Shomer, his servants,
smote him, and he died; and they
buried him with his fathers in the city of
David: and Amaziah his son reigned in
his stead.

Apparently the king, who began his reign when a boy, was not popular in the end, for his reign terminated in a conspiracy in which he lost his life.

THE DEATH OF ELISHA, *2 Kings* 13: 14–21

14] Now Elisha was fallen sick of his
sickness whereof he died: and Joash the
king of Israel came down unto him,
and wept over [69] him, and said, [70] My
father, my father, the [71] chariots of Israel
15] and the horsemen thereof! And
Elisha said unto him, Take bow and
arrows: and he took unto him bow and
16] arrows. And he said to the king of
Israel, Put thine hand upon the bow: and
he put his hand *upon it.* And Elisha laid
17] his hands upon the king's hands. And
he said, Open the window eastward: and
he opened it. Then Elisha said, Shoot:
and he shot. And he said, The LORD's arrow
of [72] victory, even the arrow of
[72] victory [73] over Syria: for thou shalt
smite the Syrians in Aphek, till thou
18] have consumed them. And he said,
Take the arrows: and he took them.
And he said unto the king of Israel,
Smite upon the ground: and he smote
19] thrice, and stayed. And the man of
God was wroth with him, and said, Thou
shouldest have smitten five or six times;
then hadst thou smitten Syria till thou
hadst consumed it: whereas now thou
shalt smite Syria but thrice.
20] And Elisha died, and they buried
him. Now the bands of the Moabites
invaded the land at the coming in of the
21] year. And it came to pass, as they
were burying a man, that, behold, they
spied a band; and they cast the man
into the sepulchre of Elisha: and [74] as
soon as the man touched the bones of
Elisha, he revived, and stood up on his
feet.

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[69] Heb. *his face.*
[70] See ch. 2: 12.
[71] Or, *chariot.*
[72] Heb. *salvation.*
[73] Or, *against.*
[74] Heb. *when the men went and touched.*

Thus died the prophet Elisha, evidently at a great age. In the vigor of his manhood he had made campaigns with kings (see *2 Kings* 3), had promoted revolutions, and defied a foreign king. For a considerable time before his death his name is not mentioned in the records, although foreigners invade the soil of Palestine and reduce her armies to submission. Yet his character had been to his people such a tower of strength that he seemed on his sick-bed to his sovereign "the chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof"; in other words her one defense. Defenseless Israel! Laid low by the Syrian. As they buried the old prophet, bands of Moabites were invading the country!

CHRONOLOGY

Kings of Israel	**Kings of Judah**
Jehoram, 852–842 B. C.	Jehoram, 848–842 B. C.
Jehu, 842–814	Ahaziah, 842
Jehoahaz, 814–797	Athaliah, 842–836
Joash, 797–781	Joash, 836–796
	Amaziah, 795–774

CHAPTER XV

FROM ELISHA TO ISAIAH

A FAVORABLE TURN IN ISRAELITISH AFFAIRS, *2 Kings* 13:22–25

2 Kings 13. 22] And Hazael king of
Syria oppressed Israel all the days of
22] Jehoahaz. But the LORD was gracious
unto them, and had compassion on them,
and had respect unto them, because of
his covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and
Jacob, and would not destroy them, neither
cast he them from his presence [1] as
24] yet. And Hazael king of Syria died;
and Ben-hadad his son reigned in his
25] stead. And Jehoash the son of Jehoahaz
took again out of the hand of
Ben-hadad the son of Hazael the cities
which he had taken out of the hand of
Jehoahaz his father by war. Three times
did Joash smite him, and recovered the
cities of Israel.

THE death of Hazael of Damascus gave Joash of Israel a new opportunity. Hazael's son and successor, Ben-hadad II, had not his father's military ability and Joash soon won back all Israel's territory that the Syrians had occupied.

WAR BETWEEN ISRAEL AND JUDAH, *2 Kings* 14:1–14

2 Kings 14. [2] In the second year of
Joash son of Joahaz king of Israel began
Amaziah the son of Joash king of
2] Judah to reign. He was twenty and
five years old when he began to reign;
and he reigned twenty and nine years
in Jerusalem: and his mother's name was
3] Jehoaddin of Jerusalem. And he did
that which was right in the eyes of the
LORD, yet not like David his father: he
did according to all that Joash his father
4] had done. Howbeit the high places
were not taken away: the people still
sacrificed and burnt incense in the high
5] places. And it came to pass, as soon
as the kingdom was established in his
hand, that he slew his servants which
6] had slain the king his father: but the
children of the murderers he put not to
death: according to that which is written
in the book of the law of Moses, as the
LORD commanded, saying, The fathers
shall not be put to death for the children,
nor the children be put to death
for the fathers; but every man shall die
7] for his own sin. He slew of Edom in
the Valley of Salt ten thousand, and took
[3] Sela by war, and called the name of it
Joktheel, unto this day.

8] Then Amaziah sent messengers to
Jehoash, the son of Jehoahaz son of
Jehu, king of Israel, saying, Come, let
9] us look one another in the face. And
Jehoash the king of Israel sent to Amaziah
king of Judah, saying, The [4] thistle
that was in Lebanon sent to the cedar
that was in Lebanon, saying, Give thy
daughter to my son to wife: and there
passed by a wild beast that was in Lebanon,
and trode down the thistle.
10] Thou hast indeed smitten Edom, and
thine heart hath lifted thee up: glory

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[1] Heb. *until now.*
[2] See *2 Chr.* 25:1, &c.
[3] Or, *the rock.*
[4] Or, *thorn.*

thereof, and abide at home; for why shouldest thou [5] meddle to *thy* hurt, that thou shouldest fall, even thou, and
11] Judah with thee? But Amaziah would not hear. So Jehoash king of Israel went up; and he and Amaziah king of Judah looked one another in the face at Beth-shemesh, which belongeth to Ju-
12] dah. And Judah was put to the worse before Israel; and they fled every
13] man to his tent. And Jehoash king of Israel took Amaziah king of Judah, the son of Jehoash the son of Ahaziah, at Beth-shemesh, and came to Jerusalem, and brake down the wall of Jerusalem from the gate of Ephraim unto the cor-
14] ner gate, four hundred cubits. And he took all the gold and silver, and all the vessels that were found in the house of the Lord, and in the treasures of the king's house, the hostages also, and returned to Samaria.

In the narrative just quoted we gain an insight into the brusque methods sometimes adopted in ancient international intercourse, and the man who wrote it had a grim sense of humor. Amaziah proposed to Joash a friendly meeting, but Joash, elated by his victories over Ben-hadad II, sent him an insulting reply. This insulting reply he followed by invasion. He sent his army to attack Judah's cities in the Shephelah. Amaziah advancing with his army to repel the invasion, met Joash and his force at Beth-shemesh. Amaziah had expressed his invitation to a friendly conference in the words: "Come, let us look one another in the face." The compiler of *Kings* grimly remarks: "they looked one another in the face at Beth-shemesh." Amaziah was defeated, and Joash followed him to Jerusalem, which he captured, and broke down four hundred cubits of its wall, "from the gate of Ephraim unto the corner gate." Solomon had enclosed within a wall a part of the westernmost of the two hills on which Jerusalem now stands. The north part of this wall extended from the temple wall westward in a straight line to a point about where the Jaffa Gate now stands. Here it turned sharply southward. The "Corner Gate" was near this corner; the "Gate of Ephraim" was near the temple in the Tyropean Valley south of where the present "Damascus Gate" is. It was given its name because it opened northward toward the land of Ephraim. By breaking down this wall Joash crippled Amaziah's power.

THE DEATH OF JOASH AND ACCESSION OF JEROBOAM II,
2 Kings 13: 12, 13; 14: 15, 16

2 Kings 13. 12] Now the rest of the acts of Joash, and all that he did, and his might wherewith he fought against Amaziah king of Judah, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of
13] the kings of Israel? And Joash slept with his fathers; and Jeroboam sat upon his throne: and Joash was buried in Samaria with the kings of Israel.

2 Kings 14. Now the rest of the acts of Jehoash which he did, and his might, and how he fought with Amaziah king of Judah, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of
16] Israel? And Jehoash slept with his fathers, and was buried in Samaria with the kings of Israel; and Jeroboam his son reigned in his stead.

These quotations show that the compiler of the second book of *Kings* related the death of Joash and the accession of Jeroboam II twice.

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[5] Or, *provoke calamity.*

JEROBOAM II'S PROSPEROUS REIGN, *2 Kings* 14: 23–27

2 Kings 14. 23] In the fifteenth year
of Amaziah the son of Joash king of
Judah Jeroboam the son of Joash king
of Israel began to reign in Samaria,
24] *and reigned* forty and one years. And
he did that which was evil in the sight
of the Lord: he departed not from all
the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat,
25] wherewith he made Israel to sin. He
restored the border of Israel from the
entering in of Hamath unto the sea of
the Arabah, according to the word of the
Lord, the God of Israel, which he spake
by the hand of his servant Jonah the son
of Amittai, the prophet, which was of
26] Gath-hepher. For the Lord saw the
affliction of Israel, that it was very bitter:
for there was none shut up nor left
at large, neither was there any helper
27] for Israel. And the Lord said not
that he would blot out the name of Israel
from under heaven: but he saved them
by the hand of Jeroboam the son of
Joash.

The passage just quoted describes in a few words the peaceful and prosperous reign of Jeroboam II. Happily for him he reigned at a time when the power of Assyria was waning. From the reign of Adadnirari IV, who died the year before Jeroboam ascended the throne, to the reign of Tiglath-pileser III no Assyrian king was sufficiently powerful or energetic to invade the west, and Tiglath-pileser, who became king of Assyria in 745 B.C., was too busy elsewhere to reach Palestine until after Jeroboam's death. Egypt, too, had become weak. Although the twenty-second dynasty was still on the throne during most of Jeroboam's reign, it was tottering to its fall. For a hundred years this dynasty, founded by Sheshonk (Shishak), who invaded Palestine in the time of Rehoboam, had prospered, but the last hundred years of its history was a time of waning power. Damascus was also still weak. Jeroboam II was an able monarch and took advantage of the opportunity; on the north and east he extended his control over all that David had ruled.

THE DEATH OF AMAZIAH AND ACCESSION OF AZARIAH (UZZIAH), *2 Kings* 14: 17–22

2 Kings 14. 17] And Amaziah the son
of Joash king of Judah lived after the
death of Jehoash son of Jehoahaz king
18] of Israel fifteen years. Now the rest
of the acts of Amaziah, are they not
written in the book of the chronicles of
19] the kings of Judah? And they made
a conspiracy against him in Jerusalem;
and he fled to Lachish: but they sent
after him to Lachish, and slew him
20] there. And they brought him upon
horses: and he was buried at Jerusalem
with his fathers in the city of David.
21] And all the people of Judah took
[6] Azariah, who was sixteen years old,
and made him king in the room of his
22] father Amaziah. He built Elath, and
restored it to Judah, after that the king
slept with his fathers.

THE REIGN OF AZARIAH (UZZIAH) *2 Kings* 15: 1–6

2 Kings 15. In the twenty and seventh
year of Jeroboam king of Israel began
[7] Azariah son of Amaziah king of
2] Judah to reign. [8] Sixteen years old

[6] In ch. 15: 13, and *2 Chr.* 26: 1, *Uzziah.*
[7] In verses 13, 30, &c., *Uzziah.*
[8] See *2 Chr.* 26: 3, 4.

was he when he began to reign; and he reigned two and fifty years in Jerusalem: and his mother's name was Jecoliah of
3] Jerusalem. And he did that which was right in the eyes of the Lord, according to all that his father Amaziah had done.
4] Howbeit the high places were not taken away: the people still sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places.
5] [9] And the Lord smote the king, so that he was a leper unto the day of his death, and dwelt in a [10] several house. And Jotham the king's son was over the household, judging the people of the
6] land. Now the rest of the acts of Azariah, and all that he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah?

The chronological statements concerning the reigns of Amaziah and Azariah, who is called Uzziah in *Isaiah* 6:1 and elsewhere (and whom we shall hereafter call Uzziah), create difficulties. It is stated in *2 Kings* 14:2, quoted above, that Amaziah reigned twenty-nine years. That would make his reign end in 774 B.C. The passage just quoted says that Uzziah reigned fifty-two years. When one puts together all known chronological data, Biblical and Assyriological, it appears certain that Uzziah died by 737 B.C. If he reigned fifty-two years his reign should begin in 789 B.C.; but that was fifteen or, according to Jewish reckoning, sixteen years before his father died. Both statements cannot be true unless he reigned conjointly with his father. That may well be the case, but, if it is, the statement that he was sixteen years old when he began to reign cannot be true of his reign as sole king; it must refer either to his age when associated first with his father on the throne, or to the length of time he had reigned conjointly with his father.

Judah under him, after his father's death, became as prosperous as Israel was under Jeroboam II. Elath was a port on the Gulf of Aqaba at the north end of the Red Sea in Edom. The fact that he built this port indicates that he controlled Edom sufficiently to keep a road to Elath open, and that he revived the commerce of Solomon and Jehoshaphat on the Red Sea. The two Hebrew kings, Jeroboam II and Uzziah, thus controlled between them the territories that had comprised the empire of Solomon, if not that of David. For forty years the land enjoyed peace. Trade revived and wealth increased. The rich grew richer, but the poor seemed to grow poorer. It became a time of social ferment. Literature flourished. A new type of prophet appeared. In these two reigns the religious and social advance, begun by Elijah in the reigns of Ahab and Jehoshaphat a century before, was taken up and carried forward.

The first step in this that we can trace is the writing of the so-called "E Document," to which so many references were made in the early chapters of this book. It was written in the northern kingdom (*i. e.*, the kingdom of Israel) about 750 B.C. The home of its author seems to have been the tribe of Ephraim. We do not know his name. *E* is the first letter of the Hebrew word *Elōhîm*, "God," this writer's designation of the divine Being. The J-writer, who had written in Judah in the preceding century, preferred the proper name Yahweh (Jehovah) for God, but this Ephraimitish writer delighted to use the plural word, which had originally been employed to sum up all the supernatural spirits of which the world was thought to be full, but which had now been welded together into one.

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[9] See *2 Chr.* 26:21–23.

[10] Or, *lazar-house.*

This E-writer differs from J in other ways than the use of a different divine name. J represents God as appearing to men in human form to convey to them his will; E represents him as coming to them in dreams to do this. J saw the work of Yahweh in the operations of nature; E more often supposes that God performed miracles. Each of these writers employed a characteristic vocabulary, which, although one needs to read Hebrew fully to appreciate, can in some degree be detected in the English translation.

E, like J, compiled a written story of the fortunes of the Hebrew people from the time of Abraham to his own day. In the book of *Genesis* it is first quoted in the fifteenth chapter, though the first long extract from it is in the twentieth chapter. From that point onward excerpts from it are made in the Hexateuch, *Judges, Samuel,* and probably in *Kings.*

For our present purpose the most important part of the E Document is the code of laws, which this writer believed to be the kernel of the covenant between Yahweh and Israel. He calls the code "The Book of the Covenant." It contained the substance of the ten commandments in *Exodus* 20: 1–17, exclusive of many later editorial expansions, and the laws from *Exodus* 20: 24 to 23: 19. These laws are so important that we shall quote them in full. Some of them, as we shall show, had been in force in the life of the nation for a long time, but, so far as appears, they were first codified by E.

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS, *Ex.* 20: 1–17

1. I am Yahweh thy God: Thou shalt have none other gods in my presence.
2. Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth: thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them.
3. Thou shalt not take the name of Yahweh thy God in vain.
4. Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath Day.
5. Honor thy father and thy mother.
6. Thou shalt do no murder.
7. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
8. Thou shalt not steal.
9. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.
10. Thou shalt not covet.

This form of the ten commandments is quite different from the ten commandments of the time of Moses, which formed the basis of the covenant with Yahweh in Moses' day, and which have been set forth above in ch. VI. The command to worship Yahweh only, is in substance the same, though it is worded in such a way as to show that its author was not yet a theoretical monotheist, for he assumes the reality of other gods. In the time of Moses it had been thought sufficient to prohibit in the second commandment the making of molten gods, *i.e.,* expensive idols. Now, however, all idols, carved as well as molten, were forbidden. Is it too much to suppose that this had come about because of the violation of this commandment by Jeroboam I and his successors? J's sixth commandment, to observe the Sabbath, becomes E's fourth command. All the other seven of E's commandments differ from J's. They are ethical in content, whereas those of J enjoin correct ritual only. The substitution of ethics for ritual is a mark of the progress that had been made since the days of Moses. It does not seem too much to suppose that this change was in large part due to the stress laid by Elijah upon Yahweh's insistence upon fair dealing between man and man.

E'S CODE OF LAWS, *Ex.* 20:24—23:19

Ex. 20. 24] An altar of earth shalt
thou make unto me, and shalt sacrifice
thereon thy burnt offerings, and thy
peace offerings, thy sheep and thine
oxen: in every place where I record my
name I will come unto thee and I will
25] bless thee. And if thou make me an
altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of
hewn stones; for if thou lift up thy tool
26] upon it, thou hast polluted it. Neither
shalt thou go up by steps unto mine
altar, that thy nakedness be not discovered
thereon.

21. Now these are the judgements
2] which thou shalt set before them. If
thou buy an Hebrew [11] servant, six
years he shall serve: and in the seventh
3] he shall go out free for nothing. If
he come in by himself he shall go out by
himself: if he be married, then his wife
4] shall go out with him. If his master
give him a wife, and she bear him sons
or daughters; the wife and her children
shall be her master's, and he shall go out
5] by himself. But if the servant shall
plainly say, I love my master, my wife,
and my children; I will not go out free:
6] then his master shall bring him unto
[12] God, and shall bring him to the door,
or unto the door post; and his master
shall bore his ear through with an
awl; and he shall serve him for ever.

7] And if a man sell his daughter to
be a [13] maidservant, she shall not go out
8] as the menservants do. If she please
not her master, [14] who hath espoused her
to himself, then shall he let her be redeemed:
to sell her unto a strange people
he shall have no power, seeing he
9] hath dealt deceitfully with her. And
if he espouse her unto his son, he shall
deal with her after the manner of daugh-
10] ters. If he take him another *wife;*
her [15] food, her raiment, and her duty of
11] marriage, shall he not diminish. And
if he do not these three unto her, then
shall she go out for nothing, without
money.

12] He that smiteth a man, so that he
13] die, shall surely be put to death. And
if a man lie not in wait, but God deliver
him into his hand; then I will appoint
thee a place whither he shall flee.
14] And if a man come presumptuously
upon his neighbor, to slay him with
guile; thou shalt take him from mine
altar, that he may die.

15] And he that smiteth his father,
or his mother, shall be surely put to
death.

16] And he that stealeth a man, and
selleth him, or if he be found in his

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[11] Or, *bondman.*
[12] Or, *the judges.*
[13] Or, *bondwoman.*
[14] Another reading is, *so that he hath not espoused her.*
[15] Heb. *flesh.*

hand, he shall surely be put to death.

17] And he that [16] curseth his father, or his mother, shall surely be put to death.

18] And if men contend, and one smiteth the other with a stone, or with his fist, and he die not, but keep his bed:
19] if he rise again, and walk abroad upon his staff, then shall he that smote him be quit: only he shall pay for [17] the loss of his time, and shall cause him to be thoroughly healed.

20] And if a man smite [18] his servant, or his maid, with a rod, and he die under his hand; he shall surely be pun-
21] ished. Notwithstanding, if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished: for he is his money.

22] And if men strive together, and hurt a woman with child, so that her fruit depart, and yet no mischief follow: he shall be surely fined, according as the woman's husband shall lay upon him; and he shall pay as the judges determine.
23] But if any mischief follow, then thou
24] shalt give life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for
25] foot, burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe.

26] And if a man smite the eye of his servant, or the eye of his maid, and destroy it; he shall let him go free for
27] his eye's sake. And if he smite out his manservant's tooth, or his maidservant's tooth; he shall let him go free for his tooth's sake.

28] And if an ox gore a man or a woman, that they die, the ox shall be surely stoned, and his flesh shall not be eaten; but the owner of the ox shall be
29] quit. But if the ox were wont to gore in time past, and it hath been testified to his owner, and he hath not kept him in, but that he hath killed a man or a woman; the ox shall be stoned, and his
30] owner also shall be put to death. If there be laid on him a ransom, then he shall give for the redemption of his life
31] whatsoever is laid upon him. Whether he have gored a son, or have gored a daughter, according to this judgement
32] shall it be done unto him. If the ox gore a manservant or a maidservant; he shall give unto their master thirty shekels of silver, and the ox shall be stoned.

33] And if a man shall open a pit, or if a man shall dig a pit and not cover it,
34] and an ox or an ass fall therein, the owner of the pit shall make it good; he shall give money unto the owner of them, and the dead *beast* shall be his.

35] And if one man's ox hurt another's, that he die; then they shall sell the live ox, and divide the price of it; and the
36] dead also they shall divide. Or if it be known that the ox was wont to gore in time past, and his owner hath not kept him in; he shall surely pay ox for ox, and the dead *beast* shall be his own.

22. [19] If a man shall steal an ox, or a sheep, and kill it, or sell it; he shall pay five oxen for an ox, and four sheep
2] for a sheep. If [20] the thief be found breaking in, and be smitten that he die, there shall be no [21] bloodguiltiness for
3] him. If the sun be risen upon him, there shall be bloodguiltiness for him: he should make restitution; if he have nothing, then he shall be sold for his
4] theft. If the theft be found in his hand alive, whether it be ox, or ass, or sheep; he shall pay double.

5] If a man shall cause a field or vineyard to be eaten, and shall let his beast loose, and it feed in another man's field; of the best of his own field, and of the best of his own vineyard, shall he make restitution.

6] If fire break out, and catch in thorns, so that the shocks of corn, or the standing corn, or the field, be consumed; he that kindled the fire shall surely make restitution.

7] If a man shall deliver unto his neighbour money or stuff to keep, and it be stolen out of the man's house; if the thief be found, he shall pay double.
8] If the thief be not found, then the master of the house shall come near unto [22] God, *to see* whether he have not

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[16] Or, *revileth.*
[17] Heb. *his sitting* or *ceasing.*
[18] Or, *his bondsman, or his bondswoman.*
[19] Ch. 21: 37 in Heb.
[20] Ch. 22: 1 in Heb.
[21] Heb. *blood.*
[22] Or, *the judges.*

put his hand unto his neighbour's goods.
9] For every matter of trespass whether
it be for ox, for ass, for sheep, for raiment,
or for any manner of lost thing,
whereof one saith, This is it, the cause
of both parties shall come before [22] God;
he whom [22] God shall condemn shall pay
double unto his neighbour.

10] If a man deliver unto his neighbour
an ass, or an ox, or a sheep, or
any beast, to keep; and it die, or be hurt,
11] or driven away, no man seeing it: the
oath of the LORD shall be between them
both, whether he hath not put his hand
unto his neighbour's goods; and the
owner thereof shall accept it, and he
12] shall not make restitution. But if it
be stolen from him, he shall make restitution
13] unto the owner thereof. If it
be torn in pieces, let him bring it for
witness; he shall not make good that
which was torn.

14] And if a man [23] borrow aught of
his neighbour, and it be hurt, or die,
the owner thereof not being with it, he
15] shall surely make restitution. If the
owner thereof be with it, he shall not
make it good: if it be an hired thing,
[24] it came for its hire.

16] And if a man entice a virgin that
is not betrothed, and lie with her, he
shall surely pay a dowry for her to be
17] his wife. If her father utterly refuse
to give her unto him, he shall pay money
according to the dowry of virgins.

18] Thou shalt not suffer a sorceress
to live.

19] Whosoever lieth with a beast shall
surely be put to death.

20] He that sacrificeth unto any god,
save unto the LORD only, shall be [25] utterly
21] destroyed. And a stranger shalt
thou not wrong, neither shalt thou oppress
him: for ye were strangers in the
22] land of Egypt. Ye shall not afflict
23] any widow, or fatherless child. If
thou afflict them in any wise, and they
cry at all unto me, I will surely hear
24] their cry; and my wrath shall wax
hot, and I will kill you with the sword;
and your wives shall be widows, and
your children fatherless.

25] If thou lend money to any of my
people with thee that is poor, thou shalt
not be to him as a creditor; neither shall
26] ye lay upon him usury. If thou at all
take thy neighbour's garment to pledge,
thou shalt restore it unto him by that
27] the sun goeth down: for that is his
only covering, it is his garment for his
skin: wherein shall he sleep? and it
shall come to pass, when he crieth unto
me, that I will hear; for I am gracious.

28] Thou shalt not revile [26] God, nor
29] curse a ruler of thy people. Thou
shalt not delay to offer of [27] the abundance
of thy fruits, and of thy liquors.
The firstborn of thy sons shalt thou
30] give unto me. Likewise shalt thou
do with thine oxen, *and* with thy sheep:
seven days it shall be with its dam; on
the eighth day thou shalt give it me.
31] And ye shall be holy men unto me:
therefore ye shall not eat any flesh that
is torn of beasts in the field; ye shall cast
it to the dogs.

23. Thou shalt not take up a false report:
put not thine hand with the wicked
2] to be an unrighteous witness. Thou
shalt not follow a multitude to do evil;
neither shalt thou [28] speak in a cause to
turn aside after a multitude to wrest
3] *judgement:* neither shalt thou favour
a poor man in his cause.

4] If thou meet thine enemy's ox or
his ass going astray, thou shalt surely
5] bring it back to him again. If thou
see the ass of him that hateth thee lying
under his burden, [29] and wouldest forbear
to help him, thou shalt surely help
with him.

6] Thou shalt not wrest the judgement
6] of thy poor in his cause. Keep
thee far from a false matter; and the
innocent and righteous slay thou not:
8] for I will not justify the wicked. And
thou shalt take no gift: for a gift bindeth
them that have sight, and perverteth the

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[23] Heb. *ask.*

[24] Or, *it is reckoned in* (Heb. *cometh into*) *its hire.*

[25] Heb. *devoted.* See *Lev.* 27: 29.

[26] Or, *the judges.*

[27] Heb. *thy fulness and thy tear.*

[28] Or, *bear witness.*

[29] Or, *and wouldest forbear to release* it *for him, thou shalt surely release* it *with him.*

9] [30] words of the righteous. And a
stranger shalt thou not oppress: for ye
know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye
were strangers in the land of Egypt.
10] And six years thou shalt sow thy
land, and shalt gather in the increase
11] thereof: but the seventh year thou
shalt [31] let it rest and lie fallow; that
the poor of thy people may eat: and what
they leave the beast of the field shall eat.
In like manner thou shalt deal with thy
12] vineyard, *and* with thy oliveyard. Six
days thou shalt do thy work, and on the
seventh day thou shalt [32] rest: that thine
ox and thine ass may have rest, and the
son of thy handmaid, and the stranger,
13] may be refreshed. And in all things
that I have said unto you take ye heed:
and make no mention of the name of
other gods, neither let it be heard out of
thy mouth.
14] Three times thou shalt keep a
15] feast unto me in the year. The feast
of unleavened bread shalt thou keep:
seven days thou shalt eat unleavened
bread, as I commanded thee, at the
time appointed in the month Abib (for
in it thou camest out from Egypt); and
none shall appear before me empty:
16] And the feast of harvest, the firstfruits
of thy labors, which thou sowest
in the field; and the feast of ingathering,
at the end of the year, when thou
gatherest in thy labors out of the field.
17] Three times in the year all thy males
shall appear before the Lord Jehovah.
18] Thou shalt not offer the blood of
my sacrifice with leavened bread;
neither shall the fat of my feast remain
19] all night until the morning. The first
of the firstfruits of thy ground thou
shalt bring into the house of the Lord
thy God. Thou shalt not seethe a kid in
its mother's milk.

One has but to read this code of laws to recognize that they were the laws of an agricultural community. The conditions presupposed are quite different from any that prevailed in the "wilderness" in which the Midianite-Kenites lived, where the original worship of Yahweh developed, and where Moses accepted the conditions on which Yahweh became the God of Israel. True, this code includes simple ritual laws, just as the Koran contains both the secular and the religious laws laid down by Mohammed. Among E's ritual laws are the ritual regulations of J's ten commandments, such as the prohibition to boil a kid in its mother's milk. These ritual laws are somewhat expanded. The months in which the festivals are to be held are specified, but still the exact dates in the different months are not fixed, and the manner in which the offerings are to be sacrificed is left to the imagination.

The agricultural laws were doubtless borrowed in part from the Canaanites, though they may have been developed in part by the Israelites after their settlement in the land. Some elements, such as the principle of retaliation in *Exodus* 21:23, 24 and some of the ritual elements, were brought in from the desert. What E did was to bring these laws together in a code. Some of them we can trace long before his time.

Thus the Law of the Altar (*Ex.* 20:24–26) is very ancient. Excavations have brought to light altars of earth and of unhewn stones which existed in pre-Israelitish times. The provision, "In every place where I record my name I will come unto thee and bless thee," means that a Hebrew might build an altar wherever he was convinced that Yahweh had manifested himself. In accordance with this principle, Gideon, David, Elijah, and others built altars in many different places. The law against witches (*Ex.* 22: 18) was made by King Saul (see *1 Sam.* 28: 9). The law which permitted a homicide to find asylum at an altar of Yahweh (*Ex.* 21: 12–14), was in force at the beginning of the reign of Solomon (see *1 Kings* 1: 51; 2: 28). The law against cursing God and the ruler (*Ex.* 22: 28) is the law under which Naboth was falsely accused in the reign of Ahab (*1 Kings* 21: 13). Perhaps some of the laws were new. The law against taking the outer garment of a poor man for security and keeping it overnight (*Ex.* 22: 26), may be one of these, but it is cited by Amos (ch. 2: 8). However old some of these laws may be, the bringing of them together in a code and interpreting that code as the basis of the covenant between Yahweh and Israel and so giving the code the force of divine sanction, was one of the great literary achievements of the reign of Jeroboam II.

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[30] Or, *cause.*

[31] Or, *release it and let it lie fallow.* See *Deut.* 15:2.

[32] Or, *keep sabbath.*

THE PROPHET AMOS

Another event of the first importance of this period was the appearance of a new kind of prophet in the person of Amos, a herdsman of Tekoah. Amos appears to have been a contemporary of the E writer. We read in *Amos:*

> **Amos 7.** 14] Then answered Amos, and said to Amaziah, I [33] was no prophet, neither [33] was I [34] a prophet's son; but I [33] was an herdman, and a dresser of 15] sycomore trees: and the LORD took me from following the flock, and the LORD said unto me, Go, prophesy unto my people Israel.

In these words Amos declares that he was no prophet (*navi', i. e.,* a man bubbling over in ecstasy with words which he cannot control, like King Saul in *1 Samuel* 19: 24), nor was he a member of a prophetic guild (for that is what "a prophet's son" means), but he was a herdsman and a dresser of sycamore trees. (From these trees a kind of fruit was gathered which poor people ate.) Yahweh, he says, "took me from following the flock" and said, "Go prophesy to my people Israel." Amos's book bears the title "The words of Amos, who was among the herdsmen of Tekoah." Tekoah was a village about six miles southeast of Bethlehem. It is situated on the edge of the hills which slope downward through increasing desolateness to the Dead Sea. In these wastes Amos led his flocks and brooded. Tekoah itself is on high ground. As one looks northward from it one sees Jerusalem nestling on its hills twelve miles away; and fifteen miles beyond, just on the northern horizon, rose Bethel in full view. Tekoah was in the kingdom of Judah, but Bethel lay beyond Judah's northern border in the kingdom of Israel. Bethel was a sanctuary under royal patronage. There were the golden bullocks, placed there by Jeroboam I in violation of the second commandment. There, in connection with the sanctuary, rites were practised which were not in accord with Yahweh's pristine cult. Bethel was a city of fashion. Its rich were growing richer and its poor poorer. As Amos brooded he felt that Yahweh called him to go to Bethel and denounce the sins of its people. So one day he appeared in its streets and, like a member of the Salvation Army, began to sing. One verse of his song has been preserved and its meter shows that he sang it to the tune of a funeral dirge. The verse is as follows:

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[33] Or, *am.*

[34] Or, *one of the sons of the prophets.* See *1 Kings* 20: 35.

> "Yahweh will roar from Zion, and utter his voice from Jerusalem,
> And the pastures of the shepherds shall mourn, and the top of Carmel shall wither."

A crowd soon gathered, as in modern times it does for the Salvationist, and Amos uttered the following denunciations:

Amos 1. 3] Thus saith the LORD:
For three transgressions of Damascus,
yea, for four, I will not [35] turn away
[36] the punishment thereof; because they
have threshed Gilead with threshing in-
4] struments of iron: but I will send a
fire into the house of Hazael, and it shall
5] devour the palaces of Ben-hadad. And
I will break the bar of Damascus, and
cut off [37] the inhabitant from the valley
of [38] Aven, and him that holdeth the
sceptre from [39] the house of Eden: and
the people of Syria shall go into captivity unto Kir, saith the LORD.

6] Thus saith the LORD: For three
transgressions of Gaza, yea, for four, I
will not turn away the punishment
thereof; because they carried away captive [40] the whole people, to deliver them
7] up to Edom: but I will send a fire on
the wall of Gaza, and it shall devour the
8] palaces thereof: and I will cut off the
inhabitant from Ashdod, and him that
holdeth the sceptre from Ashkelon; and
I will turn mine hand against Ekron, and
the remnant of the Philistines shall
perish, saith the LORD GOD.

9] Thus saith the LORD: For three
transgressions of Tyre, yea, for four,
I will not turn away the punishment
thereof; because they delivered up [40] the
whole people to Edom, and remembered
10] not [41] the brotherly covenant: but
I will send a fire on the wall of Tyre,
and it shall devour the palaces thereof.

11] Thus saith the LORD: For three
transgressions of Edom, yea, for four, I
will not turn away the punishment
thereof; because he did pursue his
brother with the sword, and [42] did cast
off all pity, and his anger did tear perpetually, and he kept his wrath for ever:
12] but I will send a fire upon Teman,
and it shall devour the palaces of Bozrah.

13] Thus saith the LORD: For three
transgressions of the children of Ammon, yea, for four, I will not turn away
the punishment thereof; because they
have ripped up the women with child of
Gilead, that they might enlarge their
14] border: but I will kindle a fire in
the wall of Rabbah, and it shall devour
the palaces thereof, with shouting in the
day of battle, with a tempest in the day
15] of the whirlwind: and their king
shall go into captivity, he and his princes
together, saith the LORD.

2. Thus saith the LORD: For three
transgressions of Moab, yea, for four,
I will not turn away the punishment

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[35] Or, *revoke my word.*

[36] Heb. *it* (and so in vv. 6, 9, &c.).

[37] Or, *him that sitteth* on the throne (and so in ver. 8.).

[38] That is, *Vanity.* The Sept. reads, *On.*

[39] Or, *Beth-eden.*

[40] Heb. *an entire captivity.*

[41] Heb. *the covenant of brethren.* See *I Kings* 5: 1, 9: 11–14.

[42] Heb. *corrupted his compassions.*

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thereof; because he burned the bones of
2] the king of Edom into lime: but I will
send a fire upon Moab, and it shall devour
the palaces of Kerioth; and Moab
shall die with tumult, with shouting, and
3] with the sound of the trumpet: and
I will cut off the judge from the midst
thereof, and will slay all the princes
thereof with him, saith the Lord.

. . . . . .

6] Thus saith the Lord: For three
transgressions of Israel, yea, for four,
I will not turn away the punishment
thereof; because they have sold the
righteous for silver, and the needy for
7] a pair of shoes: that pant after the
dust of the earth on the head of the
poor, and turn aside the way of the meek:
and a man and his father will go unto
the *same* [43] maid, to profane my holy
8] name: and they lay themselves down
beside every altar upon clothes [44] taken
in pledge, and in the house of their God
they drink the wine of such as have been
9] fined. Yet destroyed I the Amorite
before them, whose height was like the
height of the cedars, and he was strong
as the oaks; yet I destroyed his fruit
from above, and his roots from beneath.
10] Also I brought you up out of the
land of Egypt, and led you forty years
in the wilderness, to possess the land of
11] the Amorite. And I raised up of your
sons for prophets, and of your young
men for Nazirites. Is it not even thus,
O ye children of Israel? saith the Lord.
12] But ye gave the Nazirites wine to
drink; and commanded the prophets, saying,
13] Prophesy not. Behold, [45] I will
press *you* in your place, as a cart presseth
14] that is full of sheaves. And [46] flight
shall perish from the swift, and the
strong shall not strengthen his force,
neither shall the mighty deliver [47] himself:
15] neither shall he stand that
handleth the bow; and he that is swift
of foot shall not deliver *himself:* neither
shall he that rideth the horse deliver
16] [47] himself: and he that is
courageous among the mighty shall flee
away naked in that day, saith the Lord.

3. Hear this word that the Lord hath
spoken against you, O children of Israel,
against the whole family which I brought
up out of the land of Egypt, saying,
2] You only have I known of all the
families of the earth: therefore I will
visit upon you all your iniquities.
Shall two walk together, except they
4] have [48] agreed? Will a lion roar in
the forest, when he hath no prey? will
a young lion cry out of his den, if he
5] have taken nothing? Can a bird fall
in a snare upon the earth, where no gin
is *set* for him? shall a snare spring up
from the ground, and have taken nothing
6] at all? Shall the trumpet be blown in
a city, and the people not be afraid? shall
evil befall a city, and the Lord hath not
7] done it? Surely the Lord God will do
nothing, but he revealeth his secret unto
8] his servants the prophets. The lion
hath roared, who will not fear? the Lord
God hath spoken, who can but prophesy?
9] Publish ye [49] in the palaces at
Ashdod, and [49] in the palaces in the
land of Egypt, and say, Assemble yourselves
upon the mountains of Samaria,
and behold what great tumults are
therein, and what oppressions in the
10] midst thereof. For they know not
to do right, saith the Lord, who store up
violence and robbery in their palaces.
11] Therefore thus saith the Lord God:
An adversary *there shall be,* even round
about the land: and he shall bring down
thy strength from thee, and thy palaces
12] shall be spoiled. Thus saith the Lord:
As the shepherd rescueth out of the
mouth of the lion two legs, or a piece of
an ear; so shall the children of Israel
be rescued that sit in Samaria in the
corner of a couch, and [50] on the silken
13] cushions of a bed. Hear ye, and
testify against the house of Jacob, saith
14] the Lord God, the God of hosts. For
in the day that I shall visit the transgressions
of Israel upon him, I will also visit

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[43] Or, *young woman.*
[44] See *Ex.* 22: 26.
[45] Or, *I am pressed under you, as a cart is pressed that is full of sheaves.*
[46] Or, *refuge shall fail the swift.*
[47] Heb, *his soul,* or, *life.*
[48] Or, *made an appointment.*
[49] Or, *upon.*
[50] According to some ancient versions and MSS., *in Damascus on a bed.*

the altars of Beth-el, and the horns of the
altar shall be cut off, and fall to the
15] ground. And I will smite [51] the
winter house with [52] the summer house;
and the houses of ivory shall perish, and
[53] the great houses shall have an end,
saith the LORD.

This discourse of Amos is noteworthy for its skill. Amos understood the psychology of a crowd. He began by denouncing the sins of all Israel's neighbors—Damascus, Gaza, Tyre, Edom, Ammon, Moab. People are always pleased to hear a preacher denounce other people's sins. They listen eagerly. Thus Amos gained the sympathy of the throng; then he began to recount their own sins—their immorality practised even in the name of religion and their oppression of the poor. His discourse is also as noteworthy for its theology as for its skill. He assumed that Yahweh controlled all nations, Syrians, Philistines, Phenicians, Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites. In other words he was a monotheist—the first monotheist known in Israel. In another passage (ch. 9:7) he says that Yahweh brought the Philistines from Caphtor (Crete) and the Arameans from Kir, just as he brought Israel from Egypt. Amos thus marks a new epoch in religious thought. He was not a philosopher, but a simple shepherd. He does not say that there is and can only be one God, that all heathen gods are figments of the imagination; but he quietly assumes that Yahweh is the only God and that he controls the world. Five hundred years before Amos, an Egyptian king, Amenophis IV, had made a similar assumption, but he thought the one god the physical sun-disk. In his time men could not yet conceive of a spiritual being, so the monotheism of Amenophis came to nothing. The shepherd of Tekoah lived in a different era and among a different people, so he began a new era in religion.

Amos continued his preaching in Bethel. He denounced the fashionable women of Israel as "cows of Bashan" (ch. 4:1); he denounced the idle revelers among her men who "sing idle songs to the sound of the viol; who invent themselves instruments of music like David; who drink wine in bowls and anoint themselves with oil; but are not grieved for the affliction of Joseph" (ch. 6:5, 6).

Two of his utterances are historically of importance. He declares in ch. 5:25 that sacrifice formed no part of the primitive ritual of the nation's life in the wilderness (a positive question is equivalent to a negative assertion)—a statement he could not have made had he known the ritualistic material now embodied in our books of *Exodus, Leviticus,* and *Numbers.* As this material had not been compiled in his time, Amos was able to regard pure morality as the basis of the covenant between Yahweh and Israel.

The other important statement is found in ch. 5:14: "Seek good, and not evil, that ye may live; and so Yahweh, the God of hosts, shall be with you as ye say." This shows that Amos's hearers had a kind of heathen confidence in Yahweh. As long as he was with them he exercised, they thought, a kind of magic protection over them. However wrong things might go for a time, they must come out right in the end for *immanu Yahweh,* "Yahweh is with us." This might also be expressed by *immanu el,* "God is with us." This expression which Isaiah afterward took up and employed (*Isa.* 7:14) was already on the lips of the populace in the time of Amos.

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[51] See *Jer.* 36:22.

[52] See *Jud.* 3:20.

[53] Or, *many.*

Amos continued to preach in Bethel until he predicted that Israel should be invaded by armies and its palaces and sanctuaries laid waste (ch. 7:7–9). This was reported to King Jeroboam II, who directed the high priest of Bethel to expel Amos from his kingdom (ch. 7:10–12). Amos, then, after a few parting shots, returned to his native town and either wrote down his prophecies or dictated them to a scribe. This one episode at Bethel is all that we know of his prophetic activity, but the record of this episode marks a new era in Israel's religion and in the religion of the world. Unlike the prophets who depended upon nervous excitement and trance for their oracles, Amos reached his messages by brooding thought and insight. He and the literary prophets who came after him use a new word to represent this insight, *khazah,* "to see." More important still is Amos's practical monotheism, to which attention has already been called. This was one of the most important forward steps ever taken in the history of religion. The third important element in the teaching of Amos was the assumption that the favor of Yahweh (of God) rests on ethics alone, and in no degree on cult or ritual. Fairness in business, personal purity, consideration for the poor—these were, according to Amos, the passports to Yahweh's favor. They were the basis of Yahweh's covenant with Israel.

It must be admitted that, as Amos presented his message, it was somewhat cold. The one motive which he urged to induce the people of Israel to mend their ways was the fear of punishment. "Be good or you will be visited by Yahweh's fierce wrath in the form of a devastating invasion" —was the substance of his preaching. Something more than this is needed to persuade men, and this something was supplied by Amos's contemporary Hosea.

HOSEA

Hosea, a native of the northern kingdom (a late tradition places him in Gilead east of the Jordan), began to prophesy before the end of the reign of Jeroboam II. He was given the insight which made him a prophet through the suffering caused by a domestic tragedy, which is recorded in the first three chapters of his book. They read as follows:

Hosea 1. The word of the Lord that came unto Hosea the son of Beeri, in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah, and in the

days of Jeroboam the son of Joash, king
of Israel.

2] When the LORD spake at the first
[54] by Hosea, the LORD said unto Hosea,
Go, take unto thee a wife of whoredom
and children of whoredom: for the land
doth commit great whoredom, departing
3] from the LORD. So he went and took
Gomer the daughter of Diblaim; and she
4] conceived, and bare him a son. And
the LORD said unto him, Call his name
Jezreel; for yet a little while, and I will
[55] avenge the blood of Jezreel upon the
house of Jehu, and will cause the kingdom
of the house of Israel to cease.
5] And it shall come to pass at that
day, that I will break the bow of Israel
6] in the valley of Jezreel. And she conceived
again, and bare a daughter. And
the Lord said unto him, Call her name
[56] Lo-ruhamah: for I will no more have
mercy upon the house of Israel, that I
7] should in any wise pardon them. But
I will have mercy upon the house of
Judah, and will save them by the LORD
their God, and will not save them by
bow, nor by sword, nor by battle, by
8] horses, nor by horsemen. Now when
she had weaned Lo-ruhamah, she conceived,
9] and bare a son. And *the Lord*
said, Call his name [57] Lo-ammi: for ye
are not my people, and I will not be
[58] your *God*.

10] [59] Yet the number of the children
of Israel shall be as the sand of the sea,
which cannot be measured nor numbered;
and it shall come to pass that, [60] in the
place where it was said unto them, Ye
are not my people, it shall be said unto
them, *Ye are* the sons of the living God.
11] And the children of Judah and the
children of Israel shall be gathered together,
and they shall appoint themselves
one head, and shall go up from the
land: for great shall be the day of
Jezreel.

2. Say ye unto your brethren, [61] Ammi;
and to your sisters, [62] Ruhamah.

2] Plead with your mother, plead; for
she is not my wife, neither am I her husband:
and let her put away her whoredoms
from her face, and her adulteries
3] from between her breasts; lest I strip
her naked, and set her as in the day that
she was born, and make her as a wilderness,
and set her like a dry land, and slay
4] her with thirst; yea, upon her children
will I have no mercy; for they be
5] children of whoredom. For their
mother hath played the harlot: she that
conceived them hath done shamefully:
for she said, I will go after my lovers,
that give me my bread and my water,
my wool and my flax, mine oil and my
6] [63] drink. Therefore, behold, I will
hedge up thy way with thorns, and I
will make a fence against her, that she
7] shall not find her paths. And she shall
follow after her lovers, but she shall not
overtake them; and she shall seek them,
but shall not find them: then shall she
say, I will go and return to my first
husband; for then was it better with me
8] than now. For she did not know that
I gave her the corn, and the wine, and
the oil, and multiplied unto her silver
and gold, which they [64] used for Baal.
9] Therefore will I [65] take back my corn
in the time thereof, and my wine in
the season thereof, and will pluck away
my wool and my flax which should have
10] covered her nakedness. And now
will I discover her [66] lewdness in the
sight of her lovers, and none shall deliver
11] her out of mine hand. I will
also cause all her mirth to cease, her
feasts, her new moons, and her sabbaths,
and all her [67] solemn assemblies.
12] And I will lay waste her vines and
her fig trees, whereof she hath said,
These are my hire that my lovers have
given me: and I will make them a forest,
and the beasts of the field shall eat them.
13] And I will visit upon her the days
of the Baalim, [68] unto which she burned
incense; when she decked herself with

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[54] Or, *with*.
[55] Heb. *visit*.
[56] That is, *That hath not obtained mercy*.
[57] That is, *Not my people*.
[58] Heb. *for you*.
[59] Ch. 2: 1 in Heb.
[60] Or, *instead of that which was said*.
[61] That is, *My people*.
[62] That is, *That hath obtained mercy*.
[63] Heb. *drinks*.
[64] Or, *made into* the image of *Baal*.
[65] Or, *return and take away*.
[66] Or, *shame*.
[67] Or, *appointed feasts*.
[68] Or, *wherein she burned incense to them*.

her [69] earrings and her jewels, and went
after her lovers, and forgat me, saith
14] the Lord. Therefore, behold, I will
allure her, and bring her into the wilderness,
and speak [70] comfortably unto her.
15] And I will give her her vineyards
from thence, and the valley of [71] Achor
for a door of hope: and she shall [72] make
answer there, as in the days of her youth,
and as in the day when she came up out
16] of the land of Egypt. And it shall
be at that day, saith the Lord, that thou
shalt call me [73] Ishi; and shalt call me
17] no more [74] Baali. For I will take
away the names of the Baalim out of
her mouth, and they shall no more be
18] [75] mentioned by their name. And in
that day will I make a covenant for
them with the beasts of the field, and
with the fowls of heaven, and with the
creeping things of the ground: and I
will break the bow and the sword and
the battle out of the land, and will make
19] them to lie down safely. And I will
betroth thee unto me for ever; yea, I
will betroth thee unto me in righteousness,
and in judgement, and in loving-
20] kindness, and in mercies. I will even
betroth thee unto me in faithfulness: and
21] thou shalt know the Lord. And it
shall come to pass in that day, I will answer,
saith the Lord, I will answer the
heavens, and they shall answer the
22] earth; and the earth shall answer
the corn, and the wine, and the oil; and
23] they shall answer [76] Jezreel. And I
will sow her unto me in the [77] earth;
and I will have mercy upon [78] her that
had not obtained mercy; and I will say
to [79] them which were not my people,
Thou art my people; and they shall say,
Thou art my God.

3. And the Lord said unto me, Go yet,
love a woman beloved [80] of *her* friend
and an adulteress, even as the Lord
loveth the children of Israel, though they
turn unto other gods, and [81] love cakes
2] of raisins. So I bought her to me for
fifteen *pieces* of silver, and an homer of
barley, and an [82] half homer of barley:
3] and I said unto her, Thou shalt abide
for me many days; thou shalt not play
the harlot, and thou shalt not be any
man's wife: so will I also be toward
4] thee. For the children of Israel shall
abide many days without king, and without
prince, and without sacrifice, and
without [83] pillar, and without ephod or
5] teraphim: afterward shall the children
of Israel return, and seek the Lord
their God, and David their king; and
shall come with fear unto the Lord and
to his goodness in the latter days.

These chapters, couched in the terms of ancient Hebrew thought, are by most understood to mean that Hosea's wife was unfaithful to him, that he only gradually became conscious of her infidelity, that he tried to save her, but she went from bad to worse, that she left him for others and was finally sold into slavery, that he then bought her back and secluded her in the effort to win back her affection. As he brooded over his domestic tragedy, trying to understand why this had happened to him, he saw that Yahweh had permitted all this to happen to him in order that he might understand what Yahweh himself suffered. He then represented all his misfortunes as having come upon him providentially; or, as he put it, he had been commanded by Yahweh to marry this unprincipled woman.

As he had gained this insight through domestic suffering, he represented the covenant of Yahweh with Israel as a marriage covenant, and the worship of the Baals was adultery. In Hebrew a husband was a *baal,* the "owner" or "master" of his wife. Yahweh had been called Baal in the days of Gideon, Saul, and David. He was probably so called down to Hosea's own time. This Hosea now forbids "Thou shalt call me Ishi ['My man'], and shalt call me no more Baali ['My owner']" (ch. 2: 16). This was the beginning of a new differentiation of Yahweh from the Canaanite Baals. It was also the beginning of the portrayal of Yahweh as a God of love; not *Eros,* but *Philia,* pure, affectionate love. In the chapters quoted Hosea represents Yahweh as a husband; sometimes he represents him as an affectionate Father. Thus in ch. 11: 1 he says:

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[69] Or, *nose-rings.*
[70] Heb. *to her heart.*
[71] That is, *Troubling.* See *Josh.* 7: 26.
[72] Or, *sing.*
[73] That is, *My husband.*
[74] That is, *My master.*
[75] Or, *remembered.*
[76] That is, *Whom God soweth.*
[77] Or, *land.*
[78] Heb. *Lo-ruhamah.*
[79] Heb. *Lo-ammi.* See ch. 1: 6, 9, 10.
[80] Or, *of* her *husband, yet an &c.*
[81] Or, *them that love.*
[82] Heb. *lethech.*
[83] Or, *obelisk.*

"When Israel was a child, then I loved him,
And called my son out of Egypt."

Hosea, like Amos, predicted desolation unless Israel mended her ways, but, according to him, Yahweh would send the desolation not in vengeance, but in love; as a lover seeks to take the loved one apart, where he can speak to her alone, so Yahweh would bring Israel again into the wilderness, that he might speak to her heart (ch. 2: 14). Hosea was as monotheistic as Amos, but much more tender.

A reign that could produce three such men as the writer of the E Document, Amos, and Hosea was indeed a noteworthy epoch.

THE DEATH OF JEROBOAM II AND THE REIGN OF ZECHARIAH, *2 Kings* 14: 28, 29; 15: 8–12

2 Kings 14. 28] Now the rest of the acts of Jeroboam, and all that he did, and his might, how he warred, and how he recovered Damascus, and Hamath, *which had belonged* to Judah, for Israel, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel? 29] And Jeroboam slept with his fathers, even with the kings of Israel; and Zechariah his son reigned in his stead.

15. 8] In the thirty and eighth year of Azariah king of Judah did Zechariah the son of Jeroboam reign over Israel in 9] Samaria six months. And he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, as his fathers had done: he departed not from the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, wherewith he made Israel to sin. 10] And Shallum the son of Jabesh conspired against him, and smote him before the people, and slew him, and 11] reigned in his stead. Now the rest of the acts of Zechariah, behold, they are written in the book of the chronicles 12] of the kings of Israel. This was the word of the LORD which he spake unto Jehu, saying, Thy sons to the fourth generation shall sit upon the throne of Israel. And so it came to pass.

Thus the dynasty of Jehu fell after ruling Israel for a hundred years.

THE REIGNS OF SHALLUM AND MENAHEM, *2 Kings* 15: 13–22

2 Kings 15. 13] Shallum the son of Jabesh began to reign in the nine and thirtieth year of Uzziah king of Judah; and he reigned the space of a month in 14] Samaria. And Menahem the son of Gadi went up from Tirzah, and came

to Samaria, and smote Shallum the son
of Jabesh in Samaria, and slew him, and
15] reigned in his stead. Now the rest of
the acts of Shallum, and his conspiracy
which he made, behold, they are written
in the book of the chronicles of the
16] kings of Israel. Then Menahem
smote Tiphsah, and all that were therein,
and the borders thereof, from Tirzah:
because they opened not to him, therefore
he smote it; and all the women therein
that were with child he ripped up.

17] In the nine and thirtieth year of
Azariah king of Judah began Menahem
the son of Gadi to reign over Israel,
and reigned ten years in Samaria.
18] And he did that which was evil in
the sight of the Lord: he departed not
all his day from the sins of Jeroboam the
son of Nebat, wherewith he made Israel
19] to sin. There came against the land
Pul the king of Assyria; and Menahem
gave Pul a thousand talents of silver,
that his hand might be with him to confirm
20] the kingdom in his hand. And
Menahem exacted the money of Israel,
even of all the mighty men of wealth, of
each man fifty shekels of silver, to give
to the king of Assyria. So the king of
Assyria turned back, and stayed not
21] there in the land. Now the rest of
the acts of Menahem, and all that he
did, are they not written in the book of
the chronicles of the kings of Israel?
22] And Menahem slept with his fathers;
and Pekahiah his son reigned in his stead.

The number of years that Menahem reigned has been accidentally enlarged in transmission. The chronology of this period is pretty well known from other sources and not more than three years (840–837) can be allowed to him. The Pul, king of Assyria, is Tiglath-pileser III, whose name was *Pulu* before he became king. In one of Tiglath-pileser's inscriptions we have his record of taking tribute from Menahem.[84] This was in the year 738 B.C.

THE REIGN OF PEKAHIAH, *2 Kings* 15:23–26

2 Kings 15. 23] In the fiftieth year of
Azariah king of Judah Pekahiah the son
of Menahem began to reign over Israel
in Samaria, *and reigned* two years.
24] And he did that which was evil in
the sight of the Lord: he departed not
from the sins of Jeroboam the son of
Nebat, wherewith he made Israel to sin.
25] And Pekah the son of Remaliah, his
captain, conspired against him, and smote
him in Samaria, in the [85] castle of the
king's house, with Argob and Arieh;
and with him were fifty men of the
Gileadites: and he slew him, and reigned
26] in his stead. Now the rest of the acts
of Pekahiah, and all that he did, behold,
they are written in the book of the
chronicles of the kings of Israel.

THE CALL OF THE PROPHET ISAIAH, *Isa.* 6:1–9

Isa. 6. In the year that king Uzziah
died I saw the Lord sitting upon a
throne, high and lifted up, and his
2] [86] train filled the temple. Above him
stood the seraphim: each one had six
wings; with twain he covered his face,
and with twain he covered his feet, and
3] with twain he did fly. And one cried
unto another, and said, Holy, holy, holy,
is the Lord of hosts: [87] the whole earth
4] is full of his glory. And the foundations
of the thresholds were moved at
the voice of him that cried, and the
5] house was filled with smoke. Then
said I, Woe is me! for I am undone;
because I am a man of unclean lips, and

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[84] See G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., p. 425.

[85] Or, *palace.*

[86] Or, *skirts.*

[87] Heb. *the fulness of the whole earth is his glory.*

I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips: for mine eyes have seen the
6] King, the Lord of hosts. Then flew
one of the seraphim unto me, having
a [88] live coal in his hand, which he had
taken with the tongs from off the altar:
7] and he touched my mouth with it, and
said, Lo, this hath touched thy lips; and
thine iniquity is taken away, and thy sin
8] [89] purged. And I heard the voice of
the Lord, saying, Whom shall I send,
and who will go for us? Then I said,
9] Here am I; send me. And he said, Go,
and tell this people, Hear ye [90] indeed,
but understand not; and see ye [90] indeed, but perceive not.

This is the record given by Isaiah of the experience which made him a prophet. The vision was in Isaiah's soul, but it took the form of the sacred objects of worship with which this youth of Jerusalem was familiar. Isaiah was a native of Jerusalem; the temple with which he was familiar was that built by Solomon. The important fact is, however, the call which led this youth to a career which made him the adviser of kings, the first citizen of his country, and one of the outstanding men of all time.

THE DEATH OF KING UZZIAH (AZARIAH), *2 Kings* 15:7

2 Kings 15. 7] And Azariah slept with his fathers; and they buried him with his fathers in the city of David: and Jotham his son reigned in his stead.

The death of this old, leprous king brought to an end one of the great epochs in the history of this remarkable people.

CHRONOLOGY

Kings of Israel
Jeroboam II, 781–740 B.C.
Zechariah, 740
Shallum, 740
Menahem, 740–737
Pekahiah, 737–735

Kings of Judah
Amaziah, 795–774 B.C.
Azariah (Uzziah), 789–737
Jotham, 752–736

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[88] Or, *hot stone.*
[89] Or, *expiated.*
[90] Or, *continually.*

CHAPTER XVI

THE TIMES OF ISAIAH

THE REIGN OF JOTHAM, *2 Kings* 15:32–38

2 Kings 15. 32] In the second year of
Pekah the son of Remaliah king of
Israel began Jotham the son of Uzziah
33] king of Judah to reign. [1] Five and
twenty years old was he when he began
to reign; and he reigned sixteen years
in Jerusalem: and his mother's name
was Jerusha the daughter of Zadok.
34] And he did that which was right in
the eyes of the LORD: he did according
to all that his father Uzziah had done.
35] Howbeit the high places were not
taken away: the people still sacrificed
and burned incense in the high places. He
built the upper gate of the house of the
36] LORD. Now the rest of the acts of
Jotham, and all that he did, are they not
written in the book of the chronicles of
37] the kings of Judah? In those days
the LORD began to send against Judah
Rezin the king of Syria, and Pekah the
38] son of Remaliah. And Jotham slept
with his fathers, and was buried with his
fathers in the city of David his father:
and Ahaz his son reigned in his stead.

IT will be remembered that Azariah (Uzziah) was a leper during the latter part of his reign and, as such, was compelled to live in seclusion. His son Jotham, either as regent or as an associate king, exercised during this period most of the royal prerogatives (*2 Kings* 15:5, quoted in the previous chapter). Most, if not all, of the sixteen years assigned to his reign must have been included in the fifty-two years assigned to his father. It is doubtful whether he survived his father at all, but, in our chronology, we have assumed that he had a year of independent reign after his father's death. The reference to the reign of Pekah in verse 32 is difficult to reconcile with other known facts. There seems to be some mistake.

THE REIGN OF PEKAH IN ISRAEL, *2 Kings* 15:27–31

2 Kings 15. 27] In the two and fiftieth
year of Azariah king of Judah Pekah
the son of Remaliah began to reign over
Israel in Samaria, *and reigned* twenty
28] years. And he did that which was
evil in the sight of the LORD: he departed
not from the sins of Jeroboam the son
of Nebat, wherewith he made Israel to
29] sin. In the days of Pekah king of
Israel came Tiglath-pileser king of
Assyria, and took Ijon, and Abel-beth-maacah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and
Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, all the
land of Naphtali; and he carried them
30] captive to Assyria. And Hoshea the
son of Elah made a conspiracy against
Pekah the son of Remaliah, and smote
him, and slew him, and reigned in his
stead, in the twentieth year of Jotham
31] the son of Uzziah. Now the rest of

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[1] See *2 Chr.* 27: 1, &c.

the acts of Pekah and all that he did, behold, they are written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel.

After the overthrow of the dynasty of Jehu, one usurper after another sat on the throne of Israel. The second book of *Kings* assigns to them all reigns that are too long. From Assyrian chronological sources we know that the reigns of all of them occupied not more than eight years. The passage just quoted relates how Tiglath-pileser of Assyria attacked Israel in the days of Pekah and diminished his territory. We shall return to this a little later. Pekah took part in certain interesting events before that happened. Tiglath-pileser himself confirms this narrative.[2]

THE ACCESSION OF KING AHAZ OF JUDAH, *2 Kings* 16: 1–6

2 Kings 16. In the seventeenth year of Pekah the son of Remaliah Ahaz the son of Jotham king of Judah began to 2] reign. Twenty years old was Ahaz when he began to reign; and he reigned sixteen years in Jerusalem: and he did not that which was right in the eyes of the LORD his God, like David his father. 3] But he walked in the way of the kings of Israel, yea, and made his son to pass through the fire, according to the abominations of the heathen, whom the LORD cast out from before the children of 4] Israel. And he sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places, and on the hills, 5] and under every green tree. Then Rezin king of Syria and Pekah son of Remaliah king of Israel came up to Jerusalem to war: and they besieged Ahaz, but could not overcome him. 6] At that time Rezin king of Syria recovered Elath to Syria, and drave the Jews from [3] Elath: and the [4] Syrians came to Elath, and dwelt there, unto this day.

The attack of Rezin and Pekah on Jerusalem and King Ahaz, mentioned in the passage just quoted, occurred in the year 735 B. C. The book of *Isaiah* gives an interesting incident which occurred at this crisis.

AHAZ AND ISAIAH, *Isa.* 7: 1–17

Isa. 7. And it came to pass in the days of Ahaz the son of Jotham, the son of Uzziah, king of Judah, that Rezin the king of Syria, and Pekah the son of Remaliah, king of Israel, went up to Jerusalem to war against it; but could 2] not prevail against it. And it was told the house of David, saying, Syria [5] is confederate with Ephraim. And his heart was moved, and the heart of his people, as the trees of the forest are moved with the wind.

3] Then said the LORD unto Isaiah, Go forth now to meet Ahaz, thou, and [6] Shear-jashub thy son, at the end of the conduit of the upper pool, in the high 4] way of the fuller's field; and say unto him, Take heed, and be quiet; fear not, neither let thine heart be faint, because of these two tails of smoking firebrands, for the fierce anger of Rezin and Syria, 5] and of the son of Remaliah. Because Syria hath counselled evil against thee, Ephraim *also*, and the son of Remaliah, saying, Let us go up against Judah, and vex it, and let us make a breach therein

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[2] See G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., p. 426.

[3] Heb. *Eloth*.

[4] According to another reading, *Edomites*.

[5] Heb. *resteth on Ephraim*.

[6] That is, *A remnant shall return*.

for us, and set up a king in the midst of
7] it, even the son of Tabeel: thus saith
the Lord God, It shall not stand, neither
8] shall it come to pass. For the head of
Syria is Damascus, and the head of
Damascus is Rezin: and within three-
score and five years shall Ephraim be
broken in pieces, that it be not a people:
9] and the head of Ephraim is Samaria,
and the head of Samaria is Remaliah's
son. If ye will not believe, surely ye shall
not be established.

10] And the Lord spake again unto
11] Ahaz, saying, Ask thee a sign of the
Lord thy God; [7] ask it either in the
12] depth or in the height above. But
Ahaz said, I will not ask, neither will I
13] tempt the Lord. And he said, Hear
ye now, O house of David; is it a small
thing for you to weary men, that ye will
14] weary my God also? Therefore the
Lord himself shall give you a sign; be-
hold, [8] a [9] virgin [10] shall conceive, and
bear a son, and shall call his name [11] Im-
15] manuel. [12] Butter and honey shall he
eat, [13] when he knoweth to refuse the
16] evil, and choose the good. For be-
fore the child shall know to refuse the
evil, and choose the good, the land whose
two kings thou abhorrest shall be for-
17] saken. The Lord shall bring upon
thee, and upon thy people, and upon thy
father's house, days that have not come,
from the day that Ephraim departed
from Judah; *even* the king of Assyria.

This passage is important in many ways. It gives a graphic picture of the popular consternation in Jerusalem as it was threatened with attack by these two more powerful kings. Ahaz, their own king, was but a boy twenty or twenty-one years old. Isaiah, who but two years before had heard his prophetic call, apparently made his first public appearance at this time. To encourage the king and assuage the fears of the people, he felt called to meet the king and urge him to ask a sign of Yahweh that Jerusalem would be delivered; this Ahaz refused to do. Then said Isaiah, "Yahweh himself will give you a sign: behold a young woman [the Hebrew does not use the word for "virgin"] shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel. . . . For before the child shall know to refuse evil and choose good, the land whose two kings thou abhorrest shall be forsaken." Isaiah was probably statesman enough to understand that Tiglath-pileser of Assyria, who had twice been on the Mediterranean coast within four years, would soon come again, and would give the kings of Damascus and Israel enough to do to defend themselves. What he said was in substance this: "A young mother who is bearing a child shall have such confidence in the popular faith that Yahweh will not forsake his people [see *Amos* 5: 14, quoted in the last chapter], that she will name her child Immanuel ["God is with us"]. That young mother's faith," said the prophet, "God will honor, for before this child is old enough to distinguish between right and wrong, the lands of both thy enemies will be forsaken." Isaiah's words were fulfilled. In 733 B.C. Tiglath-pileser made another expedition into Syria, captured Damascus, which Shalmeneser III, in the preceding century, had been unable to do, invaded Galilee and captured many of its cities as

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[7] According to some ancient authorities, *make it deep unto Sheol.*

[8] Or, *the*

[9] Or, *maiden.*

[10] Or, *is with child, and beareth.*

[11] That is, *God is with us.*

[12] Or, *Curds.*

[13] Or, *that he may know.*

2 Kings 15:29, already quoted, records, and created such discontent among the Israelites that they made a conspiracy and put Pekah to death.[14] This was the occasion, the purpose, and the fulfillment of this famous prophecy, although by a later devout writer it was applied differently.

ISAIAH'S FIRST MESSIANIC PROPHECY

In connection with this invasion of Tiglath-pileser, while the Assyrian was ravaging the towns of northern Galilee and the prophet was reflecting on the impotence of the Hebrew kings, Isaiah uttered his first Messianic prophecy. It must be remembered that "Messiah" means "Anointed" and was a term applied to Hebrew kings such as Saul and David. This prophecy of Isaiah in the Revised Version runs thus:

> **Isa. 9.** [15] But there shall be no gloom
> to her that was in anguish. In the former
> time he brought into contempt the land
> of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali, but
> in the latter time he made it glorious,
> by the way of the sea, beyond Jordan,
> 2] [16] Galilee of the nations. [17] The people
> that walked in darkness have seen
> a great light: they that dwelt in the land
> of the [18] shadow of death, upon them
> 3] hath the light shined. Thou hast multiplied
> the nation, [19] thou hast increased
> their joy: they joy before thee according
> to the joy in harvest, as men rejoice
> 4] when they divide the spoil. For the
> yoke of his burden, and the staff of his
> shoulder, the rod of his oppressor, thou
> hast broken as in the day of Midian.
> 5] For [20] all the armour of the armed
> man in the tumult, and the garments
> rolled in blood, shall even be for burning,
> 6] for fuel of fire. For unto us a
> child is born, unto us a son is given; and
> the government shall be upon his shoulder:
> and his name shall be called
> [21] Wonderful, Counsellor, Mighty God,
> [22] Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace.

The significance of this prophecy lies in the names given by the prophet to the expected king. They should, in the writer's opinion, be translated: "Wonder-counselor, God of a warrior, Father of booty, and Prince of Peace." They were all names suggested by the activities of Tiglath-pileser, who was one of Assyria's ablest generals and, in some respects, Assyria's first statesman. The prophet was impressed by this combination of military thoroughness and statesmanlike ability. Before his battles Tiglath-pileser carefully planned them; then he fought them as no other Asiatic king of the time could fight; the result was abundant booty; then Tiglath-pileser took measures such as no previous Assyrian king had taken to secure the future peace of the territory he had conquered. Isaiah felt sure that a Hebrew king would sometime be born who would surpass Tiglath-pileser on every count; he would outplan him, outfight him, surpass him in the quantity of booty taken, and so organize the government of his conquests as to be a very Prince of peace. Later, as we shall see, the prophet had a better vision, but this was the vision of his youth.

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[14] See G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., p. 426.

[15] Or, *For*.

[16] Or, *the district*.

[17] Ch. 9: 1 in Heb.

[18] Or, *deep darkness*.

[19] Another reading is, *thou didst not increase the joy*.

[20] Or, *every boot of the booted warrior*.

[21] Or, *Wonderful counsellor*.

[22] Heb. *Father of Eternity*, or *Father of booty*.

AHAZ SUBMITS TO TIGLATH-PILESER AT DAMASCUS, *2 Kings* 16:7–18

2 Kings 16. 7] [23] So Ahaz sent messengers
to Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria,
saying, I am thy servant and thy
son; come up, and save me out of the
hand of the king of Syria, and out of
the hand of the king of Israel, which rise
8] up against me. And Ahaz took the silver
and gold that was found in the
house of the LORD, and in the treasures
of the king's house, and sent it for a
9] present to the king of Assyria. And
the king of Assyria hearkened unto him:
and the king of Assyria went up against
Damascus, and took it, and carried *the
people of* it captive to Kir, and slew
10] Rezin. And king Ahaz went to Damascus
to meet Tiglath-pileser king of
Assyria, and saw the altar that was at
Damascus: and king Ahaz sent to Urijah
the priest the fashion of the altar, and
the pattern of it, according to all the
11] workmanship thereof. And Urijah
the priest built an altar: according to all
that king Ahaz had sent from Damascus,
so did Urijah the priest make it against
king Ahaz came from Damascus.
12] And when the king was come from
Damascus, the king saw the altar: and
the king drew near unto the altar, and
13] [24] offered thereon. And he burnt his
burnt offering and his meal offering,
and poured his drink offering, and sprinkled
the blood of [25] his peace offerings,
14] upon the altar. And the brasen altar,
which was before the LORD, he brought
from the forefront of the house, from
between his altar and the house of the
LORD, and put it on the north side of his
15] altar. And king Ahaz commanded
Urijah the priest, saying, Upon the great
altar burn the morning burnt offering,
and the evening meal offering, and the
king's burnt offering, and his meal offering,
with the burnt offering of all
the people of the land, and their meal
offering, and their drink offerings; and
sprinkle upon it all the blood of the
burnt offering, and all the blood of the
sacrifice: but the brasen altar shall be
16] for me to inquire by. Thus did Urijah
the priest, according to all that king
17] Ahaz commanded. And king Ahaz
cut off the [26] borders of the bases, and
removed the laver from off them; and
took down the sea from off the brasen
oxen that were under it, and put it upon
18] a pavement of stone. And the [27] covered
way for the sabbath that they had
built in the house, and the king's entry
without, turned he [28] unto the house of
the LORD, because of the king of Assyria.

Thus Judah, as well as Israel, became a vassal of Assyria. From another point of view the passage is interesting. Solomon had placed a great brazen altar on the sacred rock before his temple as the altar of burnt offerings. While at Damascus Ahaz saw an altar (apparently of stone) which greatly pleased him. He sent a pattern of it to Urijah, the high priest of his time, and directed him to make one like it for the temple at Jerusalem. This Urijah did. How impossible it would have been thus to copy an altar of the heathen god Hadad for the temple of Yahweh had

[23] See *2 Chr.* 28: 16, &c.
[24] Or, *went up unto it.*
[25] Heb. *the peace offerings which were his.*
[26] Or, *panels.*
[27] Or, *covered place.*
[28] Or, *round.*

the priestly portions of *Exodus* been known, can easily be imagined. The brazen altar, removed to one side, the king reserved for his own use.

THE ACCESSION OF HOSHEA OF ISRAEL, *2 Kings* 17: 1, 2

2 Kings 17. In the twelfth year of
Ahaz king of Judah began Hoshea the
son of Elah to reign in Samaria over
2] Israel, *and reigned* nine years. And
he did that which was evil in the sight of
the Lord, yet not as the kings of Israel
that were before him.

THE DEATH OF AHAZ AND ACCESSION OF HEZEKIAH, *2 Kings* 16: 19, 20; 18: 1–3

2 Kings 16. 19] Now the rest of the
acts of Ahaz which he did, are they not
written in the book of the chronicles of
20] the kings of Judah? And Ahaz slept
with his fathers, and was buried with
his fathers in the city of David: and
Hezekiah his son reigned in his stead.

18. Now it came to pass in the third
year of Hoshea son of Elah king of Israel, that Hezekiah the son of Ahaz king
2] of Judah began to reign. [29] Twenty
and five years old was he when he began
to reign; and he reigned twenty and nine
years in Jerusalem: and his mother's
name was Abi the daughter of Zecha-
3] riah. And he did that which was right
in the eyes of the Lord, according to all
that David his father had done.

THE REIGN OF HOSHEA AND THE END OF THE KINGDOM OF ISRAEL, *2 Kings* 17: 3–6

2 Kings 17. 3] Against him [Hoshea]
came up Shalmaneser king of Assyria;
and Hoshea became his servant, and
4] brought him presents. And the king
of Assyria found conspiracy in Hoshea;
for he had sent messengers to So king
of Egypt, and offered no present to the
king of Assyria, as he had done year by
year: therefore the king of Assyria shut
5] him up, and bound him in prison. Then
the king of Assyria came up throughout
all the land, and went up to Samaria,
6] and besieged it three years. In the
ninth year of Hoshea, the king of Assyria took Samaria, and carried Israel
away unto Assyria, and placed them in
Halah, and in Habor, *on* the river of
Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes.

Hoshea ruled over a greatly diminished kingdom. Tiglath-pileser had overrun Galilee, as already related (*2 Kings* 15: 29), had transported the wealthier population, and settled strangers in their places. Hoshea was permitted to rule on condition that he pay tribute to Assyria. All went well, apparently, as long as Tiglath-pileser lived, but in 727 he died and was succeeded by Shalmeneser V, whose relation to Tiglath-pileser is uncertain. Hoshea then rebelled, and as soon as the Assyrian king could manage it, he sent an army to punish Hoshea. After overrunning the Israelite's territory, he laid siege to the city of Samaria. The siege dragged on for three years (725–722)—three years of agony. Before it was ended Shalmeneser had been displaced on the throne by an Assyrian general who, on becoming king, took the name of Sargon. Samaria did not fall until after Sargon's accession, and he counts it in his chronicles as the first military victory of his reign.[28]

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[29] See *2 Chr.* 29: 1, 2.

THE PROPHET ISAIAH AGAIN

During all these years Isaiah was growing in influence as a religious leader in Jerusalem. Like Amos he was a monotheist and assumed that Yahweh ruled all nations. Like Amos, too, he denounced those who grew rich at the expense of the poor. He exclaimed, "Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field till there is no room!" (*Isa.* 5:8). His attitude toward moral and religious questions was the same as that of Amos. He laid as much stress on morality as the earlier prophet had done, and denounced with as much emphasis a religion of ritual practised by immoral people. The first chapter of his book consists of a series of brief utterances made at different times during his career, but they fit well together and contain the gist of his teaching. The following will suffice as an illustration.

Isa. 1. 2] Hear, O heavens, and give
ear, O earth, for the Lord hath spoken:
I have [31] nourished and brought up chil-
dren and they have rebelled against me.
3] The ox knoweth his owner, and the
ass his master's crib: *but* Israel doth not
know, my people doth not consider.
4] Ah sinful nation, a people laden with
iniquity, a seed of evil-doers, children
that deal corruptly: they have forsaken
the Lord, they have despised the Holy
One of Israel, they are estranged *and*
5] *gone* backward. [32] Why will ye be
still stricken, that ye revolt more and
more? [33] the whole head is sick, and
6] [33] the whole heart faint. From the
sole of the foot even unto the head there
is no soundness in it; *but* wounds, and
bruises, and [34] festering sores: they have
not been closed, neither bound up, neither
7] mollified with oil. Your country is
desolate; your cities are burned with
fire; your land, strangers devour it in
your presence, and it is desolate, [35] as
8] overthrown by strangers. And the
daughter of Zion is left as a booth in a
vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cu-
9] cumbers, as a beseiged city. Except
the Lord of hosts had left unto us a very
small remnant, we should have been as
Sodom, we should have been like unto
Gomorrah.

10] Hear the word of the Lord, ye
[36] rulers of Sodom; give ear unto the
[37] law of our God, ye people of Gomor-
11] rah. To what purpose is the multi-
tude of your sacrifices unto me? saith
the Lord: I am full of the burnt offer-
ings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts;
and I delight not in the blood of bul-
locks, or of lambs, or of he-goats.
12] When ye come [38] to appear before
me, who hath required this at your hand,
13] to trample my courts? Bring no more
[39] vain oblations; incense is an abom-
ination unto me; new moon and sab-
bath, the calling of assemblies,—[40] I can-
not away with iniquity and the solemn
14] meeting. Your new moons and your
appointed feasts my soul hateth: they
are a [41] trouble unto me; I am weary
15] to bear them. And when ye spread

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[30] See G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., p. 427 f.

[31] Or, *made great and exalted.* See *Ezek.* 31:4.

[32] Or, *Why should ye be stricken any more? ye will revolt &c.*

[33] Or, *every.*

[34] Or, *fresh stripes.*

[35] Or, *as the overthrow of strangers.*

[36] Or, *judges.*

[37] Or, *teaching.*

[38] Or, as otherwise read, *to see my face.*

[39] Heb. *an oblation of vanity.*

[40] Or, *I cannot away with; it is iniquity even the solemn meeting.*

[41] Or, *cumbrance.*

forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes
from you: yea, when ye make many
prayers, I will not hear: your hands are
16] full of blood. Wash you, make you
clean; put away the evil of your doings
17] from before mine eyes; cease to do
evil: learn to do well; seek judgement,
[42] relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow.

18] Come now, and let us reason together, saith the LORD: though your sins
be as scarlet, they shall be as white as
snow; though they be red like crimson,
19] they shall be as wool. If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of
20] the land: but if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the sword:
for the mouth of the LORD hath spoken it.

During the troublous reign of Hoshea Isaiah uttered the following prophecy against the kingdom of Israel.

Isa. 28. Woe to the crown of pride of
the drunkards of Ephraim, and to the
fading flower of his glorious beauty
which is on the head of the fat valley
of them that are [43] overcome with wine!
Behold, the LORD hath a mighty and
strong one; as a tempest of hail, a destroying storm, as a tempest of mighty
waters overflowing, shall he cast down
3] to the earth [44] with the hand. The
crown of pride of the drunkards of
Ephraim shall be trodden under foot:
4] and the fading flower of his glorious
beauty, which is on the head of the fat
valley, shall be as the firstripe fig before the summer; which when he that
looketh upon it seeth, while it is yet in
5] his hand he eateth it up. In that day
shall the LORD of hosts be for a crown of
glory, and for a diadem of beauty, unto
6] the residue of his people: and for a
spirit of judgement to him that sitteth in
judgement, and for strength to them that
7] turn back the battle [45] at the gate. But
these also [46] have erred through wine,
and through strong drink [47] are gone
astray; the priest and the prophet [46] have
erred through strong drink, they are
swallowed up of wine, they are gone
astray through strong drink; they [46] err
in vision, they stumble in judgement.
8] For all tables are full of vomit *and*
filthiness, *so that there is* no place *clean*.
[48] Whom will he teach knowledge? and
whom will he make to understand the
[49] message? them that are weaned from
the milk, and drawn from the breasts?
10] For it is precept upon precept, precept upon precept; [50] line upon line, line
upon line; here a little, there a little.

THE PROPHET MICAH

During the disturbed years before the fall of Samaria still another prophet appeared in the person of Micah. He lived at Moresheth, later called Marissa by Greeks who settled there. It was in the Shephelah near the modern Beit Jibrin. Moresheth was in an exposed position. Any hostile army which invaded Palestine could much more easily capture the lowland cities on the border of the Philistine plain than cities like Jerusalem in the higher and more broken country. Micah speaks with the passion of a citizen of one of these exposed towns. The first three chapters of the book of *Micah* date from the period before the fall of Samaria. This prophet shares both the monotheism and the social passion of Amos and Isaiah. The following is a sample of his preaching.

[42] Or, *set right the oppressor.*

[43] Heb. *smitten down.*

[44] Or, *with violence.*

[45] Or, *to.*

[46] Or, *reel.*

[47] Or, *stagger.*

[48] Or, *Whom shall he teach . . . and whom shall he make . . . breasts. For &c.*

[49] Or, *report.*

[50] Or, *rule.*

Micah 1. 2] Hear, ye peoples, all of
you; hearken, O earth, and [51] all that
therein is: and let the Lord God be witness
[52] against you, the Lord from his
3] holy temple. For, behold, the Lord
cometh forth out of his place, and will
come down, and tread upon the high
4] places of the earth. And the mountains
shall be molten under him, and the
valleys shall be cleft, as wax before the
fire, as waters that are poured down a
5] steep place. For the transgression of
Jacob is all this, and for the sins of the
house of Israel. What is the transgression
of Jacob? is it not Samaria? and
what are the high places of Judah? are
6] they not Jerusalem? Therefore I will
make Samaria as an heap of the field,
and as the plantings of a vineyard: and
I will pour down the stones thereof into
the valley, and I will discover the foundations
7] thereof. And all her graven
images shall be beaten to pieces, and all
her hires shall be burned with fire, and
all her idols will I lay desolate: for of
the hire of an harlot hath she gathered
them, and unto the hire of an harlot shall
8] they return. For this will I wail and
howl, I will go stripped and naked: I
will make a wailing like the jackals, and
9] a mourning like the ostriches. For her
wounds are incurable: for it is come even
unto Judah; it reacheth unto the gate of
10] my people, even to Jerusalem. Tell
it not in Gath, weep not at all: at [53] Beth-le-Aphrah
[54] have I rolled myself in the
11] dust. Pass ye away, O [55] inhabitant
of Shaphir, in nakedness and shame: the
[55] inhabitant of Zaanan is not come
forth; the wailing of Beth-ezel shall take
12] from you the [56] stay thereof. For
the [55] inhabitant of Maroth [57] waiteth
anxiously for good: because evil is come
down from the Lord unto the gate of
13] Jerusalem. Bind the chariot to the
swift steed, O [55] inhabitant of Lachish:
she was the beginning of sin to the
daughter of Zion; for the transgressions
14] of Israel were found in thee. Therefore
shalt thou give a parting gift to
Moresheth-gath: the houses of Achzib
shall be [58] a deceitful thing unto the
15] kings of Israel. I will yet bring unto
thee, O [55] inhabitant of Mareshah, him
that shall possess thee: the glory of Israel
shall come even unto Adullam.
16] Make thee bald, and poll thee for the
children of thy delight: enlarge thy
baldness as the [59] eagle; for they are
gone into captivity from thee.

Palestine is a small country. Samaria, where for three years the Assyrian army was carrying on its siege, is only about fifty miles from Jerusalem, and perhaps sixty from Moresheth. The utterances of Isaiah and Micah help us to see what searchings of heart the death-struggle of the sister kingdom of Israel created in Judah.

WHAT BECAME OF THE TEN "LOST TRIBES"?

In *2 Kings* 17:6, already quoted, it is stated that the king of Assyria "carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah, and on the Habor, the river Gozan and in the cities of the Medes." It was long assumed that he carried all the population away, and devout people have speculated as to what became of the "ten lost tribes." Some have thought that the American Indians are their descendants, others that they became the Anglo-Saxon race. Needless to say that neither of these theories could be held by a student of ethnology. The Assyrian king, Sargon, throws some light on the problem. In the inscription already referred to he says he only carried away 27,290 of the population. The rest remained in their land and were absorbed in the later population, as will be shown in the next section. So the ten tribes were never lost.

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[51] Heb. *the fulness thereof.*
[52] Or, *among.*
[53] That is, *A house of dust.*
[54] Another reading is, *roll thyself.*
[55] Heb. *inhabitress.*
[56] Or, *standing place.*
[57] Or, *is in travail.*
[58] Heb. *achzab.*
[59] Or, *vulture.*

SOME NEW-COMERS IN SAMARIA, *2 Kings* 17:24–33

2 Kings 17. 24] And the king of Assyria brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Avva, and from Hamath and Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel; and they possessed Samaria, and dwelt in the cities 25] thereof. And so it was, at the beginning of their dwelling there, that they feared not the LORD: therefore the LORD sent lions among them, which killed some 26] of them. Wherefore they spake to the king of Assyria, saying, The nations which thou hast carried away, and placed in the cities of Samaria, know not the manner of the God of the land: therefore he hath sent lions among them, and, behold, they slay them, because they know not the manner of the God of the 27] land. Then the king of Assyria commanded, saying, Carry thither one of the priests whom ye brought from thence; and let them go and dwell there, and let him teach them the manner of the God 28] of the land. So one of the priests whom they had carried away from Samaria came and dwelt in Beth-el, and taught them how they should fear the 29] LORD. Howbeit every nation made gods of their own, and put them in the houses of the high places which the Samaritans had made, every nation in 30] their cities wherein they dwelt. And the men of Babylon made Succoth-benoth, and the men of Cuth made Nergal, and the men of Hamath made Ashima, 31] and the Avvites made Nibhaz and Tartak, and the Sepharvites burnt their children in the fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech, the [60] gods of Sepharvaim. 32] So they feared the LORD, and made unto them from among themselves priests of the high places, which sacrificed for them in the houses of the high places. 33] They feared the LORD, and served their own gods, after the manner of the nations from among whom they had been carried away.

This passage reveals how Sargon brought into Samaria as large a population as he took out. At first the foreigners worshiped their own gods. When attacked by lions, they thought Yahweh, the God of Palestine, was angry with them for not worshiping him. They accordingly asked to be taught his cult—a request which was granted. In course of time they intermarried with the native Hebrews whom Sargon had left behind, and by a process which will appear as we proceed, their descendants became the religious sect of the Samaritans.

THE PROSPERITY OF HEZEKIAH OF JUDAH, *2 Kings* 18:7, 8

2 Kings 18. 7] And the LORD was with him; whithersoever he went forth he prospered: and he rebelled against the king of Assyria, and served him not. 8] He smote the Philistines unto Gaza and the borders thereof, from the tower of the watchmen to the fenced city.

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[60] Or, *god*.

THE KING OF ASHDOD REBELS FROM ASSYRIA

In the year 711 the king of Ashdod refused to pay his tribute to Assyria, and the Assyrian king, Sargon, tells us how he sent an army to chastise him.[61] The only mention of this in the Bible is in *Isaiah* 20, which reads as follows:

Isa. 20. In the year that [62] Tartan
came unto Ashdod, when Sargon the
king of Assyria sent him, and he fought
2] against Ashdod and took it; at that
time the LORD spake by Isaiah the son of
Amoz, saying, Go, and loose the sackcloth
from off thy loins, and put thy
shoe from off thy foot. And he did so,
3] walking naked and barefoot. And the
LORD said, like as my servant Isaiah hath
walked naked and barefoot [63] three years
for a sign and a wonder upon Egypt and
4] upon [64] Ethiopia; so shall the king of
Assyria lead away the captives of Egypt,
and the exiles of Ethiopia, young and
old, naked and barefoot, and with buttocks
uncovered, to the shame of Egypt.
5] And they shall be dismayed and
ashamed, because of Ethiopia their expectation,
and of Egypt their glory.
6] And the inhabitant of this coastland
shall say in that day, Behold, such is our
expectation, whither we fled for help to
be delivered from the king of Assyria:
and we, how shall we escape?

This passage illustrates the symbolical way in which Isaiah and a number of Hebrew prophets taught. In Hebrew phrase, "naked" does not mean "nude"; it means wearing only the light undergarment, or tunic. Isaiah discarded the outer garment, which was thick and coat-like and warm. Very poor people could afford the tunic only. Isaiah went for three years clad as a very poor man to symbolize the poverty which he believed was coming upon Egypt. In 712 B.C. a new dynasty, the twenty-fifth, from Nubia (Ethiopia) had established itself upon the Egyptian throne. Perhaps it was Shabaka, the new king of Egypt, who induced Azuri, the king of Ashdod, to rebel, and clearly Isaiah thought Sargon would take Egypt. Assyria did ultimately take Egypt, but not until more than forty years after this.

HEZEKIAH'S SICKNESS, *2 Kings* 20: 1–11

2 Kings 20. [65] In those days was Hezekiah
sick unto death. And Isaiah the
prophet the son of Amoz came to him,
and said unto him, Thus saith the LORD,
Set thine house in order; for thou shalt
2] die, and not live. Then he turned
his face to the wall, and prayed unto
3] the LORD, saying, Remember now, O
LORD, I beseech thee, how I have walked
before thee in truth and with a perfect
heart, and have done that which is good
in thy sight. And Hezekiah wept sore.
4] And it came to pass, afore Isaiah was
gone [66] out into [67] the middle part of the
city, that the word of the LORD came to
5] him, saying, Turn again, and say to
Hezekiah the [68] prince of my people,
Thus saith the LORD, the God of David
thy father, I have heard thy prayer, I
have seen thy tears: behold, I will heal
thee: on the third day thou shalt go up
6] unto the house of the LORD. And I will

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[61] See G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible,* 5th ed., p. 429.

[62] The title of the Assyrian commander-in-chief.

[63] Or, *to be for three years a sign &c.*

[64] Heb. *Cush.*

[65] See *2 Chr.* 32: 24.

[66] Or, *out of.*

[67] According to another reading, *the middle court.*

[68] Or, *leader.*

add unto thy days fifteen years; and I
will deliver thee and this city out of the
hand of the king of Assyria; and I will
defend this city for mine own sake, and
7] for my servant David's sake. And
Isaiah said, Take a cake of figs. And
they took and laid it on the boil, and he
8] recovered. And Hezekiah said unto
Isaiah, What shall be the sign that the
Lord will heal me, and that I shall go
up unto the house of the Lord the third
9] day? And Isaiah said, This shall be
the sign unto thee from the Lord, that
the Lord will do the thing that he hath
spoken: [69] shall the shadow go forward
ten [70] steps, or go back ten steps?
10] And Hezekiah answered, It is a light
thing for the shadow to decline ten
steps: nay, but let the shadow return
11] backward ten steps. And Isaiah the
prophet cried unto the Lord: and he
brought the shadow ten steps backward,
by which it had gone down on the [71] dial
of Ahaz.

In the time of Hezekiah and for a long time afterward prophets were believed to know much better than doctors whether a sickness would be fatal. Indeed, at that period there was very little real knowledge of medicine in any part of the world. Egypt and Babylonia both had some knowledge, but in practice it was largely intermingled with magic.

THE EMBASSY OF MERODACH-BALADAN, *2 Kings* 20: 12–19

12] [72] At that time [73] Berodach-baladan,
the son of Baladan, king of Babylon,
sent letters and a present unto Hezekiah:
for he had heard that Hezekiah
13] had been sick. And Hezekiah hearkened
unto them, and shewed them all
the house of his [74] precious things, the
silver, and the gold, and the spices, and
the precious oil, and [75] the house of his
[76] armour, and all that was found in his
treasures: there was nothing in his house,
nor in all his dominion, that Hezekiah
14] shewed them not. Then came Isaiah
the prophet unto king Hezekiah, and
said unto him, What said these men?
and from whence came they unto thee?
And Hezekiah said, They are come from
a far country, even from Babylon.
15] And he said, What have they seen in
thine house? And Hezekiah answered,
All that is in mine house have they seen:
there is nothing among my treasures that
16] I have not shewed them. And Isaiah
said unto Hezekiah, Hear the word of
17] the Lord. Behold, the days come,
that all that is in thine house, and that
which thy fathers have laid up in store
unto this day, shall be carried to Babylon:
nothing shall be left, saith the Lord.
18] And of thy sons that shall issue from
thee, which thou shalt beget, shall they
take away; and they shall be eunuchs
in the palace of the king of Babylon.
19] Then said Hezekiah unto Isaiah,
Good is the word of the Lord which thou
hast spoken. He said moreover, Is it
not so, if peace and truth shall be in my
days?

Thanks to the decipherment of the Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions during the last seventy-five years, we can now understand this story of Merodach-baladan, whose real name was Marduk-apal-iddin. He was a Chaldean who about 722 B.C. gained possession of the throne of Babylon for a time, but was driven from it by King Sargon of Assyria. He then took refuge in the swamps at the head of the Persian Gulf and bided his time. When Sargon died in 705 B.C. and was succeeded by Sennacherib, Merodach-baladan emerged from his swamps and seized the throne of Babylon again. While Sennacherib was consolidating his power in Assyria, Merodach-baladan had a year or two in which to consolidate his power. He wrote letters to different kings, to induce them to join him in resisting Sennacherib. One which he wrote to the king of Elam contained the words (so Sennacherib says): "Assemble thy army! Muster thy forces! Hasten to Babylon! Strengthen our hands! Thou art indeed our reliance." Although Merodach-baladan's embassy to Hezekiah came ostensibly to congratulate him on the recovery of his health, undoubtedly they brought to him letters of similar import, and the fact that Hezekiah showed them all his treasures and resources, indicates that he acceded to Merodach-baladan's proposition and was ready to join the effort to break the power of Assyria. For this Isaiah reproved him. Isaiah correctly estimated the relative power of Sennacherib and Merodach-baladan. Alliance with the latter was rebellion against the former, and such rebellion sowed the seeds of disaster. To Isaiah the prosperity of the nation was the will of Yahweh, hence he believed it Yahweh's will that Judah remain faithful to Assyria. These events date Hezekiah's sickness about 705–704 B.C.

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[69] Or, *the shadow is gone forward ten steps, shall it go back &c.*

[70] Or, *degrees.*

[71] Heb. *steps.*

[72] See *2 Chr.* 32: 31.

[73] In *Isa.* 39: 1, *Merodachbaladan.*

[74] Or, *spicery.*

[75] Another reading is, *all the house.*

[76] Or, *jewels.*

JUDAH INVADED BY SENNACHERIB

Merodach-baladan in Babylon had not rebelled alone against Assyria at the beginning of Sennacherib's reign. The kings of all the cities of Phenicia and Philistia as well as Hezekiah and the kings of Ammon, Moab, and Edom had done the same. It was not until the end of 702 B.C. that Sennacherib had pacified his Mesopotamian dominions and had overthrown the power of Merodach-baladan. It was, then, 701 when he came into the west with a powerful army and marched down the Mediterranean coast. The western allies intrenched themselves at Elteke in the valley of Aijalon, where Sennacherib defeated them.[77] He took possession of all the cities in the Philistine plain and in the Shephelah, and set up his throne temporarily at Lachish to receive the homage and tribute of the peoples whom he had conquered.[78] He was then ready to send his army against Jerusalem. The vividly told story in the Bible is as follows:

2 Kings 18. 13] [79] Now in the fourteenth [twenty-fourth?] year of king Hezekiah did [80] Sennacherib king of Assyria come up against all the fenced
14] cities of Judah, and took them. And Hezekiah king of Judah sent to the king of Assyria to Lachish, saying, I have offended; return from me: that which thou puttest on me will I bear. And the king of Assyria appointed unto Hezekiah king of Judah three hundred talents of silver and thirty talents of gold.

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[77] See G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., p. 432 f.

[78] *Ibid.*, Fig. 298.

[79] See *Isa.* 36: 1—39: 8, *2 Chr.* 32: 1 &c.

[80] Heb. *Sanherib.*

15] And Hezekiah gave *him* all the silver
that was found in the house of the
Lord, and in the treasures of the king's
16] house. At that time did Hezekiah cut
off *the gold from* the doors of the temple
of the Lord, and from the [81] pillars
which Hezekiah king of Judah had overlaid,
and gave it to the king of Assyria.
17] And the king of Assyria sent [82] Tartan
and [82] Rabsaris and [82] Rabshakeh
from Lachish to king Hezekiah with a
great army unto Jerusalem. And they
went up and came to Jerusalem. And
when they were come up, they came and
stood by the conduit of the upper pool,
which is in the high way of the fuller's
18] field. And when they had called to
the king, there came out to them Eliakim
the son of Hilkiah, which was over
the household, and Shebnah the [83] scribe,
and Joah the son of Asaph the [84] recorder.
19] And Rabshakeh said unto
them. Say ye now to Hezekiah, Thus
saith the great king, the king of Assyria,
What confidence is this wherein thou
20] trustest? Thou sayest, but they are
but [85] vain words, *There is* counsel and
strength for the war. Now on whom dost
thou trust, that thou hast rebelled against
21] me? Now, behold, thou trustest upon
the staff of this bruised reed, even upon
Egypt; whereon if a man lean, it will
go into his hand, and pierce it: so is
Pharaoh king of Egypt unto all that
22] trust on him. But if ye say unto me,
We trust in the Lord our God: is not
that he, whose high places and whose
altars Hezekiah hath taken away, and
hath said to Judah and to Jerusalem,
Ye shall worship before this altar in
23] Jerusalem? Now therefore, I pray
thee, [86] give pledges to my master the
king of Assyria, and I will give thee
two thousand horses, if thou be able on
thy part to set riders upon them.
24] How then canst thou turn away
the face of one captain of the least of
my master's servants, and put thy trust
on Egypt for chariots and for horsemen?
25] Am I now come up without
the Lord against this place to destroy
it? The Lord said unto me, Go up against
26] this land, and destroy it. Then said
Eliakim the son of Hilkiah, and Shebnah,
and Joah, unto Rabshakeh, Speak, I
pray thee, to thy servants in the [87] Syrian
language; for we understand it: and
speak not with us in the Jews' language,
in the ears of the people that are on the
27] wall. But Rabshakeh said unto them,
Hath my master sent me to thy master,
and to thee, to speak these words? *hath
he* not *sent me* to the men which sit on
the wall, to eat their own dung, and to
drink their own water with you?
28] Then Rabshakeh stood, and cried
with a loud voice in the Jews' language,
and spake, saying, Hear ye the word of
the great king, the king of Assyria.
29] Thus saith the king, Let not Hezekiah
deceive you; for he shall not be
able to deliver you out of his hand:
30] neither let Hezekiah make you trust
in the Lord, saying, The Lord will surely
deliver us, and this city shall not be given
into the hand of the king of Assyria.
31] Hearken not to Hezekiah: for thus
saith the king of Assyria, [88] Make your
peace with me, and come out to me; and
eat ye every one of his vine, and every
one of his fig tree, and drink ye every
one the waters of his own cistern;
32] until I come and take you away to
a land like your own land, a land of
corn and wine, a land of bread and
vineyards, a land of oil olive and of
honey, that ye may live, and not die:
and hearken not unto Hezekiah, when he
33] persuadeth you, saying, The Lord
will deliver us. Hath any of the gods of
the nations ever delivered his land out
of the hand of the king of Assyria?
34] Where are the gods of Hamath, and
of Arpad? where are the gods of Sepharvaim,
of Hena, and Ivvah? have they
delivered Samaria out of my hand?
35] Who are they among all the gods of
the countries, that have delivered their
country out of my hand, that the Lord
should deliver Jerusalem out of my

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[81] Or, *door posts.*
[82] The titles of Assyrian officers.
[83] Or, *secretary.*
[84] Or, *chronicler.*
[85] Heb. *a word of the lips.*
[86] Or, *make a wager with.*
[87] Heb. *Aramean.*
[88] Heb. *Make with me a blessing.*

36] hand? But the people held their
peace, and answered him not a word:
for the king's commandment was, saying,
37] Answer him not. Then came
Eliakim the son of Hilkiah, which was
over the household, and Shebnah the
scribe, and Joah the son of Asaph the
recorder, to Hezekiah with their clothes
rent, and told him the words of Rabshakeh.

19. And it came to pass, when king
Hezekiah heard it, that he rent his
clothes, and covered himself with sackcloth,
and went into the house of the
2] Lord. And he sent Eliakim, which
was over the household, and Shebnah the
scribe, and the elders of the priests, covered
with sackcloth, unto Isaiah the
3] prophet the son of Amoz. And they
said unto him, Thus saith Hezekiah,
This day is a day of trouble, and of rebuke,
and of contumely: for the children
are come to the birth, and there is
4] not strength to bring forth. It may be
the Lord thy God will hear all the words
of Rabshakeh, [89] whom the king of Assyria
his master hath sent to reproach the
living God, and will rebuke the words
which the Lord thy God hath heard:
wherefore lift up thy prayer for the
5] remnant that is left. So the servants
6] of king Hezekiah came to Isaiah. And
Isaiah said unto them, Thus shall ye
say to your master, Thus saith the Lord,
Be not afraid of the words that thou
hast heard, wherewith the servants of
the king of Assyria have blasphemed
7] me. Behold, I will put a spirit in him,
and he shall hear a rumour, and shall
return to his own land; and I will cause
him to fall by the sword in his own land.

8] So Rabshakeh returned, and found
the king of Assyria warring against Libnah:
for he had heard that he was departed
9] from Lachish. And when he
heard say of Tirhakah king of Ethiopia,
Behold, he is come out to fight against
thee: he sent messengers again unto
10] Hezekiah, saying, Thus shall ye
speak to Hezekiah king of Judah, saying,
Let not thy God in whom thou trustest
deceive thee, saying, Jerusalem shall
not be given into the hand of the king
11] of Assyria. Behold, thou hast heard
what the kings of Assyria have done to
all lands, by [90] destroying them utterly:
12] and shalt thou be delivered? Have
the gods of the nations delivered them,
which my fathers have destroyed, Gozan,
and Haran, and Rezeph, and the children
of Eden which were in Telassar?
13] Where is the king of Hamath, and
the king of Arpad, and the king of the
city of Sepharvaim, of Hena, and Ivvah?
14] And Hezekiah received the letter
from the hand of the messengers, and
read it: and Hezekiah went up unto the
house of the Lord, and spread it before
15] the Lord. And Hezekiah prayed before
the Lord, and said, O Lord, the God
of Israel, that [91] sittest upon the cherubim,
thou art the God, even thou alone,
of all the kingdoms of the earth; thou
16] hast made heaven and earth. Incline
thine ear, O Lord, and hear; open
thine eyes, O Lord, and see: and hear
the words of Sennacherib, wherewith
he hath sent him to reproach the living
17] God. Of a truth, Lord, the kings of
Assyria have laid waste the nations and
18] their lands, and have cast their gods
into the fire: for they were no gods, but
the work of men's hands, wood and stone;
therefore they have destroyed them.
19] Now therefore, O Lord our God,
save thou us, I beseech thee, out of his
hand, that all the kingdoms of the earth
may know [92] that thou art the Lord God,
even thou only.

20] Then Isaiah the son of Amoz sent
to Hezekiah, saying, Thus saith the
Lord, the God of Israel, Whereas thou
hast prayed to me against Sennacherib
king of Assyria, I have heard *thee.*
21] This is the word that the Lord hath
spoken concerning him: The virgin
daughter of Zion hath despised thee and
laughed thee to scorn; the daughter of
Jerusalem hath shaken her head [93] at
22] thee. Whom hast thou reproached
and blasphemed? and against whom hast
thou exalted thy voice and lifted up thine

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[89] Or, *wherewith the king of Assyria hath sent him.*
[90] Heb. *devoting them.*
[91] Or, *dwellest between.*
[92] Or, *that thou, O LORD, art God.*
[93] Heb. *after.*

eyes on high? *even* against the Holy
23] One of Israel. By thy messengers
thou hast reproached the Lord, and hast
said, With the [94] multitude of my chariots
am I come up to the height of the
mountains, to the innermost parts of
Lebanon; and I will cut down the tall
cedars thereof, and the choice [95] fir trees
thereof: and I will enter into his farthest
lodging place, the forest of his fruit-
24] ful field. I have digged and drunk
strange waters, and with the sole of my
feet will I dry up all the rivers of
25] [96] Egypt. Hast thou not heard how
I have done it long ago, and formed it
of ancient times? now have I brought
it to pass, that thou shouldest be to lay
waste fenced cities into ruinous heaps.
26] Therefore their inhabitants were of
small power, they were dismayed and
confounded; they were as the grass of
the field, and as the green herb, as the
grass on the housetops, and as corn
27] blasted before it be grown up. But
I know thy sitting down, and thy going
out, and thy coming in, and thy raging
28] against me. Because of thy raging
against me, and for that [97] thine arrogancy
is come up into mine ears, therefore
will I put my hook in thy nose, and
my bridle in thy lips, and I will turn thee
back by the way by which thou camest.
29] And this shall be the sign unto thee:
ye shall eat this year that which groweth
of itself, and in the second year that
which springeth of the same; and in the
third year sow ye, and reap, and plant
vineyards, and eat the fruit thereof.
30] And [98] the remnant that is escaped
of the house of Judah shall again take
root downward, and bear fruit upward.
31] For out of Jerusalem shall go forth
a remnant, and out of mount Zion they
that shall escape: the zeal of [99] the Lord
32] shall perform this. Therefore thus
saith the Lord concerning the king of
Assyria, He shall not come unto this
city, nor shoot an arrow there, neither
shall he come before it with shield, nor
33] cast a mount against it. By the way
that he came, by the same shall he return,
and he shall not come unto this
34] city, saith the Lord. For I will defend
this city to save it, for mine own
sake, and for my servant David's sake.

ISAIAH ALSO DECLARED YAHWEH WOULD PRESERVE MOUNT ZION, *Isa.* 31: 4–9

Isa. 31. 4] For thus saith the Lord
unto me, Like as when the lion growleth
and the young lion over his prey, if a
multitude of shepherds be called forth
against him, he will not be dismayed at
their voice, nor abase himself for the
noise of them: so shall the Lord of hosts
come down to fight [100] upon mount Zion,
5] and [100] upon the hill thereof. As birds
flying, so will the Lord of hosts protect
Jerusalem; he will protect and deliver
it, he will pass over and preserve *it*.
6] Turn ye unto him [101] from whom
[102] ye have deeply revolted, O children
7] of Israel. For in that day they shall
cast away every man his idols of silver,
and his idols of gold, which your own
hands have made unto you for a sin.
8] Then shall the Assyrian fall with the
sword, not of man; and the sword, not
of men, shall devour him: and he shall
flee from the sword, and his young men
9] shall become tributary. And his rock
shall pass away by reason of terror, and
his princes shall be dismayed at the ensign,
saith the Lord, whose fire is in
Zion, and his furnace in Jerusalem.

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[94] According to another reading, *driving.*

[95] Or, *cypress.*

[96] Or, *defence.* Heb. *Mazor.*

[97] Or, *thy careless ease.*

[98] Heb. *the escaped of the house of Judah that remain.*

[99] According to another reading, *the LORD of hosts* and so in *Is.* 37: 32.

[100] Or, *against.*

[101] Or, *from whom the children of Israel have deeply revolted.*

[102] Heb. *they.*

THE DESTRUCTION OF SENNACHERIB'S ARMY, *2 Kings* 19: 35, 36

35] [103] And it came to pass that night, that the angel of the LORD went forth, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand: and when men arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses. 36] So Sennacherib king of Assyria departed, and went and returned, and dwelt at Nineveh.

SENNACHERIB'S ACCOUNT

In Sennacherib's inscription, already referred to, he has this to say of his attempted attack upon Jerusalem: "As to Hezekiah, the Judæan, who had not submitted to my yoke, 46 of his strongholds, fortified cities, and smaller cities of their environs without number, with the onset of battering rams, and the attack of engines, mines, breaches, and axea [?], I besieged, I captured. 200,150 people, small and great, male and female, horses, mules, asses, camels, oxen, and sheep without number I brought out of their midst and counted as booty. He himself I shut up like a caged bird in Jerusalem his capital city; I erected beleaguering works against him, and turned back by command every one who came out of his city gate. The cities which I had captured, from his country I cut off and gave them to Mitinti king of Ashdod, Padi king of Ekron, Sillibaal king of Gaza, and diminished his land. In addition to the former tribute, their yearly tax, I added a tax as the impost of my overlordship and laid it upon them. As to Hezekiah himself, the fear of the lustre of my lordship overcame him, and the Urbi [Arabs?] and his favorite soldiers, whom he had brought in to strengthen Jerusalem, his capital city, deserted. With 30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver, precious stones, rouge, *dakkasi,* lapis lazuli, great *angugmi*-stones, beds of ivory, stationary ivory thrones, elephants' hide, ivory, *ushu*-wood, *ukarinnu*-wood, all sorts of objects, a heavy treasure; also his daughters, the women of his palace, male and female musicians, he sent after me to Nineveh, my capital city, and sent his messenger to present the gift and to do homage."

It is noteworthy that the boastful Assyrian king does not claim to have taken Jerusalem. The probability is, too, that Hezekiah was not quite so humiliated as to send Sennacherib the women of his palace. But what really happened to Sennacherib's army? Herodotus in his *History* (Book II, 141) relates that Sennacherib was on his way to invade Egypt, when his army was in the night overrun by mice which ate up their bow-strings, in consequence of which they could not fight, and had to go back to Assyria. Putting the accounts of Herodotus and the Bible together, we see that what actually happened was that the Assyrian army was attacked by bubonic plague. The plague first attacks rodents (rats and mice) who in their desperation run wild and spread the infection among men. As was noted above in ch. XI, the Hebrews believed a plague to be inflicted by an angel of Yahweh (*2 Sam.* 24: 16). The Judæans believed this plague sent by Yahweh; it vindicated the word of Isaiah, his prophet. When his army was decimated, Sennacherib was compelled to raise the siege, and go home; thus Jerusalem was delivered.

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[103] See *2 Chr.* 32: 21.

THE RELIGIOUS CONSEQUENCES

Isaiah's prediction that Yahweh would not permit Jerusalem to be captured and destroyed and the providential vindication of his words by the opportune breaking out of bubonic plague in Sennacherib's army, brought to a head tendencies that had long been maturing. Although David had captured Jerusalem and made the threshing-floor of the Jebusites a sanctuary of Yahweh, there were in his time many other sanctuaries in the land that had for the Hebrews far holier associations. Gibeon was such a place of worship, to which Solomon had gone to be crowned. Solomon had built at the threshing-floor a splendid temple, but it was equipped with heretical implements of bronze and did not commend itself to Hebrews who valued the ancient nomadic and agricultural traditions of their religion. As late as the time of Elijah, Yahweh's real dwelling-place was thought to be the sacred mountain Horeb, far away in the desert, whither Elijah went when discouraged, to hear the "still small voice" (*1 Kings* 19: 8). As time passed on and Jerusalem became more and more the center of the religious life of the people of Judah and king after king descended from David worshiped there, the temple at Jerusalem became in their thought *the* dwelling-place of Yahweh. Thus Amos fifty years before had said to the people of Bethel, "Yahweh will roar from Zion" (*Amos* 1: 2). But now this growing conviction that Jerusalem was the beloved dwelling-place of Yahweh had received striking confirmation. Yahweh's prophet had declared it, and by fulfilling his prophet's word in this incontestable manner, Yahweh had proved it. From this time onward Jerusalem, not Horeb, was regarded as Yahweh's dwelling-place. Thus these events enshrined Jerusalem as the holy city in the heart of every Hebrew and have made it the sacred city of Judaism. As Christianity was born in Judea and the most solemn events in the life of Christ occurred there, Jerusalem became the sacred city of all Christians. Because of these associations, Mohammed made it, next to Mecca, the most sacred city to Mohammedans. Thus the events of the year 701 have had their influence on three religions.

THE DEATH OF HEZEKIAH AND ACCESSION OF MANASSEH,

2 Kings 20:20, 21

2 Kings 20. 20] Now the rest of the
acts of Hezekiah, and all his might, and
how he made the pool, and the conduit,
and brought water into the city, are they
not written in the book of the chronicles
21] of the kings of Judah? [104] And Hezekiah
slept with his fathers: and Manasseh
his son reigned in his stead.

THE PROPHET ISAIAH AND HIS BOOK

After Sennacherib's invasion we lose sight of the prophet Isaiah. A Jewish tradition says that he was put to death by King Manasseh. If this be true, he lived on until after the accession of Manasseh in the year 696 B.C. For forty most eventful years he had been the religious leader in Jerusalem and the political and religious adviser of her kings. Endowed with great political insight, he is the greatest political figure in Hebrew history after David, and in many ways the most influential religious leader after Elijah. His high position gave him influence, and his poetical gifts (see *Isa.* 5:1–7) made him popular. His prophecies went through various editions, as the book of Isaiah shows, the editors often including work from other pens than his. The result is that he uttered but a small portion of the book which bears his name; but the fact that so much was attributed to him is a witness to his eminence and influence.

ISAIAH'S LAST MESSIANIC PROPHECY, *Isa.* 11:1–9

Isa. 11. And there shall come forth a
shoot out of the stock of Jesse, and a
branch out of his roots shall bear fruit:
2] and the spirit of the LORD shall rest
upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding,
the spirit of counsel and
might, the spirit of knowledge and of
3] the fear of the LORD; and [105] his
[106] delight shall be in the fear of the
LORD: and he shall not judge after the
sight of his eyes, neither [107] reprove
4] after the hearing of his ears: but
with righteousness shall he judge the
poor, and reprove with equity for the
meek of the [108] earth: and he shall smite
the [108] earth with the rod of his mouth,
and with the breath of his lips shall he
5] slay the wicked. And righteousness
shall be the girdle of his loins, and faithfulness
6] the girdle of his reins. And
the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and
the leopard shall lie down with the kid;
and the calf and the young lion and the
fatling together; and a little child shall
7] lead them. And the cow and the bear
shall feed; their young ones shall lie
down together: and the lion shall eat
8] straw like the ox. And the suckling
child shall play on the hole of the asp,
and the weaned child shall put his hand
9] on the [109] basilisk's den. They shall
not hurt nor destroy in all my holy
mountain: for the earth shall be full of
the knowledge of the LORD, as the waters
cover the sea.

The portrayal of the ideal kingdom as Isaiah conceived it in his old age is in striking contrast to that of his youth. As a young man he thought of a Messiah or king who could outdo the mighty Tiglath-pileser at every point. Now he thinks not so much of the king as of the kingdom; not so much of war and booty as of the establishment of ideal social conditions by the transformation of the beast in man.

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[104] See *2 Chr.* 32:33.

[105] Or, *he shall be of quick understanding.*

[106] Heb. *scent.*

[107] Or, *decide.*

[108] Or, *land.*

[109] Or, *adder's.*

CHRONOLOGY

Kings of Israel	**Kings of Judah**
Pekahiah, 737–735 B. C.	Jotham, 752–736 B. C.
Pekah, 735–733	Ahaz, 736–724
Hoshea, 732–722	Hezekiah, 724–696
End of the kingdom of Israel	

CHAPTER XVII

REACTION AND REFORM

WITH the death of Isaiah a great period of Hebrew history came to an end. Both in literature and in religion, it had been a wonderfully creative period. It had seen not only the compilation of the E Document and a code of laws, but the emergence of a new type of prophecy—prophecy based on intelligent insight—which bound religion up with ethics rather than with ritual. Four such prophets had flourished during the period, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah. They had all denounced religiosity divorced from morals, and had all implied that Yahweh would bless those who lived upright ethical lives. Nevertheless the period had been one of unparalleled disaster. The Assyrian had blotted out the kingdom of Israel and, having diminished greatly the territory of Judah, had reduced it to abject vassalage. Reactions always occur in history, and one is not surprised that one occured in Judah now.

THE REIGN OF MANASSEH, *2 Kings* 21: 1–18

2 Kings 21. [1] Manasseh was twelve
years old when he began to reign; and he
reigned five and fifty years in Jerusalem:
and his mother's name was Hephzi-
2] bah. And he did that which was evil
in the sight of the Lord, after the abominations
of the heathen, whom the Lord
cast out before the children of Israel.
3] For he built again the high places
which Hezekiah his father had destroyed;
and he reared up altars for
Baal, and made an Asherah, as did
Ahab king of Israel, and worshipped all
the host of heaven, and served them.
4] And he built altars in the house of
the Lord, whereof the Lord said, In
5] Jerusalem will I put my name. And
he built altars for all the host of heaven
in the two courts of the house of the
6] Lord. And he made his son to pass
through the fire, and practised augury,
and used enchantments, and [2] dealt with
them that had familiar spirits, and with
wizards: he wrought much evil in the
sight of the Lord, to provoke him to an-
7] ger. And he set the graven image of
Asherah, that he had made, in the house
of which the Lord said to David and to
Solomon his son, In this house, and in
Jerusalem, which I have chosen out of
all the tribes of Israel, will I put my
8] name for ever: neither will I cause
the feet of Israel to wander any more
out of the land which I gave their fathers;
if only they will observe to do
according to all that I have commanded
them, and according to all the law that
my servant Moses commanded them.
9] But they hearkened not: and Manasseh
seduced them to do that which is
evil more than did the nations, whom the
Lord destroyed before the children of
10] Israel. And the Lord spake by his
11] servants the prophets, saying, Because
Manasseh king of Judah hath done
these abominations, and hath done wick-

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[1] See *2 Chr.* 33: 1, &c.

[2] Or, *appointed.* Heb, *made.*

edly above all that the Amorites did,
which were before him, and hath made
Judah also to sin with his idols:
12] therefore thus saith the LORD, the
God of Israel, Behold, I bring such evil
upon Jerusalem and Judah, that whosoever
heareth of it, both his ears shall
13] tingle. And I will stretch over Jerusalem
the line of Samaria, and the plummet
of the house of Ahab: and I will
wipe Jerusalem as a man wipeth a dish,
wiping it and turning it upside down.
14] And I will cast off the remnant of
mine inheritance, and deliver them into
the hand of their enemies; and they shall
become a prey and a spoil to all their
15] enemies; because they have done
that which is evil in my sight, and have
provoked me to anger, since the day
their fathers came forth out of Egypt,
16] even unto this day. Moreover Manasseh
shed innocent blood very much,
till he had filled Jerusalem from one
end to another; beside his sin wherewith
he made Judah to sin, in doing that
which was evil in the sight of the LORD.
17] Now the rest of the acts of Manasseh,
and all that he did, and his sin that
he sinned, are they not written in the
book of the chronicles of the kings of
18] Judah? [3] And Manasseh slept with
his fathers, and was buried in the garden
of his own house, in the garden of
Uzza: and Amon his son reigned in his
stead.

The preceding passage portrays in brief but vivid outline the violent reaction which took place during the fifty-five years of Manasseh's reign. The great prophets of the eighth century had taught that Yahweh's favor depended upon ethical uprightness rather than upon the performance of elaborate rites; but in spite of such efforts as the nation had made to obey the prophetic teaching, its political fortunes had steadily declined. The northern kingdom had been blotted out, and at the beginning of the reign of Sennacherib, Hezekiah had been punished for his rebellion and had been reduced to the position of an abject vassal. Sennacherib in 681 B.C. was succeeded by Esarhaddon, who twice marched his army along the Mediterranean coast of Palestine in the effort to conquer Egypt. He died while the second of these expeditions (that of 668 B.C.) was in progress, and was succeeded by Ashurbanipal (668–626 B.C.). Lower Egypt submitted to Assyria in 668 and in 661 the Assyrian army conquered Upper Egypt and destroyed Thebes. The twenty-fifth dynasty was overthrown and Egypt became an Assyrian province. Judah escaped harm by quiet submission to Assyria. Manasseh's name appears as a faithful vassal in the inscriptions of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal. He furnished them aid in their Egyptian campaigns.

Under all these circumstances it is not strange that there was a revulsion from the high idealism of the eighth century prophets. Ahaz and Hezekiah had, however unwillingly, been to some extent guided by Isaiah, but Manasseh felt that the departure from old ways was in part responsible for the national disasters. He accordingly revived all kinds of early and discarded religious practices. Apparently Isaiah had induced Hezekiah to suppress some of the sanctuaries in the kingdom. We know that there were many of these. We hear of one at Bethlehem and another at Hebron, and how prominent that at Gibeon had been we have noted more than once. From other sources we know that there was one on the hilltop near practically every town. These Manasseh restored and patronized. Further, he revived the custom of sacrificing children—a custom that had been practised in early times, but which the story of Abraham's so-called sacrifice of Isaac (*Gen.* 22) had been written to abolish. The writer of the second book of *Kings* says that Manasseh's abominations exceeded those of the Amorites. That is his way of summing up these reactionary practices.

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[3] See *2 Chr.* 33: 20–25.

During this reaction there were those who cherished the ideals of the great prophets of the preceding century. One of these summed up the difference in a passage which is now a part of the book of *Micah.* Possibly the author was Micah himself. If he was a young man when he prophesied about 725 B.C., he may have lived well into the reign of Manasseh. The passage is as follows:

Micah 6. 6] Wherewith shall I come
before the Lord, and bow myself before
the high God? shall I come before him
with burnt offerings, with calves of a
7] year old? Will the Lord be pleased
with thousands of rams, *or* with ten
thousands of rivers of oil? shall I give
my firstborn for my transgression, the
fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?
8] He hath shewed thee, O man, what
is good; and what doth the Lord require
of thee, but to do justly, and to
love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy
God?

It is now believed by most scholars that it was during the reign of Manasseh, somewhere about 650 B.C., that such a sympathizer with the ideals of the great prophets of the eighth century, driven into hiding by the attitude of the king, composed the first draft of the book of *Deuteronomy,* which, with the exception of some easily detected later additions, consisted of *Deuteronomy* 4:44—26:19. As a literary form he placed this law in the mouth of Moses, representing it as Moses' farewell oration. The basis of the laws in his book was E's "Book of the Covenant" and some other old laws which had come down as mere customs. These he modified at various points to bring them into accord with the humanitarian teaching of the great prophets. One bold ritualistic modification he introduced—a modification in which the prophet Isaiah had probably led the way. To this work we shall return a little later.

THE REIGN OF AMON, *2 Kings* 21:19–26

2 Kings 21. 19] Amon was twenty and
two years old when he began to reign;
and he reigned two years in Jerusalem:
and his mother's name was Meshullemeth
the daughter of Haruz of Jotbah.
20] And he did that which was evil in
the sight of the Lord, as did Manasseh
21] his father. And he walked in all the
way that his father walked in, and served
the idols that his father served, and
22] worshipped them: and he forsook
the Lord, the God of his fathers, and
walked not in the way of the Lord.
23] And the servants of Amon conspired
against him, and put the king to
24] death in his own house. But the peo-

ple of the land slew all them that had
conspired against king Amon; and the
people of the land made Josiah his son
25] king in his stead. Now the rest of
the acts of Amon which he did, are they
not written in the book of the chronicles
26] of the kings of Judah? And he was
buried in his sepulchre in the garden of
Uzza: and Josiah his son reigned in his
stead.

Amon, probably one of the oldest sons of an old man, was advanced in years when he came to the throne, and his two years of power formed a continuation of his father's policies.

KING JOSIAH AND THE FINDING OF THE LAW, *2 Kings* 22: 1–20

2 Kings 22. [4] Josiah was eight years
old when he began to reign; and he
reigned thirty and one years in Jerusalem:
and his mother's name was Jedidah
2] the daughter of Adaiah of Bozkath.
And he did that which was right in the
eyes of the LORD, and walked in all the
way of David his father, and turned not
aside to the right hand or to the left.

3] And it came to pass in the eighteenth
year of king Josiah, that the
king sent Shaphan the son of Azaliah,
the son of Meshullam, the scribe, to the
4] house of the LORD, saying, Go up to
Hilkiah the high priest, that he may sum
the money which is brought into the
house of the LORD, which the keepers
of the [5] door have gathered of the people:
5] and let them deliver it into the
hand of the workmen that have the oversight
of the house of the LORD: and let
them give it to the workmen which are
in the house of the LORD, to repair the
6] breaches of the house; unto the carpenters,
and to the builders, and to the
masons; and for buying timber and
7] hewn stone to repair the house. Howbeit
there was no reckoning made with
them of the money that was delivered
into their hand; for they dealt faithfully.
8] And Hilkiah the high priest
said unto Shaphan the scribe, I have
found the book of the law in the house
of the LORD. And Hilkiah delivered the
9] book to Shaphan, and he read it. And
Shaphan the scribe came to the king,
and brought the king word again, and
said, Thy servants have [6] emptied out
the money that was found in the house,
and have delivered it into the hand of the
workmen that have the oversight of the
10] house of the LORD. And Shaphan
the scribe told the king, saying, Hilkiah
the priest hath delivered me a book. And
11] Shaphan read it before the king. And
it came to pass, when the king had heard
the words of the book of the law, that
12] he rent his clothes. And the king
commanded Hilkiah the priest, and Ahikam
the son of Shaphan, and Achbor
the son of Micaiah, and Shaphan the
scribe, and Asaiah the king's servant,
13] saying, Go ye, inquire of the LORD
for me, and for the people, and for all
Judah, concerning the words of this
book that is found: for great is the
wrath of the LORD that is kindled against
us, because our fathers have not hearkened
unto the words of this book, to do
according unto all that which is [7] written
14] concerning us. So Hilkiah the
priest, and Ahikam, and Achbor, and
Shaphan, and Asaiah, went unto Huldah
the prophetess, the wife of Shallum the
son of Tikvah, the son of Harhas, keeper
of the wardrobe; (now she dwelt in Jerusalem
in the [8] second quarter;) and they
15] communed with her. And she said
unto them, Thus saith the LORD, the God
of Israel: Tell ye the man that sent you
16] unto me, Thus saith the LORD, Behold,
I will bring evil upon this place,
and upon the inhabitants thereof, even all
the words of the book which the king of
17] Judah hath read: because they have
forsaken me, and have burned incense

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[4] See *2 Chr.* 34: 1, &c.
[5] Heb. *threshold.*
[6] Or, *poured out.*
[7] Or, *enjoined us.*
[8] Heb. *Mishneh.*

unto other gods, that they might provoke
me to anger with all the work of
their hands; therefore my wrath shall
be kindled against this place, and it shall
18] not be quenched. But unto the king
of Judah, who sent you to inquire of the
Lord, thus shall ye say to him, Thus
saith the Lord, the God of Israel: As
touching the words which thou hast
19] heard, because thine heart was tender,
and thou didst humble thyself before
the Lord, when thou heardest what
I spake against this place, and against
the inhabitants thereof, that they should
become [9] a desolation and a curse, and
hast rent thy clothes, and wept before
me; I also have heard thee, saith the
20] Lord. Therefore, behold, I will
gather thee to thy fathers, and thou shalt
be gathered to thy grave in peace, neither
shall thine eyes see all the evil which I
will bring upon this place. And they
brought the king word again.

For reasons which will appear as we proceed, scholars are convinced that the book of the law found at this time in the temple was the first draft of *Deuteronomy* that had been written in the reign of Manasseh. The heirs of the ideals of the prophets of the eighth century believed it a propitious time to introduce a reform, and they had arranged that the book should be found there. If such a book were found now, it would be submitted to paleographers to see if the writing was of the sort employed in the days of Moses; then it would be submitted to the historical critics to see whether it contained material later than the time of Moses. In Josiah's time these sciences had not been invented. The only test they knew how to apply was the religious test. So they took the book to Huldah, an old prophetess, and asked her opinion of it. She said it was the genuine law of Moses. That is, it corresponded to her idea of what Moses should have taught. So, relying on this assurance, the king put the law into force and based a reform upon it.

THE REFORM, *2 Kings* 23: 1–25

2 Kings 23. [10] And the king sent, and
they gathered unto him all the elders of
2] Judah and of Jerusalem. And the king
went up to the house of the Lord, and
all the men of Judah and all the inhabitants
of Jerusalem with him, and the
priests, and the prophets, and all the
people, both small and great: and he
read in their ears all the words of the
book of the covenant which was found
3] in the house of the Lord. And the king
stood [11] by the pillar, and made a covenant
before the Lord, to walk after the
Lord, and to keep his commandments,
and his testimonies, and his statutes,
with all *his* heart, and all *his* soul, to
[12] confirm the words of this covenant
that were written in this book: and all
4] the people stood to the covenant. And
the king commanded Hilkiah the high
priest, and the priests of the second order,
and the keepers of the [13] door, to
bring forth out of the temple of the
Lord all the vessels that were made for
Baal, and for the Asherah, and for all
the host of heaven: and he burned them
without Jerusalem in the fields of Kidron,
and carried the ashes of them unto
5] Beth-el. And he put down the [14] idolatrous
priests, whom the kings of Judah
had ordained to burn incense in the high
places in the cities of Judah, and in the

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[9] Or, *an astonishment.*

[10] See *2 Chr.* 34: 29–32.

[11] Or, *on the platform.*

[12] Or, *perform.*

[13] Heb. *threshold.*

[14] Heb. *Chemarim.* See *Hos.* 10: 5, *Zeph.* 1: 4.

places round about Jerusalem; them also that burned incense unto Baal, to the sun, and to the moon, and to the [15] planets, and to all the host of heaven. 6] And he brought out the Asherah from the house of the LORD, without Jerusalem, unto the brook Kidron, and burned it at the brook Kidron, and stamped it small to powder, and cast the powder thereof upon the graves of the [16] common people. 7] And he brake down the houses of the [17] sodomites, that were in the house of the LORD, where the women wove [18] hangings for the Asherah. 8] And he brought all the priests out of the cities of Judah, and defiled the high places where the priests had burned incense, from Geba to Beer-sheba; and he brake down the high places of the gates that were at the entering in of the gate of Joshua the governor of the city, which were on a man's left hand at the gate of the city. 9] Nevertheless the priests of the high places came not up to the altar of the LORD in Jerusalem, but they did eat unleavened bread among their brethren. 10] And he defiled Topheth, which is in the valley of the [19] children of Hinnom, that no man might make his son or his daughter to pass through the fire to Molech. 11] And he took away the horses that the kings of Judah had given to the sun, at the entering in of the house of the LORD, by the chamber of Nathan-melech the chamberlain, which was in the precincts; and he burned the chariots of the sun with fire. 12] And the altars that were on the roof of the upper chamber of Ahaz, which the kings of Judah had made, and the altars which Manasseh had made in the two courts of the house of the LORD, did the king break down, and [20] beat *them* down from thence, and cast the dust of them into the brook Kidron. 13] And the high places that were before Jerusalem, which were on the right hand of the mount of [21] corruption, which Solomon the king of Israel had builded for Ashtoreth the abomination of the Zidonians, and for Chemosh the abomination of Moab, and for Milcom the abomination of the children of Ammon, did the king defile. 14] And he brake in pieces the [22] pillars, and cut down the Asherim, and filled their places with the bones of men. 15] Moreover the altar that was at Beth-el, and the high place which Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin, had made, even that altar and the high place he brake down; and he burned the high place and stamped it small to powder, and burned the Asherah. 16] And as Josiah turned himself, he spied the sepulchres that were there in the mount; and he sent, and took the bones out of the sepulchres, and burned them upon the altar, and defiled it, according to the word of the LORD which the man of God proclaimed, who proclaimed these things. 17] Then he said, What monument is that which I see? And the men of the city told him, It is the sepulchre of the man of God, which came from Judah, and proclaimed these things that thou hast done against the altar of Beth-el. 18] And he said, Let him be; let no man move his bones. So they let his bones alone, with the bones of the prophet that came out of Samaria. 19] And all the houses also of the high places that were in the cities of Samaria, which the kings of Israel had made to provoke *the Lord* to anger, Josiah took away, and did to them according to all the acts that he had done in Beth-el. 20] And he [23] slew all the priests of the high places that were there, upon the altars, and burned men's bones upon them; and he returned to Jerusalem.

21] And the king commanded all the people, saying, Keep the passover unto the LORD your God, as it is written in this book of the covenant. 22] Surely there was not kept such a passover from the days of the judges that judged Israel, [24] nor in all the days of the kings of Israel, nor of the kings of Judah;

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[15] Or, *twelve signs.*
[16] Heb. *children of the people.*
[17] See *1 Kings* 14: 24, 15: 12.
[18] Or, *tents.* Heb. *houses.*
[19] According to another reading, *son.*
[20] Or, *ran from thence.*
[21] Or, *destruction.*
[22] Or, *obelisks.*
[23] Or, *sacrificed.*
[24] Or, *even in all . . . and of.*

23] but in the eighteenth year of king Josiah was this passover kept to the 24] LORD in Jerusalem. Moreover them that had familiar spirits, and the wizards, and the teraphim, and the idols, and all the abominations that were spied in the land of Judah and in Jerusalem, did Josiah put away, that he might [12] confirm the words of the law which were written in the book that Hilkiah the priest 25] found in the house of the LORD. And like unto him was there no king before him, that turned to the LORD with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his might, according to all the law of Moses; neither after him arose there any like him.

The principal features of this reform are those required by the law of *Deuteronomy*. The high places, *i. e.*, all sanctuaries except the one in Jerusalem, were abolished. That is provided for in *Deuteronomy* 12, which repeals the law of *Exodus* 20:24–26, which permitted an altar wherever Yahweh revealed himself. *Deuteronomy* 12, on the contrary, permits but one altar, and that "in the place which Yahweh thy God shall choose." As pointed out in the previous chapter, Jews now believed that Yahweh had unmistakably chosen Jerusalem as his dwelling-place. Another feature of the reform was the destruction of the "pillars" (the stone monoliths which stood near every Semitic altar) and the "Asherahs" (wooden symbols which accompanied these). This measure is several times enjoined in *Deuteronomy* (see ch. 7:5; 12:3, etc.). Again Josiah cleansed the temple of all ministers of impurity (sodomites and sacred prostitutes)—an act required by *Deuteronomy* (see *Deut.* 23:17, 18). Josiah also expelled all wizards from Jerusalem (*2 Kings* 23:24)—a measure required by *Deuteronomy* 18:10.

One feature of the law of *Deuteronomy*, however, Josiah was not able to enforce. It is stated above (*2 Kings* 23:9), "Nevertheless the priests of the high places came not up to the altar of Jehovah in Jerusalem, but they did eat unleavened bread among their brethren." This statement was made necessary because in *Deuteronomy* 18:6–8 it is provided that any Levite who comes to the one sanctuary and desires to minister shall have the same right to do so as any of his brethren. The author of the code realized that, if his law ever became operative, it would throw a good many priests out of employment and, to compensate them for this, he provided that they might have the same right to officiate in the temple at Jerusalem as the Levites who were already there. It was an ideal arrangement made by an impractical prophet, and even the king could not enforce it. Just as the clergy of any great church would object to sharing their work and salaries with all the other clergy in the state because those clergymen had lost their jobs, so the priesthood of Jerusalem were too strongly intrenched in their positions to permit the law to be carried out. The fact that the author of the second book of *Kings* thought it necessary to note the failure, and to say in effect that the Levites who came from the country shrines lived on the charity of their brethren, is an additional proof that the law of *Deuteronomy* was the code on which the reform was based.

THE DEUTERONOMIC LAW

The acceptance of the newly found law book as the law of Moses and its enforcement as the organic law of the nation was an important step in the development of Hebrew law. It meant a profound modification of the "Book of the Covenant" which E had compiled more than a hundred years before. It is worth while to note a part of its contents, though space forbids us to quote it all. Near its beginning, in what is now the fifth chapter of *Deuteronomy,* the ten commandments of E were reproduced with some editorial expansions. Soon after that, in *Deuteronomy* 6:4, 5, there was introduced a great statement which to this day constitutes the confession of faith of every Jew and which the Founder of Christianity declared to be the greatest commandment of the law:

Deut. 6. 4] Hear, O Israel: [25] the
5] Lord our God is one Lord: and thou
shalt love the Lord thy God with all
thine heart, and with all thy soul, and
with all thy might.

The law of the altar has already been referred to, but it is worth while to quote it to show how profoundly *Exodus* 20:24–26 was modified.

Deut. 12. These are the statutes and
the judgements, which ye shall observe
to do in the land which the Lord, the
God of thy fathers, hath given thee to
possess it, all the days that ye live upon
2] the earth. Ye shall surely destroy all
the places wherein the nations that ye
shall dispossess serve their gods, upon
the high mountains, and upon the hills,
3] and under every green tree; and ye
shall break down their altars, and dash
in pieces their [26] pillars, and burn their
Asherim with fire; and ye shall hew
down the graven images of their gods;
and ye shall destroy their name out of
4] that place. Ye shall not do so unto Je-
5] hovah your God. But unto the place
which the Lord your God shall choose
out of all your tribes, to put his name
there, even unto his habitation shall ye
6] seek and thither shall ye come; and
thither shall ye bring your burnt offer-
ings, and your sacrifices, and your tithes,
and the heave offerings of your land,
and your vows, and your freewill offer-
ings, and the firstlings of your herd and
7] of your flock: and there ye shall eat
before the Lord your God, and ye shall
rejoice in all that ye put your hand
unto, ye and your households, wherein
the Lord thy God hath blessed thee.
8] Ye shall not do after all the things
that we do here this day, every man
whatsoever is right in his own eyes:
9] for ye are not as yet come to the rest
and to the inheritance, which the Lord
10] thy God giveth thee. But when ye
go over Jordan, and dwell in the land
which the Lord your God causeth you
to inherit, and he giveth you rest from
all your enemies round about, so that
11] ye dwell in safety; then it shall
come to pass that the place which the
Lord your God shall choose to cause his
name to dwell there, thither shall ye
bring all that I command you; your

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[25] Or, *the LORD our God, the LORD is one.* Or, *the LORD is our God, the LORD is one.* Or, *the LORD is our God, the LORD alone.*

[26] Or, *obelisks.*

burnt offerings, and your sacrifices, your tithes, and the heave offering of your hand, and all your choice vows which ye
12] vow unto the Lord: and ye shall rejoice before the Lord your God, ye, and your sons, and your daughters, and your menservants, and your maidservants, and the Levite that is within your gates, forasmuch as he hath no portion nor inheri-
13] tance with you. Take heed to thyself that thou offer not thy burnt offerings in every place that thou seest:
14] but in the place which the Lord shall choose in one of thy tribes, there thou shalt offer thy burnt offerings, and there thou shalt do all that I command thee.
15] Notwithstanding thou mayest kill and eat flesh within all thy gates, after all the desire of thy soul, according to the blessing of the Lord thy God which he hath given thee: the unclean and the clean may eat thereof, as of the gazelle,
16] and as of the hart. Only ye shall not eat the blood; thou shalt pour it out
17] upon the earth as water. Thou mayest not eat within thy gates the tithe of thy corn, or of thy wine, or of thine oil, or the firstlings of thy herd or of thy flock, not any of thy vows which thou vowest, nor thy freewill offerings, nor the heave offering of thine hand:
18] but thou shalt eat them before the Lord thy God in the place which the Lord thy God shall choose, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy manservant, and thy maidservant, and the Levite that is within thy gates: and thou shalt rejoice before the Lord thy God in all that thou puttest thine hand unto.
19] Take heed to thyself that thou forsake not the Levite as long as thou livest upon thy land.

20] When the Lord thy God shall enlarge thy border, as he hath promised thee, and thou shalt say, I will eat flesh, because thy soul desireth to eat flesh; thou mayest eat flesh, after all the de-
21] sire of thy soul. If the place which the Lord thy God shall choose to put his name there be too far from thee, then thou shalt kill of thy herd and of thy flock, which the Lord hath given thee, as I have commanded thee, and thou shalt eat within thy gates, after all the
22] desire of thy soul. Even as the gazelle and as the hart is eaten, so thou shalt eat thereof: the unclean and the
23] clean shall eat thereof alike. Only be sure that thou eat not the blood: for the blood is the life; and thou shalt not
24] eat the life with the flesh. Thou shalt not eat it; thou shalt pour it out upon
25] the earth as water. Thou shalt not eat it; that it may go well with thee, and with thy children after thee, when thou shalt do that which is right in the eyes
26] of the Lord. Only thy holy things which thou hast, and thy vows, thou shalt take, and go unto the place which the
27] Lord shall choose: and thou shalt offer thy burnt offerings, the flesh and the blood, upon the altar of the Lord thy God: and the blood of thy sacrifices shall be poured out upon the altar of the Lord thy God, and thou shalt eat the
28] flesh. Observe and hear all these words which I command thee, that it may go well with thee, and with thy children after thee for ever, when thou doest that which is good and right in the eyes of the Lord thy God.

29] When the Lord thy God shall cut off the nations from before thee, whither thou goest in to possess them, and thou possessest them, and dwellest in their
30] land; take heed to thyself that thou be not ensnared [27] to follow them, after that they be destroyed from before thee; and that thou inquire not after their gods, saying, How do these nations serve
31] their gods? [28] even so will I do likewise. Thou shalt not do so unto the Lord thy God: for every abomination to the Lord, which he hateth, have they done unto their gods; for even their sons and their daughters do they burn in the fire to their gods.

32] [29] What thing soever I command you, that shall ye observe to do: thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it.

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[27] Heb. *after them.*
[28] Or, *that I also may do likewise.*
[29] Ch. 13: 1 in Heb.

This law is long and elaborate. It goes into great detail, giving reasons and specifications as though making a profound change. It was, indeed, a profound change. We have seen how Hebrews took over many Canaanite sanctuaries and made them sanctuaries of Yahweh. Now all this was to be reversed and these sanctuaries desecrated. The sanctuary, too, had entered intimately into the life of every Hebrew family. The Semitic peoples did not eat meat every day. The slaying of an animal, even for food, was a solemn occurrence; it was accomplished as a religious act at the sanctuary. This was easy when there was a sanctuary at every village. The Deuteronomic lawgiver was conscious that he was introducing a change that would affect the life of every family: he accordingly provided that animals might be slain at home, if only the blood was poured out on the ground. The abolition of all these shrines led him to modify other laws as we shall see.

THE LAW OF THE HEBREW SLAVE, *Deut.* 15: 12–18

Deut. 15. 12] If thy brother, an Hebrew
man, or an Hebrew woman, be
sold unto thee, and serve thee six years;
then in the seventh year thou shalt let
13] him go free from thee. And when
thou lettest him go free from thee, thou
14] shalt not let him go empty: thou
shalt furnish him liberally out of thy
flock, and out of thy threshing-floor,
and out of thy winepress: as the Lord
thy God hath blessed thee thou shalt
15] give unto him. And thou shalt remember
that thou wast a bondman in the
land of Egypt, and the Lord thy God
redeemed thee: therefore I command
16] thee this thing to-day. And it shall
be, if he say unto thee, I will not go out
from thee; because he loveth thee and
thine house, because he is well with
17] thee; then thou shalt take an awl,
and thrust it through his ear unto the
door, and he shall be thy [30] servant for
ever. And also unto thy [31] maidservant
18] thou shalt do likewise. It shall not
seem hard unto thee, when thou lettest
him go free from thee; for to the double
of the hire of an hireling hath he
served thee six years: and the Lord
thy God shall bless thee in all that thou
doest.

If this law be compared with the corresponding law of the "Book of the Covenant" (*Ex.* 21: 2–6, quoted above in ch. XV), two important modifications appear. If the slave finds it more comfortable to let a master provide for him than to take the responsibility of earning his own living, and so chooses perpetual slavery, *Exodus* 21: 6 provides that his master shall bring him unto God (*i. e.*, to the sanctuary) and pierce his ear against the door-post with an awl and he shall be a slave forever. *Deuteronomy* 15: 16, 17 allows this piercing to be done against the door-post of the master's house. The law of *Exodus* (E's law) presupposes a sanctuary easy of access in every village; *Deuteronomy* had abolished all these village sanctuaries; it presupposes but one in the whole land, which might be miles distant: hence the modification.

Again, *Deuteronomy* enjoins on the master, in case the slave chooses his freedom, the duty of furnishing him liberally out of his threshing-floor and out of his wine-press; *i. e.,* he is to give the poor man a little start in life. The "Book of the Covenant" (E's law) makes no such provision. This is an evidence of a new humanitarian feeling due, doubtless, to the social teaching of the great prophets of the eighth century.

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[30] Or, *bondman.*

[31] Or, *bondwoman.*

THE LAW OF HOMICIDE SANCTUARY, *Deut.* 19: 1–3

Deut. 19. When the Lord thy God shall cut off the nations, whose land the Lord thy God giveth thee, and thou succeedest them, and dwellest in their cities, 2] and in their houses; thou shalt separate three cities for thee in the midst of thy land, which the Lord thy God 3] giveth thee to possess it. Thou shalt prepare thee the way, and divide the borders of thy land, which the Lord thy God causeth thee to inherit, into three parts, that every manslayer may flee thither.

In the earlier code (*Ex.* 21:12–14), it was provided that a man who killed another accidentally might take refuge at Yahweh's altar. The provision was made necessary by the primitive Semitic law of blood revenge, which made it a religious duty for a kinsman of a murdered man to avenge his murder. If the killing had been accidental, the avenger would not dare to drag the innocent man from the sacred altar. This law was adequate as long as there was an altar in every town, but entirely inadequate when but one altar was left, and that in the capital city. To compensate for this lack, the author of *Deuteronomy* instituted the "cities of refuge."

THE LAW OF PRIESTLY PRIVILEGE, *Deut.* 18: 6–8

Deut. 18. 6] And if a Levite come from any of thy gates out of all Israel, where he sojourneth, and come with all the desire of his soul unto the place 7] which the Lord shall choose; then he shall minister in the name of the Lord his God, as all his brethren the Levites do, which stand there before the Lord. 8] They shall have like portions to eat, beside that which cometh of the sale of his patrimony.

How the abolition of the sanctuaries outside of Jerusalem made this law necessary has already been pointed out.

In addition to the changes made necessary by the centralization of the worship the prophetic author also introduced laws to purify the ritual and make it moral.

A LAW FOR THE PURIFICATION OF THE RITUAL, *Deut.* 23: 17, 18

Deut. 23. 17] There shall be no [32] harlot of the daughters of Israel, neither shall there be a [33] sodomite of the sons 18] of Israel. Thou shalt not bring the hire of a whore, or the wages of a dog, into the house of the Lord thy God for any vow: for even both these are an abomination unto the Lord thy God.

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[32] Heb. *kedeshah.* See *Gen.* 38: 21.

[33] Heb. *kadesh.*

The regulations for the three great yearly festivals which the "Book of the Covenant" had provided (*Ex.* 23: 14–17), were expanded to insure greater definiteness.

THE NEW LAW OF FEASTS, *Deut.* 16: 1–17

Deut. 16. Observe the month of Abib,
and keep the passover unto the Lord thy
God: for in the month of Abib the Lord
thy God brought thee forth out of Egypt
2] by night. And thou shalt sacrifice the
passover unto the Lord thy God, of the
flock and the herd, in the place which the
Lord shall choose to cause his name to
3] dwell there. Thou shalt eat no leavened
bread with it; seven days shalt
thou eat unleavened bread therewith,
even the bread of affliction; for thou
camest forth out of the land of Egypt
in haste: that thou mayest remember the
day when thou camest forth out of the
land of Egypt all the days of thy life.
4] And there shall be no leaven seen
with thee in all thy borders seven days;
neither shall any of the flesh, which thou
sacrificest the first day at even, remain
5] all night until the morning. Thou
mayest not sacrifice the passover within
any of thy gates, which the Lord thy
6] God giveth thee: but at the place
which the Lord thy God shall choose to
cause his name to dwell in, there thou
shalt sacrifice the passover at even, at
the going down of the sun, at the season
that thou camest forth out of Egypt.
7] And thou shalt roast and eat it in
the place which the Lord thy God shall
choose: and thou shalt turn in the morning,
8] and go unto thy tents. Six days
thou shalt eat unleavened bread: and on
the seventh day shall be a solemn assembly
to the Lord thy God; thou shalt
do no work *therein.*

9] Seven weeks shalt thou number
unto thee: from the time thou beginnest
to put the sickle to the standing corn
shalt thou begin to number seven weeks.
10] And thou shalt keep the feast of
weeks unto the Lord thy God [34] with a
tribute of a freewill offering of thine
hand, which thou shalt give, according
as the Lord thy God blesseth thee:
11] and thou shalt rejoice before the
Lord thy God, thou, and thy son, and
thy daughter, and thy manservant, and
thy maidservant, and the Levite that is
within thy gates, and the stranger, and
the fatherless, and the widow, that are
in the midst of thee, in the place which
the Lord thy God shall choose to cause
12] his name to dwell there. And thou
shalt remember that thou wast a bondman
in Egypt: and thou shalt observe
and do these statutes.

13] Thou shalt keep the feast of
[35] tabernacles seven days, after that thou
hast gathered in from thy threshing-
14] floor and from thy winepress: and
thou shalt rejoice in thy feast, thou, and
thy son, and thy daughter, and thy manservant,
and thy maidservant, and the
Levite, and the stranger, and the fatherless,
and the widow, that are within thy
15] gates. Seven days shalt thou keep a
feast unto the Lord thy God in the place
which the Lord shall choose: because the
Lord thy God shall bless thee in all thine
increase, and in all the work of thine
hands, and thou shalt be altogether joyful.
16] Three times in a year shall all
thy males appear before the Lord thy
God in the place which he shall choose;
in the feast of unleavened bread, and in
the feast of weeks, and in the feast of
tabernacles: and they shall not appear
17] before the Lord empty: every man
[36] shall give as he is able, according to
the blessing of the Lord thy God which
he hath given thee.

In addition to laws already codified in the "Book of the Covenant" which this prophetic lawgiver modified, he gathered up some very old customs and included them in his code. Two examples of this will suffice.

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[34] Or, *after the measure of the &c.*

[35] Heb. *booths.*

[36] Heb. *according to the gift of his hand.*

THE LAW OF CLEAN AND UNCLEAN MEATS, *Deut.* 14: 1–20

Deut. 14. Ye are the children of the LORD your God: ye shall not cut yourselves, nor make any baldness between
2] your eyes for the dead. For thou art an holy people unto the LORD thy God, and the LORD hath chosen thee to be a peculiar people unto himself, [37] above all peoples that are upon the face of the earth.

3] Thou shalt not eat any abominable
4] thing. These are the beasts which ye shall eat: the ox, the sheep, and the
5] goat, the hart, and the gazelle, and the roebuck, and the wild goat, and the pygarg, and the antelope, and the chamois.
6] And every beast that pareth the hoof, and hath the hoof cloven in two, *and* [38] cheweth the cud, among the beasts,
7] that ye shall eat. Nevertheless these ye shall not eat of them that chew the cud, or of them that have the hoof cloven: the camel, and the hare, and the [39] coney, because they chew the cud but part not the hoof, they are unclean unto
8] you: and the swine, because he parteth the hoof but cheweth not the cud, he is unclean unto you: of their flesh ye shall not eat, and their carcases ye shall not touch.

9] These ye shall eat of all that are in the waters: whatsoever hath fins and
10] scales shall ye eat: and whatsoever hath not fins and scales ye shall not eat; it is unclean unto you.

11] Of all clean birds ye may eat.
12] But these are they of which ye shall not eat: the [40] eagle, and the gier eagle,
13] and the ospray; and the glede, and the falcon, and the kite after its kind;
14] and every raven after its kind;
15] and the ostrich, and the night hawk, and the seamew, and the hawk after its
16] kind; the little owl, and the great
17] owl, and the horned owl; and the pelican, and the vulture, and the cor-
18] morant; and the stork, and the heron after its kind, and the hoopoe, and the
19] bat. And all winged creeping things are unclean unto you: they shall not be
20] eaten. Of all clean fowls ye may eat.

Among all savages there are fixed traditions that certain things must not be touched or done, and that certain meats must not be eaten. Scholars call these prohibitions "taboos"—a name given them in Polynesia. Taboos of this sort connected with plants and animals are always connected with totemism where totemism exists.[41] There is no doubt that the prohibitions about the eating of certain animals in the passage just quoted are the survivals of such taboos among the Hebrews from early Semitic times. They had long been practised, but now for the first time they found a place in a written code.

THE LEVIRATE LAW, *Deut.* 25: 5–10

Deut. 25. 5] If brethren dwell together, and one of them die, and have no son, the wife of the dead shall not marry without unto a stranger: her husband's brother shall go in unto her, and take her to him to wife, and perform the duty of an husband's brother unto her.
6] And it shall be, that the firstborn which she beareth shall succeed in the name of his brother which is dead, that his name be not blotted out of Israel.
7] And if the man like not to take his brother's wife, then his brother's wife shall go up to the gate unto the elders, and say, My husband's brother refuseth to raise up unto his brother a name in

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[37] Or, *out of.*

[38] Heb. *bringeth up.*

[39] See *Lev.* 11: 5.

[40] See *Lev.* 11: 13, &c.

[41] On Totemism and Taboo see W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 124 ff., 137 ff., 152 ff., 289 ff., 443 ff., 448 ff.

> Israel, he will not perform the duty of
> 8] an husband's brother unto me. Then
> the elders of his city shall call him, and
> speak unto him: and if he stand, and
> 9] say, I like not to take her; then shall
> his brother's wife come unto him in the
> presence of the elders, and loose his shoe
> from off his foot, and spit in his face;
> and she shall answer and say, So shall
> it be done unto the man that doth not
> 10] build up his brother's house. And
> his name shall be called in Israel, The
> house of him that hath his shoe loosed.

This law, too, is a survival from a very early type of marriage which had existed among the Semitic people and has been found in many other parts of the world. It is generally connected with or follows a type of marriage which is called "polyandry." [42]

Space forbids our quoting further from the law of *Deuteronomy*. Enough has been cited to show what a definite and radical development in the religious and civil life of Judah was introduced in the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign (*i. e.*, in the year 621 B.C.). With the acceptance of this law as the law of God, the Jews accepted for the first time a written book as their standard. This was the beginning of the canonization of our Bible. *Deuteronomy* 4:44—26:19 is thus the first part of our Bible to be recognized as the word of God.

THE PROPHET JEREMIAH

In the year 626 B.C., five years before the beginning of Josiah's reform, a young man of Anathoth (the modern Anata, three miles northeast of Jerusalem) of priestly family, named Jeremiah, felt called to be a prophet. The visions which gave him the conviction that Yahweh had called him to this service are recorded in the first chapter of the book which bears his name.

JEREMIAH AND THE NEW LAW

Upon the discovery of the Deuteronomic law Jeremiah appears to have left his native town and to have moved to Jerusalem. There was much opposition to the new law and the reform based upon it. The inhabitants of towns other than Jerusalem felt naturally as the people of the cities of our country would, if all churches were abolished except one in Washington. More than this; they felt that some inherent holiness attached to the sanctuaries that had been desecrated, and that disaster would be sure to follow the sacrilege that had been perpetrated in destroying their sacred symbols and defiling the places themselves. The years that followed were accordingly years of religious struggle. Jeremiah seems at first to have thrown himself earnestly into the effort to enforce the new law. This is made clear in *Jeremiah* 11:1–8, which is as follows:

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[42] See G. A. Barton, *A Sketch of Semitic Origins, Social and Religious*, p. 66 ff.

Jer. 11. The word that came to Jeremiah
2] from the Lord, saying, Hear ye
the words of this covenant, and speak
unto the men of Judah, and to the inhabitants
3] of Jerusalem; and say thou
unto them, Thus saith the Lord, the God
of Israel: Cursed be the man that heareth
4] not the words of this covenant, which
I commanded your fathers in the day that
I brought them forth out of the land of
Egypt, out of the iron furnace, saying,
Obey my voice, and do them, according
to all which I command you: so shall
ye be my people, and I will be your God:
5] that I may establish the oath which I
sware unto your fathers, to give them a
land flowing with milk and honey, as at
this day. Then answered I, and said,
Amen, O Lord.
6] And the Lord said unto me, Proclaim
all these words in the cities of
Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem,
saying, Hear ye the words of this covenant,
7] and do them. For I earnestly
protested unto your fathers in the day
that I brought them up out of the land
of Egypt, even unto this day, rising
early and protesting, saying, Obey my
8] voice. Yet they obeyed not, nor inclined
their ear, but walked every one
in the stubbornness of their evil heart:
therefore I brought upon them all the
words of this covenant, which I commanded
them to do, but they did them
not.

Later, when Jeremiah saw that the new law was inducing people to depend too much on outward rules and neglect the inwardness of religion, he seems to have turned against it. This seems to be implied in *Jeremiah* 8: 4–9 (his prophecies are not arranged in chronological order), which reads as follows:

Jer. 8. 4] Moreover thou shalt say unto
them, Thus saith the Lord: Shall men
fall, and not rise up again? shall one turn
5] away, and not return? Why then is
this people of Jerusalem slidden back by
a perpetual backsliding? they hold fast
6] deceit, they refuse to return. I hearkened
and heard, but they spake not
aright: no man repenteth him of his
wickedness, saying, What have I done?
every one [43] turneth to his course, as a
horse that rusheth headlong in the battle.
7] Yea, the stork in the heaven knoweth
her appointed times; and the turtle and
the swallow and the crane observe the
time of their coming; but my people
know not the [44] ordinance of the Lord.
8] How do ye say, We are wise, and the
law of the Lord is with us? But, behold,
the false pen of the scribes hath
9] [45] wrought falsely. The wise men are
ashamed, they are dismayed and taken:
lo, they have rejected the word of the
Lord; and what manner of wisdom is in
them?

The reference to the law and the statement that the pen of the scribe had wrought falsely seem to imply that Jeremiah had been disillusioned as to the value of the Deuteronomic law. Perhaps there was already working in his mind a thought to which years afterward he gave expression, that God's law is not an outward law, but an inward law of the heart. As he finally expressed it, it runs thus:

Jer. 31. 31] Behold, the days come,
saith the Lord, that I will make a new
covenant with the house of Israel, and
32] with the house of Judah: not according
to the covenant that I made with
their fathers in the day that I took them
by the hand to bring them out of the
land of Egypt; [46] which my covenant

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[43] Or, *turneth away in his course.*
[44] Or, *judgment.*
[45] Or, *made of it falsehood.*
[46] Or, *forasmuch as they brake my covenant.*

they brake, although I was [47] an husband
33] unto them, saith the LORD. But
this is the covenant that I will make with
the house of Israel after those days,
saith the LORD; I will put my law in
their inward parts, and in their heart
will I write it; and I will be their God,
34] and they shall be my people: and they
shall teach no more every man his
neighbour, and every man his brother,
saying, Know the LORD: for they shall
all know me, from the least of them unto
the greatest of them, saith the LORD:
for I will forgive their iniquity, and
their sin will I remember no more.

Another reason why Jeremiah turned against the new law was that, during these years of Josiah's reign, he had reached a new conception of Yahweh and of Yahweh's attitude toward the nations, and some of the provisions of this new law were quite inconsistent with Jeremiah's convictions. It was pointed out in a previous chapter that the prophets of the eighth century were practical monotheists. They assumed for practical purposes that Yahweh ruled the world, but none of them attempted to explain why this was so. Jeremiah is the first to explain it. He saw that there were no heathen gods; they were simply figments of the imagination, or, as Jeremiah puts it, "vanities." Thus Jeremiah was the first philosophical monotheist. His words are:

Jer. 10. 14] Every man [48] is become
brutish *and is* without knowledge; every
goldsmith is put to shame by his graven
image: for his molten image is falsehood,
15] and there is no breath in them. They
are vanity, a work of [49] delusion: in the
time of their visitation they shall perish.

14. 22] Are there any among the
vanities of the heathen that can cause
rain? or can the heavens give showers?
are not thou he, O LORD our God? therefore
we will wait upon thee; for thou
hast [50] made all these things.

Holding this belief with reference to God, Jeremiah also held its corollary; viz., that God cares for all nations; that his love is not limited to Jews only. Hosea and Isaiah in the preceding century had thought of God as dealing with other nations, not because he cared for them, but for the sake of using them for Israel's advantage. Thus Isaiah (ch. 10: 5 f.) speaks of Assyria as "the rod" of Yahweh's anger, which he would break, when he had done punishing Israel with it. He thought of Yahweh as caring no more for Assyria than a father cares for a switch with which he punishes his boy. When the punishment is over, he breaks the switch and throws it away without a thought. Jeremiah saw more clearly. He says:

Jer. 16. 19] O LORD, my strength, and
my strong hold, and my refuge in the day
of affliction, unto thee shall the nations
come from the ends of the earth, and
shall say, Our fathers have inherited
nought but lies, *even* vanity and things
20] wherein there is no profit. Shall a
man make unto himself gods, which yet
21] are no gods? Therefore, behold, I
will cause them to know, this once will I
cause them to know mine hand and my
might; and they shall know that my
name is Jehovah.

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[47] Or, *lord over them.*
[48] Or, *is too brutish to know.*
[49] Or, *mockery.*
[50] Or, *done.*

Believing as he did that Yahweh's purpose was to welcome to himself all repentant peoples, Jeremiah could not permanently work for a law which definitely excluded from Yahweh's congregation forever certain nations such as the Ammonites and the Moabites (see *Deut.* 23:3–5). He ceased to work for the reform, therefore, because it was too narrow and unspiritual.

THE SCYTHIAN PERIL

During the later years of Manasseh's reign and that of the two kings who succeeded him, important political changes occurred in Assyria and Egypt. About 650 B.C. Ashurbanipal's brother, who had been made vassal king of Babylon, rebelled, and although the rebellion was put down, it somehow weakened the power of Assyria, so that her influence and power steadily declined. Shortly after that Psammetik I, the viceroy of Egypt under the Assyrians, assumed his independence and founded the twenty-sixth dynasty. It was the first time in three hundred years that the kings of Egypt had been of Egyptian blood, and in consequence a new wave of national consciousness and pride swept over the land. The people reverenced the pyramid builders who had lived two thousand years before, tried to revive their language, and emulated their art. Psammetik thought of reviving Egypt's Asiatic empire, and laid siege to some of the Philistine cities. Meantime in 626 Ashurbanipal died and under his successors, none of whom ruled many years, the power of Assyria steadily waned.

It was under these circumstances that at some time between 620 and 610 B.C. a horde of uncivilized Scythians poured down the Philistine coast and ravaged it. The Scythians lived a nomadic life on the plains of what is now southern Russia. Once before in the reign of Esarhaddon of Assyria, about 675 B.C., a wave of them had made their way into Asia through the Caucasus Mountains and had threatened to overrun Assyria. The armies of Esarhaddon had been strong enough to keep them out of Assyria. They had divided the horde, so that a part of it went eastward toward Media and a part, westward toward Asia Minor. Now a second horde came and swept down almost to the borders of Egypt, where Psammetik I succeeded in turning them back.[51] They seem not to have invaded the highlands of Palestine, but there was great danger that they would turn inland and invade Judah. The following prophecy of Jeremiah refers to this:

Jer. 4. 3] For thus saith the LORD to the men of Judah and to Jerusalem, Break up your fallow ground, and sow 4] not among thorns. Circumcise yourselves to the LORD, and take away the foreskins of your heart, ye men of Judah and inhabitants of Jerusalem: lest my fury go forth like fire, and burn that

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[51] See Herodotus, *History,* Bk. I, 105.

none can quench it, because of the evil
5] of your doings. Declare ye in Judah,
and publish in Jerusalem; and say, Blow
ye the trumpet in the land: cry aloud,
and say, Assemble yourselves, and let us
6] go into the fenced cities. Set up a
standard toward Zion: flee for safety,
stay not: for I will bring evil from the
7] north, and a great destruction. A lion
is gone up from his thicket, and a destroyer
of nations; he is on his way, he
is gone forth from his place; to make
thy land desolate, that thy cities be laid
8] waste, without inhabitant. For this
gird you with sackcloth, lament and
howl: for the fierce anger of the Lord
9] is not turned back from us. And it
shall come to pass at that day, saith the
Lord, that the heart of the king shall
perish, and the heart of the princes; and
the priests shall be astonished, and the
10] prophets shall wonder. Then said I,
Ah, Lord God! surely thou hast greatly
deceived this people and Jerusalem, saying,
Ye shall have peace; whereas the
11] sword reacheth unto the soul. At that
time shall it be said to this people and to
Jerusalem, A hot wind from the bare
heights in the wilderness toward the
daughter of my people, not to fan, nor
12] to cleanse; [52] a full wind from these
shall come for me: now will I also
13] [53] utter judgements against them. Behold,
he shall come up as clouds, and his
chariots *shall be* as the whirlwind: his
horses are swifter than eagles. Woe unto
14] us! for we are spoiled. O Jerusalem,
wash thine heart from wickedness, that
thou mayest be saved. How long shall
thine evil thoughts lodge within thee?
15] For [54] a voice declareth from Dan,
and publisheth evil from the hills of
16] Ephraim: make ye mention to the
nations; behold, publish against Jerusalem,
that watchers come from a far
country, and give out their voice against
17] the cities of Judah. As keepers of a
field are they against her round about;
because she hath been rebellious against
18] me, saith the Lord. Thy way and thy
doings have procured these things unto
thee; this is thy wickedness; [55] for it is
bitter, [55] for it reacheth unto thine
heart.

19] My bowels, my bowels! [56] I am
pained at [57] my very heart; my heart is
disquieted in me; I cannot hold my
peace; because [58] thou hast heard, O my
soul, the sound of the trumpet, the alarm
20] of war. Destruction upon destruction
is cried; for the whole land is spoiled:
suddenly are my tents spoiled, *and* my
21] curtains in a moment. How long shall
I see the standard, and hear the sound of
22] the trumpet? For my people is foolish,
they know me not; they are sottish
children, and they have none understanding:
they are wise to do evil, but to do
good they have no knowledge.

23] I beheld the earth, and, lo, it was
[59] waste and void; and the heavens, and
24] they had no light. I beheld the mountains,
and, lo, they trembled, and all the
25] hills [60] moved to and fro. I beheld,
and, lo, there was no man, and all the
26] birds of the heavens were fled. I beheld,
and, lo, [61] the fruitful field was a
wilderness, and all the cities thereof were
broken down at the presence of the
27] Lord, *and* before his fierce anger. For
thus saith the Lord, The whole land shall
be a desolation; yet will I not make a
28] full end. For this shall the earth
mourn, and the heavens above be black:
because I have spoken it, I have purposed
it, and I have not repented, neither will
29] I turn back from it. The whole city
fleeth for the noise of the horsemen and
bowmen; they go into the thickets, and
climb up upon the rocks: every city is
forsaken, and not a man dwelleth therein.
30] And thou, when thou art spoiled,
what wilt thou do? Though thou clothest
thyself with scarlet, though thou
deckest thee with ornaments of gold,
though thou [62] enlargest thine eyes with
paint, in vain dost thou make thyself fair;
thy lovers despise thee, they seek thy

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[52] Or, *a wind too strong for this.*

[53] See ch. 1: 16.

[54] Or, *there is a voice of one that declareth &c.*

[55] Or, *surely.*

[56] Another reading is, *I will wait patiently.*

[57] Heb. *the walls of my heart.*

[58] Or, as otherwise read, *my soul heareth.*

[59] See *Gen.* 1: 2.

[60] Or, *moved lightly.*

[61] Or, *Carmel.*

[62] Heb. *rendest.*

31] life. For I have heard a voice as of a
woman in travail, the anguish as of her
that bringeth forth her first child, the
voice of the daughter of Zion, that gaspeth
for breath, that spreadeth her hands,
saying, Woe is me now! for my soul
fainteth before the murderers.

The Scythian peril called forth the utterances of another prophet. The whole of the little book of *Zephaniah* dates from this time. As an example of his preaching, we quote:

Zeph. 1. 2] I will utterly consume all
things from off the face of the ground,
3] saith the LORD. I will consume man
and beast; I will consume the fowls of
the heaven, and the fishes of the sea,
and the stumblingblocks with the
wicked; and I will cut off man from off
the face of the ground, saith the LORD.
4] And I will stretch out mine hand
upon Judah, and upon all the inhabitants
of Jerusalem; and I will cut off the
remnant of Baal from this place, *and* the
name of the [63] Chemarim with the
5] priests; and them that worship the
host of heaven upon the housetops; and
them that worship, which swear to the
6] LORD and swear by [64] Malcam; and
them that are turned back from following
the LORD; and those that have not
sought the LORD, nor inquired after him.
7] Hold thy peace at the presence of
the LORD GOD: for the day of the LORD
is at hand: for the LORD hath prepared a
sacrifice, he hath [65] sanctified his guests.
8] And it shall come to pass in the day
of the LORD's sacrifice, that I will [66] punish
the princes, and the king's sons, and
all such as are clothed with foreign ap-
9] parel. And in that day I will [66] punish
all those that leap over the threshold,
which fill their master's house with vi-
10] olence and deceit. And in that day,
saith the LORD, there shall be the noise of
a cry from the fish gate, and an howling
from the [67] second quarter, and a great
11] crashing from the hills. Howl, ye inhabitants
of [68] Maktesh, for all [69] the
people of Canaan are undone: all they
that were laden with silver are cut off.
12] And it shall come to pass at that time,
that I will search Jerusalem with
[70] candles; and I will [66] punish the men
that are [71] settled on their lees, that say
in their heart, The LORD will not do good,
13] neither will he do evil. And their
wealth shall become a spoil, and their
houses a desolation: yea, they shall build
houses, but shall not inhabit them; and
they shall plant vineyards, but shall not
14] drink the wine thereof. The great
day of the LORD is near, it is near and
hasteth greatly, *even* the voice of the day
of the LORD; the mighty man crieth there
15] bitterly. That day is a day of wrath,
a day of trouble and distress, a day of
wasteness and desolation, a day of darkness
and gloominess, a day of clouds and
16] thick darkness, a day of the trumpet
and alarm, against the fenced cities, and
17] against the high [72] battlements. And
I will bring distress upon men, that they
shall walk like blind men, because they
have sinned against the LORD: and their
blood shall be poured out as dust, and
18] their flesh as dung. Neither their
silver nor their gold shall be able to deliver
them in the day of the LORD's
wrath; but the whole land shall be devoured
by the fire of his jealousy: for he
shall make an end, yea, a [73] terrible end,
of all them that dwell in the land.

Such were the forebodings of Jeremiah and Zephaniah in face of the Scythian peril. The horde turned backward, however, without invading the hill-country of Judah, and the disaster was averted. The Vulgate

[63] See *2 Kings* 23: 5, *Hos.* 10:5.
[64] Or, *their king.*
[65] See *1 Sam.* 16: 5.
[66] Heb. *visit upon.*
[67] Heb. *Mishneh.*
[68] Or, *The mortar.*
[69] Or, *the merchant people.*
[70] Heb. *lamps.*
[71] Or, *thickened.*
[72] Or, *corner towers.*
[73] Or, *speedy.*

(Latin) version of the opening words of *Zephaniah* 1:15, *Dies iræ dies illa,* was taken by St. Bernard centuries later as the theme of one of the great hymns of the Middle Ages.

THE PROPHET NAHUM

In 625 B.C., the next year after Ashurbanipal died, Babylon gained her independence. Nabopolassar, a Chaldean, rebelled and maintained himself on the throne. At first he controlled only Babylon and a little district around it, but as years went on he gained southern Babylonia also. Beginning also about 740 B.C. there had gradually arisen to the eastward a kingdom of Media. Assyria grew weaker and weaker. Nabopolassar formed an alliance with the Medes, and together they overthrew the last of the Assyrian kings and destroyed Nineveh in 610 B.C. As the fall of the great and cruel oppressor approached, a Hebrew prophet, Nahum, predicted its overthrow. He did it with such evident relish, and looked forward with such satisfaction to the avenging of all the wrongs that Israel had suffered at her hands, that his book has been called a "screech of vengeance." *Nahum* 3:1–19 will afford an example of his feeling and style.

Nah. 3. Woe to the bloody city! it is
all full of lies and rapine; the prey
2] departeth not. The noise of the whip,
and the noise of the rattling of wheels;
and pransing horses, and jumping
3] chariots; the horseman [74] mounting,
and the flashing sword, and the glittering
spear; and a multitude of slain, and a
great heap of carcases: and there is none
end of the corpses; they stumble upon
4] their corpses: because of the multitude
of the whoredoms of the well favoured
harlot, the mistress of witchcrafts, that
selleth nations through her whoredoms,
and families through her witchcrafts.
5] Behold, I am against thee saith the
LORD of hosts, and I will discover thy
skirts [75] upon thy face; and I will shew
the nations thy nakedness, and the
6] kingdoms thy shame. And I will cast
abominable filth upon thee, and make
thee vile, and will set thee as a
7] gazingstock. And it shall come to pass, that
all they that look upon thee shall flee
from thee, and say, Nineveh is laid
waste: who will bemoan her? whence
8] shall I seek comforters for thee? Art
thou better than No-amon, that was
situate among the [76] rivers, that had the
waters round about her; whose rampart
was [77] the sea, *and* her wall [78] was of
9] the sea? Ethiopia and Egypt were
her strength, and it was infinite; Put and
10] Lubim were thy helpers. Yet was she
carried away, she went into captivity: her
young children also were dashed in
pieces at the top of all the streets: and
they cast lots for her honourable men,
and all her great men were bound in
11] chains. Thou also shalt be drunken,
thou shalt be hid; thou also shalt seek
[79] a strong hold because of the enemy.
12] All thy fortresses shall be *like* fig
trees with the firstripe figs: if they be
shaken, they fall into the mouth of the
13] eater. Behold, thy people in the midst
of thee are women; the gates of thy land
are set wide open unto thine enemies: the
14] fire hath devoured thy bars. Draw
thee water for the siege, strengthen thy

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[74] Or, *charging.*

[75] Or, *before.*

[76] Or, *canals.* See *Ex.* 7:19.

[77] That is, the Nile.

[78] Some ancient versions have, *was the waters.*

[79] Or, *a defence against.*

fortresses: go into the clay, and tread the mortar, [80] make strong the brickkiln. 15] There shall the fire devour thee; the sword shall cut thee off, it shall devour thee like the cankerworm: make thyself many as the cankerworm, make thyself 16] many as the locust. Thou hast multiplied thy merchants above the stars of heaven: the cankerworm [81] spoileth, and 17] flieth away. Thy crowned are as the locusts, and thy [82] marshals as the swarms of grasshoppers, which camp in the [83] hedges in the cold day, but when the sun ariseth they flee away, and their place is not known where they are. 18] Thy shepherds slumber, O king of Assyria: thy worthies are at rest: thy people are scattered upon the mountains, and there is none to gather them. 19] There is no assuaging of thy hurt; thy wound is grievous: all that hear the bruit of thee clap the hands over thee; for upon whom hath not thy wickedness passed continually?

THE END OF JOSIAH'S REIGN

In the year after Nineveh fell, Psammetik I died. His son Necho succeeded him on the throne of Egypt and ruled from 609 to 593 B.C. Necho thought the time opportune to revive the ancient Egyptian empire in Asia. Assyria was no more, and the power of Babylon under Nabopolassar had not yet extended to the upper Euphrates region. He determined accordingly to conquer Asia. How his venture first affected the fortunes of Judah is told in *2 Kings* 23: 28–30, as follows:

2 Kings 23. 28] Now the rest of the acts of Josiah, and all that he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah? 29] [84] In his days Pharaoh-necoh king of Egypt went up against the king of Assyria to the river Euphrates: and king Josiah went against him; and he slew him at Megiddo, when he had seen him. 30] And his servants carried him in a chariot dead from Megiddo, and brought him to Jerusalem, and buried him in his own sepulchre. [85] And the people of the land took Jehoahaz the son of Josiah, and anointed him, and made him king in his father's stead.

Thus ended one of the most important reigns in Judæan history. What induced Josiah to throw himself in the path of Necho's army with the inferior forces of Judah, we can only conjecture. Perhaps he thought the time opportune to claim for the house of David all the old territory of Israel; perhaps he foresaw vassalage to Egypt and the payment of Egyptian tribute in Necho's success and wished to prevent it. Whatever his reason, he made a gallant attempt, but lost his life.

CHRONOLOGY OF JUDEAN KINGS

Manasseh, 696–641 B.C.
Amon, 641–639
Josiah, 639–609

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[80] Or, *lay hold of the brick-mould.*
[81] Or, *spreadeth himself.*
[82] Or, *scribes.*
[83] Or, *walls.*
[84] See *2 Chr.* 35: 20–24.
[85] See *2 Chr.* 36: 1–4.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF JUDAH

THE BRIEF REIGN OF JEHOAHAZ, *2 Kings* 23:31–35

2 Kings 23. 31] Jehoahaz was twenty and three years old when he began to reign; and he reigned three months in Jerusalem: and his mother's name was Hamutal the daughter of Jeremiah of
32] Libnah. And he did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, according
33] to all that his fathers had done. And Pharaoh-necoh put him in bonds at Riblah in the land of Hamath, [1] that he might not reign in Jerusalem; and put the land to a [2] tribute of an hundred talents of silver, and a talent of gold.
34] And Pharaoh-necoh made Eliakim the son of Josiah king in the room of Josiah his father, and changed his name to Jehoiakim: but he took Jehoahaz away; and he came to Egypt, and died
35] there. And Jehoiakim gave the silver and the gold to Pharaoh; but he taxed the land to give the money according to the commandment of Pharaoh: he exacted the silver and the gold of the people of the land, of every one according to his taxation, to give it unto Pharaoh-necoh.

PUT in other words, the passage just quoted means that Necho had conquered northern Syria and temporarily established himself at Riblah, to the south of Kadesh on the Orontes, to receive the submission of the chiefs of the surrounding territory. While he had been doing this, Jehoahaz had as a matter of course succeeded his father in Jerusalem. Then Necho summoned him, as soon as he had leisure to do so, to come to Riblah and give an account of himself. Jehoahaz dared not demur. Necho, to impress the Jews with his power, deposed Jehoahaz, took him a prisoner to Egypt, put his brother Jehoiakim in his place, and imposed a heavy tribute upon Judah. All this took place in the summer of 609 B.C.

THE ACCESSION OF JEHOIAKIM, *2 Kings* 23:36, 37

2 Kings 23. 36] [3] Jehoiakim was twenty and five years old when he began to reign; and he reigned eleven years in Jerusalem: and his mother's name was Zebidah the daughter of Pedaiah of
37] Rumah. And he did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, according to all that his fathers had done.

For four years Jehoiakim paid the tribute which Necho had imposed upon him, but in the year 604 B.C., a change came. In that year Necho came into Asia again in the effort to extend his conquests to the Euphrates. Nine hundred years before, Egyptian kings of the eighteenth dynasty had conquered that region, and Necho sought to emulate them. The king of Babylon, however, also had his eye upon that region. Nabopolassar was, apparently, now old, but he sent his son Nebuchadnezzar with a large army to contest with the Egyptian the conquest of the country. The two armies met near the Hittite city of Carchemish on the Euphrates and Necho was ignominiously defeated. He retreated to Egypt hurriedly with Nebuchadnezzar in hot pursuit. In the forty-sixth chapter of *Jeremiah* is a prophecy which Jeremiah uttered concerning this.

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[1] According to another reading, *when he reigned.*

[2] Or, *fine.*

[3] See *2 Chr.* 36:5 etc.

JEREMIAH'S PROPHECY OF NECHO'S DEFEAT BY NEBUCHADNEZZAR, *Jer.* 46:2–28

Jer. 46. 2] Of Egypt: concerning the army of Pharaoh-neco king of Egypt, which was by the river Euphrates in Carchemish, which Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon smote in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah, king of Judah.

3] Order ye the buckler and shield, and
4] draw near to battle. Harness the
horses, and get up, ye horsemen, and
stand forth with your helmets; furbish
the spears, put on the coats of mail.
5] Wherefore have I seen it? they are
dismayed and are turned backward; and
their mighty ones are beaten down, and
are fled apace, and look not back: terror
6] is on every side, saith the LORD. Let
not the swift flee away, nor the mighty
man escape; in the north by the river
Euphrates have they stumbled and fallen.
7] [4] Who is this that riseth up like
the Nile, whose waters toss themselves
8] like the rivers? Egypt riseth up like
the Nile, and his waters toss themselves
like the rivers: and he saith, I will rise
up, I will cover the earth; I will destroy
the city and the inhabitants thereof.
9] Go up, ye horses; and rage, ye chariots; and let the mighty men go forth:
Cush and Put, that handle the shield;
and the Ludim, that handle and bend the
10] bow. For that day is *a day* of the
LORD, the LORD of hosts, a day of vengeance, that he may avenge him of his
adversaries: and the sword shall devour
and be satiate, and shall drink its fill of
their blood: for the Lord, the LORD of
hosts, hath a sacrifice in the north country by the river Euphrates. Go up
11] into Gilead, and take balm, O virgin
daughter of Egypt: in vain dost thou use
many medicines; there is no healing for
12] thee. The nations have heard of thy
shame, and the earth is full of the cry:
for the mighty man hath stumbled against
the mighty, they are fallen both of them
together.

13] The word that the LORD spake to Jeremiah the prophet, how that Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon should come and smite the land of Egypt.

14] Declare ye in Egypt, and publish
in Migdol, and publish in Noph and in
Tahpanhes: say ye, Stand forth, and
prepare thee; for the sword hath devoured round about thee. [5] Why are
15] thy strong ones swept away? they stood
not, because the LORD did [6] drive them.
16] He made many to stumble, yea, they
fell one upon another: and they said,
Arise, and let us go again to our own
people, and to the land of our nativity,
17] from the oppressing sword. They
cried there, Pharaoh king of Egypt is but
a noise; he hath let the appointed time
18] pass by. As I live, saith the King,
whose name is the LORD of hosts, surely
like Tabor among the mountains, and like

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[4] Or, *Who is this like the Nile that riseth up, like the rivers whose waters toss themselves? Egypt is like the Nile that riseth up &c.*

[5] Or, according to some ancient authorities, *Why is thy strong one swept away? he stood not &c.*

[6] Or, *thrust them down.*

Carmel by the sea, so shall he come.
19] [7] O thou daughter that dwellest in
Egypt, [8] furnish thyself to go into captivity:
for Noph shall become a desolation,
and shall be burnt up, without inhabitant.
20] Egypt is a very fair heifer; *but*
[9] destruction out of the north is come,
21] [10] it is come. Also her hired men in
the midst of her are like calves of the
stall; for they also are turned back,
they are fled away together, they did not
stand: for the day of their calamity is
come upon them, the time of their visitation.
22] The sound thereof shall go
like the serpent; for they shall march
with an army, and come against her with
23] axes, as hewers of wood. They shall
cut down her forest, saith the Lord,
[12] though it cannot be searched; because
they are more than the locusts, and are
24] innumerable. The daughter of Egypt
shall be put to shame; she shall be delivered
into the hand of the people of
25] the north. The Lord of hosts, the
God of Israel, saith: Behold, I will
punish Amon of No, and Pharaoh, and
Egypt, with her gods, and her kings;
even Pharaoh, and them that trust in
26] him: and I will deliver them into
the hand of those that seek their lives,
and into the hand of Nebuchadrezzar
king of Babylon, and into the hand of
his servants: and afterwards it shall be
inhabited, as in the days of old, saith the
27] Lord. [13] But fear not thou, O Jacob
my servant, neither be dismayed, O
Israel: for, lo, I will save thee from afar,
and thy seed from the land of their
captivity; and Jacob shall return, and
shall be quiet and at ease, and none shall
28] make him afraid. Fear not thou, O
Jacob my servant, saith the Lord; for I
am with thee: for I will make a full end
of all the nations whither I have driven
thee, but I will not make a full end of
thee; but I will correct thee with judgement,
and will in no wise [14] leave thee
unpunished.

Jeremiah's description of the flight is almost as vivid as though he had looked out from some Judæan hilltop and seen the dust raised by the fleeing army. Apparently, when he uttered these words, Jeremiah expected Nebuchadnezzar to invade Egypt. He probably would have done so, but when he was on the border of Egypt he was overtaken by a swift messenger, who informed him that his father, Nabopolassar, had died, and Nebuchadnezzar hurried back to Babylon to secure the crown. This he did, and Egypt escaped. Thus Nebuchadnezzar began a long reign of forty-two years.

By the defeat of Necho the kingdom of Judah became Babylon's vassal instead of Egypt's. The second book of *Kings* speaks of the fact thus:

2 Kings. 24. In his days Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came up, and Jehoiakim became his servant three years: then he turned and rebelled against him.

The passing of Judah from the dominion of Egypt to that of Babylon was considered by Jeremiah as an event of such importance, that in consequence he now for the first time took measures to put his prophecies into permanent form. He had been preaching and prophesying for more than twenty years, but had written nothing; now he felt called to put into writing the substance of his prophecies for the instruction and guidance of the people. If Jeremiah wrote at all, he was not skilful with the pen. He could speak his inspired utterances in the form of Hebrew poetry, but, when he wished to write them, he called an amanuensis named Baruch and dictated to him. The whole story, together with the fortunes of the first draft of his book, is told in *Jeremiah* 36:1–32.

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[7] Or, *O thou that dwellest with the daughter of Egypt.*

[8] Heb. *make thee vessels of captivity.*

[9] Or, *the gadfly.*

[10] Or, according to many ancient authorities, *upon her.*

[11] Or, *Her sound is like that of the serpent as it goeth.*

[12] Or, *for.*

[13] See ch. 30: 10, 11.

[14] Or, *hold thee guiltless.*

JEREMIAH BEGINS TO WRITE, *Jer.* 36

Jer. 36. And it came to pass in the
fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of
Josiah, king of Judah, that this word
came unto Jeremiah from the LORD,
2] saying, Take thee a roll of a book, and
write therein all the words that I have
spoken unto thee against Israel, and
against Judah, and against all the nations,
from the day I spake unto thee,
from the days of Josiah, even unto this
3] day. It may be that the house of
Judah will hear all the evil which I purpose
to do unto them; that they may
return every man from his evil way; that
I may forgive their iniquity and their
4] sin. Then Jeremiah called Baruch the
son of Neriah; and Baruch wrote from
the mouth of Jeremiah all the words of
the LORD, which he had spoken unto him,
5] upon a roll of a book. And Jeremiah
commanded Baruch, saying, I am [15] shut
up; I cannot go into the house of the
6] LORD: therefore go thou, and read in
the roll, which thou hast written from
my mouth, the words of the LORD in the
ears of the people in the LORD's house
upon [16] the fast day: and also thou shalt
read them in the ears of all Judah that
7] come out of their cities. It may be
[17] they will present their supplication before
the LORD, and will return every
one from his evil way: for great is the
anger and the fury that the LORD hath
8] pronounced against this people. And
Baruch the son of Neriah did according
to all that Jeremiah the prophet commanded
him, reading in the book the
words of the LORD in the LORD's house.
9] Now it came to pass in the fifth
year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah,
king of Judah, in the ninth month, that
all the people in Jerusalem, and all the
people that came from the cities of Judah
unto Jerusalem, proclaimed a fast be-
10] fore the LORD. Then read Baruch in
the book the words of Jeremiah in the
house of the LORD, in the chamber of
Gemariah the son of Shaphan the scribe,
in the upper court, at the entry of the
new gate of the LORD's house, in the ears
11] of all the people. And when Micaiah
the son of Gemariah, the son of Shaphan,
had heard out of the book all the words
12] of the LORD, he went down into the
king's house, into the scribe's chamber:
and, lo, all the princes sat there, even
Elishama the scribe, and Delaiah the son
of Shemaiah, and Elnathan the son of
Achbor, and Gemariah the son of
Shaphan, and Zedekiah the son of
13] Hananiah, and all the princes. Then
Micaiah declared unto them all the words
that he had heard, when Baruch read
the book in the ears of the people.
14] Therefore all the princes sent Jehudi
the son of Nethaniah, the son of Shelemiah,
the son of Cushi, unto Baruch,
saying, Take in thine hand the roll
wherein thou hast read in the ears of the
people, and come. So Baruch the son of
Neriah took the roll in his hand, and
15] came unto them. And they said unto
him, Sit down now, and read it in our
ears. So Baruch read it in their ears.
16] Now it came to pass, when they had
heard all the words, they turned in fear

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[15] Or, *restrained.*
[16] Or, *a fast day.*
[17] Heb. *their supplication will fall.*

one toward another, and said unto
Baruch, We will surely tell the king of
17] all these words. And they asked
Baruch, saying, Tell us now, How didst
thou write all these words at his mouth?
18] Then Baruch answered them, He pronounced
all these words unto me with his
mouth, and I wrote them with ink in
19] the book. Then said the princes unto
Baruch, Go, hide thee, thou and Jeremiah;
and let no man know where ye
20] be. And they went in to the king into
the court; but they had laid up the roll
in the chamber of Elishama the scribe;
and they told all the words in the ears
21] of the king. So the king sent Jehudi
to fetch the roll: and he took it out of
the chamber of Elishama the scribe. And
Jehudi read it in the ears of the king,
and in the ears of all the princes which
22] stood beside the king. Now the king
sat in the winter house in the ninth
month: and *there was a fire in* the brasier
23] burning before him. And it came to
pass, when Jehudi had read three or
four [18] leaves, that *the king* cut it with
the penknife, and cast it into the fire
that was in the brasier, until all the roll
was consumed in the fire that was in the
24] brasier. And they were not afraid,
nor rent their garments, neither the king,
nor any of his servants that heard all
25] these words. Moreover Elnathan and
Delaiah and Gemariah had made intercession
to the king that he would not
burn the roll: but he would not hear
26] them. And the king commanded
Jerahmeel [19] the king's son, and Seraiah
the son of Azriel, and Shelemiah the
son of Abdeel, to take Baruch the scribe
and Jeremiah the prophet: but the LORD
hid them.

27] Then the word of the LORD came
to Jeremiah, after that the king had
burned the roll, and the words which
Baruch wrote at the mouth of Jeremiah,
28] saying, Take thee again another roll,
and write in it all the former words that
were in the first roll, which Jehoiakim
29] the king of Judah hath burned. And
concerning Jehoiakim king of Judah
thou shalt say, Thus saith the LORD:
Thou hast burned this roll, saying, Why
hast thou written therein, saying, The
king of Babylon shall certainly come
and destroy this land, and shall cause to
cease from thence man and beast?
30] Therefore thus saith the LORD concerning
Jehoiakim king of Judah: He
shall have none to sit upon the throne
of David: and his dead body shall be
cast out in the day to the heat, and in
31] the night to the frost. And I will
punish him and his seed and his servants
for their iniquity; and I will bring upon
them, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem,
and upon the men of Judah, all
the evil that I have pronounced against
32] them, but they hearkened not. Then
took Jeremiah another roll, and gave it
to Baruch the scribe, the son of Neriah;
who wrote therein from the mouth of
Jeremiah all the words of the book
which Jehoiakim king of Judah had
burned in the fire: and there were added
besides unto them many like words.

This story presents a vivid picture. We can almost see the king sitting in the large room of his palace, in the chill December weather, angered by the words of the prophet, taking the roll from the hands of the scribe, cutting it up, and throwing it into the fire. In spite of the fate of his first literary effort, however, Jeremiah persisted. He secured again the services of Baruch and again dictated the substance of his prophecies, "adding many like things." The second draft was, therefore, longer than the first. It is thought that this second draft constitutes substantially what we now have in *Jeremiah,* chapters 1–20.

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[18] Or, *columns.*

[19] Or, *the son of Hammelech.*

JEHOIAKIM'S DEATH, *2 Kings* 24: 2–7

2 Kings 24. 2] And the LORD sent
against him bands of the Chaldeans, and
bands of the Syrians, and bands of the
Moabites, and bands of the children of
Ammon, and sent them against Judah
to destroy it, according to the word of
the LORD, which he spake by the hand of
3] his servants the prophets. Surely at
the commandment of the LORD came this
upon Judah, to remove them out of his
sight, for the sins of Manasseh, according
4] to all that he did; and also for
the innocent blood that he shed; for he
filled Jerusalem with innocent blood: and
5] the LORD would not pardon. Now the
rest of the acts of Jehoiakim, and all
that he did, are they not written in the
book of the chronicles of the kings of
6] Judah? So Jehoiakim slept with his
fathers: and Jehoiachin his son reigned
7] in his stead. And the king of Egypt
came not again any more out of his
land: for the king of Babylon had taken,
from the brook of Egypt unto the river
Euphrates, all that pertained to the king
of Egypt.

The Bible, as quoted above, states that, after his defeat by Nebuchadnezzar in 604, Necho never came again into Asia. While this is true, it is probable that it was due to Necho's agents that Jehoiakim rebelled against Nebuchadnezzar. From this time onward there were always two parties in Jerusalem, the Babylonian and Egyptian parties. One believed that Judah's safety lay in loyalty to Babylon; to this party Jeremiah belonged. The other held that Judah could become free from Babylon by the aid of Egypt and would be much better off as a vassal of Egypt. Doubtless Jehoiakim's course was due to his having listened to the Egyptian party.

Nebuchadnezzar, too busy elsewhere to punish Jehoiakim at once, encouraged bands of the nations east of the Jordan to harry his territory. In the opinion of many scholars it was about this time, just before or just after 600 B.C., that the prophet Habakkuk gave forth the utterances contained in the book which bears his name. The following prophecy came probably from the situation which existed toward the end of Jehoiakim's reign.

AN ORACLE OF HABAKKUK, *Hab.* 1: 5–17

Hab. 1. 5] Behold ye among the nations,
and regard, and wonder marvellously:
for [20] I work a work in your
days, which ye will not believe though it
6] be told you. For, lo, I raise up the
Chaldeans, that bitter and hasty nation;
which march through the breadth of the
earth, to possess dwelling places that
7] are not theirs. [21] They are terrible
and dreadful: their judgement and
their dignity proceed from themselves.
8] Their horses also are swifter than
leopards, and are more fierce than the
evening wolves; and their horsemen
[22] spread themselves: yea, their horsemen
come from far; they fly as an eagle
9] that hasteth to devour. They come all
of them for violence; [23] their faces are
set eagerly [24] *as* the east wind; and they
10] gather captives as the sand. [25] Yea,
he scoffeth at kings, and princes are a
derision unto him: he derideth every

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[20] Or, *one worketh.*
[21] Heb. *He,* and so in vv. 8, 9.
[22] Or, *bear themselves proudly.*
[23] Heb. *the eagerness* (or *assembling*) *of their faces is &c.*
[24] Or, *towards the east.* Or, *forwards,*
[25] Or, *And they scoff &c,*

strong hold; for he heapeth up dust, and
11] taketh it. [26] Then shall he sweep by
as a wind, and shall [27] pass over, and
be guilty: *even* he whose might is his
12] god. Art not thou from everlasting,
O Lord my God, mine Holy One? [28] we
shall not die. O Lord, thou hast ordained
him for judgement; and thou,
O [29] Rock, hast established him for correction.
13] Thou that art of purer eyes
than to behold evil, and that canst not
look on perverseness, wherefore lookest
thou upon them that deal treacherously,
and holdest thy peace when the wicked
swalloweth up the man that is more
14] righteous than he; and makest men
as the fishes of the sea, as the creeping
things, that have no ruler over them?
15] He taketh up all of them with the
angle, he catcheth them in his net, and
gathereth them in his drag: therefore
16] he rejoiceth and is glad. Therefore
he sacrificeth unto his net, and burneth
incense unto his drag; because of them
his portion is fat, and his meat [30] plenteous.
17] Shall he therefore empty his net,
and not spare to slay the nations continually?

When the military season of 597 opened Nebuchadnezzar was ready to march on Jerusalem with an army. Before he arrived, however, Jehoiakim had died. Probably in the alarm and confusion occasioned by the approach of the Babylonian army he was hastily buried without the usual royal funeral. Jeremiah had declared (*Jer.* 22: 19) that he should be buried like an ass.

THE ACCESSION OF JEHOIACHIN, *2 Kings* 24: 8–10

2 Kings 24. 8] Jehoiachin was eighteen
years old when he began to reign;
and he reigned in Jerusalem three
months: and his mother's name was
Nehusta the daughter of Elnathan of
9] Jerusalem. And he did that which was
evil in the sight of the Lord, according
10] to all that his father had done. At
that time the servants of Nebuchadnezzar
king of Babylon came up to Jerusalem,
and the city was besieged.

JEREMIAH'S PROPHECY CONCERNING JEHOIACHIN, *Jer.* 22: 24–30

Jer. 22. 24] As I live, saith the Lord,
though [31] Coniah the son of Jehoiakim
king of Judah were the signet upon my
right hand, yet would I pluck thee
25] thence; and I will give thee into the
hand of them that seek thy life, and into
the hand of them of whom thou art
afraid, even into the hand of Nebuchadrezzar
king of Babylon, and into the
26] hand of the Chaldeans. And I will
cast thee out, and thy mother that bare
thee, into another country, where ye
were not born; and there shall ye die.
27] But to the land whereunto [32] their
soul longeth to return, thither shall they
28] not return. Is this man Coniah a
despised broken [33] vessel? Is he a vessel
wherein is no pleasure? wherefore are
they cast out, he and his seed, and are
cast into the land which they know not?
29] O [34] earth, earth, earth, hear the
30] word of the Lord. Thus saith the
Lord, Write ye this man childless, a
man that shall not prosper in his days:
for no man of his seed shall prosper,
sitting upon the throne of David, and
ruling any more in Judah.

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[26] Or, *Then shall the wind sweep by, and he shall pass away.*

[27] Or, *transgress.*

[28] According to an ancient Jewish tradition, *thou diest not.*

[29] See *Deut.* 32: 4.

[30] Heb. *fat.*

[31] In ch. 24: 1 and *1 Chr.* 3: 16, *Jeconiah.* In *2 Kings* 24: 6, 8, *Jehoiachin.*

[32] Heb. *they lift up their soul.*

[33] Or, *pot.*

[34] Or, *land.*

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JEHOIACHIN'S CAPTIVITY, *2 Kings* 24: 11–17

2 Kings 24. 11] And Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came unto the city, while his servants were besieging it; 12] and Jehoiachin the king of Judah went out to the king of Babylon, he, and his mother, and his servants, and his princes, and his [35] officers: and the king of Babylon took him in the eighth year 13] of his reign. And he carried out thence all the treasures of the house of the LORD, and the treasures of the king's house, and cut in pieces all the vessels of gold which Solomon king of Israel had made in the temple of the LORD, as the 14] LORD had said. And he carried away all Jerusalem, and all the princes, and all the mighty men of valour, even ten thousand captives, and all the craftsmen and the smiths; none remained, save the poorest sort of the people of the land. 15] And he carried away Jehoiachin to Babylon; and the king's mother, and the king's wives, and his [35] officers, and the [36] chief men of the land, carried he into captivity from Jerusalem to Babylon. 16] And all the men of might, even seven thousand, and the craftsmen and the smiths a thousand, all of them strong and apt for war, even them the king of Babylon brought captive to Babylon. 17] [37] And the king of Babylon made Mattaniah his father's brother king in his stead, and changed his name to Zedekiah.

The siege of Jerusalem had lasted three months. One can but pity the boy king, Jehoiachin, the whole of whose brief reign was spent in the horrors of a siege, and who then was taken as a captive to Babylon to pass thirty-seven years in prison. In taking some seven thousand of the more important people of Judah to Babylonia, Nebuchadnezzar was following the policy inaugurated by the Assyrians a hundred and fifty years before. Revolutions are fomented usually by the leading citizens of a nation and, by transporting these, the Babylonian king thought to to make it impossible for Judah to rebel again. Jeremiah was left in Jerusalem. He had been a consistent advocate of the belief that it was Yahweh's will that Judah should be subject to Babylon, and doubtless Nebuchadnezzar recognized that he would be a help to his government. Among those who were deported to Babylon at this time was a young priest named Ezekiel who, five years later, began to prophesy in Babylonia and became the prophet Ezekiel. From Ezekiel's book we learn something of the conditions imposed on the captives taken to Babylonia. Ezekiel was settled with a colony of Jews at Tel-abib on the canal Chebar, near the old Babylonian city of Nippur. He had a house of his own and liberty to visit other Jews in their houses. Apparently they were not enslaved; they were simply compelled to become citizens of Babylonia.

THE ACCESSION OF ZEDEKIAH, *2 Kings* 24: 18–20

2 Kings 24. 18] [38] Zedekiah was twenty and one years old when he began to reign; and he reigned eleven years in Jerusalem: and his mother's name was [39] Hamutal the daughter of Jeremiah of 19] Libnah. And he did that which was

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[35] Or, *eunuchs.*
[36] Or, *mighty.*
[37] See *2 Chr.* 36: 10–13.
[38] See *Jer.* 52: 1, &c.
[39] Heb. *Hamital.*

evil in the sight of the Lord, according
20] to all that Jehoiakim had done. For
through the anger of the Lord did it
come to pass in Jerusalem and Judah,
until he had cast them out from his
presence: and Zedekiah rebelled against
the king of Babylon.

While it is true, as the passage above quoted states, that Zedekiah rebelled against Nebuchadnezzar, he did not do so until the ninth year of his reign. Meantime many of the Judæans writhed under the Babylonian yoke. The Egyptian party in particular looked forward confidently to deliverance from Babylon. They had in Jerusalem prophets on their side; Jeremiah called them false prophets. A vivid picture of a scene which occurred at the beginning of Zedekiah's reign is given in the twenty-eighth chapter of *Jeremiah,* which reads as follows:

Jer. 28. And it came to pass the same
year, in the beginning of the reign of
Zedekiah king of Judah, in the fourth
year, in the fifth month, that Hananiah
the son of Azzur the prophet, which was
of Gibeon, spake unto me in the house
of the Lord, in the presence of the
priests and of all the people, saying.
2] Thus speaketh the Lord of hosts, the
God of Israel, saying, I have broken the
3] yoke of the king of Babylon. Within
two full years will I bring again into
this place all the vessels of the Lord's
house, that Nebuchadnezzar king of
Babylon took away from this place, and
4] carried them to Babylon: and I will
bring again to this place Jeconiah the son
of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, with all the
captives of Judah, that went to Babylon,
saith the Lord: for I will break the yoke
5] of the king of Babylon. Then the
prophet Jeremiah said unto the prophet
Hananiah in the presence of the priests,
and in the presence of all the people that
6] stood in the house of the Lord, even
the prophet Jeremiah said, Amen: the
Lord do so: the Lord perform thy words
which thou hast prophesied, to bring
again the vessels of the Lord's house,
and all them of the captivity, from
7] Babylon unto this place. Nevertheless
hear thou now this word that I speak in
thine ears, and in the ears of all the peo-
8] ple: The prophets that have been be-
fore me and before thee of old prophesied
against many countries, and against
great kingdoms, of war, and of evil, and
9] of pestilence. The prophet which
prophesieth of peace, when the word of
the prophet shall come to pass, then shall
the prophet be known, [40] that the Lord
10] hath truly sent him. Then Hananiah
the prophet took the bar from off the
prophet Jeremiah's neck, and brake it.
11] And Hananiah spake in the presence
of all the people, saying, Thus saith the
Lord: Even so will I break the yoke of
Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon within
two full years from off the neck of all
the nations. And the prophet Jeremiah
12] went his way. Then the word of the
Lord came unto Jeremiah, after that
Hananiah the prophet had broken the
bar from off the neck of the prophet
13] Jeremiah, saying, Go, and tell
Hananiah, saying, Thus saith the Lord:
Thou hast broken the bars of wood;
but thou shalt make in their stead bars
14] of iron. For thus saith the Lord of
hosts, the God of Israel: I have put a
yoke of iron upon the neck of all these
nations, that they may serve Nebuchad-
nezzar king of Babylon; and they shall
serve him: and I have given him the
15] beasts of the field also. Then said
the prophet Jeremiah unto Hananiah the
prophet, Hear now, Hananiah; the Lord
hath not sent thee; but thou makest this
16] people to trust in a lie. Therefore
thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will send
thee away from off the face of the earth:
this year thou shalt die, because thou
hast spoken rebellion against the Lord.
17] So Hananiah the prophet died the
same year in the seventh month.

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[40] Or, *whom the LORD hath truly sent.*

Not only were such scenes enacted in public, but, although the Deuteronomic law was now publicly recognized as the norm in religion, in secret even priests harked back to primitive and superstitious cults. Ezekiel, who had served in the temple at Jerusalem and knew its secrets, tells us of this in the eighth chapter of his book, as follows:

Ezek. 8. And it came to pass in the
sixth year, in the sixth *month,* in the fifth
day of the month, as I sat in mine house,
and the elders of Judah sat before me,
that the hand of the LORD GOD fell there
2] upon me. Then I beheld, and, lo, a likeness
as the appearance of fire; from the
appearance of his loins and downward,
fire: and from his loins and upward,
as the appearance of brightness, [41] as the
3] colour of [42] amber. And he put forth
the form of an hand, and took me by a
lock of mine head; and the spirit lifted
me up between the earth and the heaven,
and brought me in the visions of God to
Jerusalem, to the door of the gate of
the inner *court* that looketh toward the
north; where was the seat of the image
of jealousy, which provoketh to jealousy.
4] And, behold, the glory of the God of
Israel was there, according to the [43] appearance
5] that I saw in the plain. Then
said he unto me, Son of man, lift up thine
eyes now the way toward the north. So
I lifted up mine eyes the way toward the
north, and behold northward of the gate
of the altar this image of jealousy in the
6] entry. And he said unto me, Son of
man, seest thou what they do? even the
great abominations that the house of
Israel do commit here, [44] that I should
go far off from my sanctuary? but
[45] thou shalt again see yet other great
7] abominations. And he brought me to
the door of the court; and when I looked,
8] behold a hole in the wall. Then said
he unto me, Son of man, dig now in the
wall: and when I had digged in the wall,
9] behold a door. And he said unto me,
Go in, and see the wicked abominations
10] that they do here. So I went in and
saw; and behold every form of creeping
things, and abominable beasts, and all the
idols of the house of Israel, pourtrayed
11] upon the wall round about. And there
stood before them seventy men of the
elders of the house of Israel, and in the
midst of them stood Jaazaniah the son
of Shaphan, with every man his censer
in his hand; and the odour of the cloud
12] of incense went up. Then said he
unto me, Son of man, hast thou seen
what the elders of the house of Israel do
in the dark, every man in his chambers of
imagery? for they say, The LORD seeth
us not; the LORD hath forsaken the
13] [46] earth. He said also unto me, Thou
shalt again see yet other great abominations
14] which they do. Then he brought
me to the door of the gate of the LORD's
house which was toward the north; and
behold, there sat the women weeping for
15] Tammuz. Then said he unto me,
Hast thou seen *this,* O son of man? thou
shalt again see yet greater abominations
16] than these. And he brought me into
the inner court of the LORD's house, and
behold, at the door of the temple of the
LORD, between the porch and the altar,
were about five and twenty men, with
their backs toward the temple of the
LORD, and their faces toward the east;
and they worshipped the sun toward the
17] east. Then he said unto me, Hast
thou seen *this,* O son of man? Is it a light
thing to the house of Judah that they
commit the abominations which they
commit here? for they have filled the
land with violence, and have turned again
to provoke me to anger: and, lo, they
18] put the branch to their nose. Therefore
will I also deal in fury: mine eye
shall not spare, neither will I have pity:
and though they cry in mine ears with a
loud voice, yet will I not hear them.

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[41] Or, *as amber to look upon.*

[42] See ch. 1: 4.

[43] Or, *vision.*

[44] Or, *to get them far off.*

[45] Or, *turn thee yet again, and thou shalt see greater abominations.* So also in vv. 13, 15.

[46] Or, *land.*

As in the days of King Manasseh, some Jews, in their desperation, reverted to sun-worship, Tammuz worship, and the veneration of old totemistic, magical pictures of animals. It was the same psychological impulse which leads some people to-day, when a skilled physician fails to cure some physical disease, to consult a voodoo doctor.

Something of the ferment which was at the time going on among the captives in Babylonia is shown by the following letter, which Jeremiah is said to have sent to them:

JEREMIAH'S LETTER TO THE CAPTIVES IN BABYLON,

Jer. 29: 1–32

Jer. 29. Now these are the words of
the letter that Jeremiah the prophet sent
from Jerusalem unto the residue of the
elders of the captivity, and to the priests,
and to the prophets, and to all the people,
whom Nebuchadnezzar had carried away
captive from Jerusalem to Babylon:
2] (after that Jeconiah the king, and the
queenmother, and the eunuchs, *and* the
princes of Judah and Jerusalem, and the
craftsmen, and the smiths, were departed
3] from Jerusalem;) by the hand of
Elasah the son of Shaphan, and Gemariah
the son of Hilkiah, (whom Zedekiah
king of Judah sent unto Babylon to
Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon,) saying,
4] Thus saith the Lord of hosts,
the God of Israel, unto all the captivity,
whom I have caused to be carried away
captive from Jerusalem unto Babylon:
5] Build ye houses, and dwell in them;
and plant gardens, and eat the fruit of
6] them; take ye wives, and beget sons
and daughters; and take wives for
your sons, and give your daughters to
husbands, that they may bear sons and
daughters; and multiply ye there, and be
7] not diminished. And seek the peace of
the city whither I have caused you to be
carried away captive, and pray unto the
Lord for it: for in the peace thereof
8] shall ye have peace. For thus saith the
Lord of hosts, the God of Israel: Let
not your prophets that be in the midst
of you, and your diviners, deceive you,
neither hearken ye to your dreams which
9] ye [47] cause to be dreamed. For they
prophesy falsely unto you in my name:
I have not sent them, saith the Lord.
10] For thus saith the Lord, After
seventy years be accomplished for Babylon,
I will visit you, and perform my
good word toward you, in causing you
11] to return to this place. For I know
the thoughts that I think toward you,
saith the Lord, thoughts of peace, and
not of evil, to give you [48] hope in your
12] latter end. And ye shall call upon
me, and ye shall go and pray unto me,
13] and I will hearken unto you. And ye
shall seek me, and find me, when ye
shall search for me with all your heart.
14] And I will be found of you saith the
Lord, and I will [49] turn again your captivity,
and I will gather you from all the
nations, and from all the places whither
I have driven you, saith the Lord; and I
will bring you again unto the place
whence I caused you to be carried away
15] captive. For ye have said, The Lord
hath raised us up prophets in Babylon.
16] For thus saith the Lord concerning
the king that sitteth upon the throne of
David, and concerning all the people that
dwell in this city, your brethren that are
not gone forth with you into captivity;
17] thus saith the Lord of hosts: Behold,
I will send upon them the sword, the
famine, and the pestilence, and will make
them like vile figs, that cannot be eaten,
18] they are so bad. And I will pursue
after them with the sword, with the
famine, and with the pestilence, and will
deliver them to be [50] tossed to and fro

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[47] Or, *dream.*

[48] Heb. *a latter end and hope.*

[49] Or, *return to.*

[50] Or, *a terror unto.*

among all the kingdoms of the earth, to
be an execration, and an astonishment,
and an hissing, and a reproach, among
all the nations whither I have driven
19] them: because they have not hearkened
to my words, saith the Lord, wherewith
I sent unto them my servants the
prophets, rising up early and sending
them; but ye would not hear, saith the
20] Lord. Hear ye therefore the word of
the Lord, all ye of the captivity, whom I
have sent away from Jerusalem to Babylon.

21] Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the
God of Israel, concerning Ahab the son
of Kolaiah, and concerning Zedekiah the
son of Maaseiah, which prophesy a lie
unto you in my name: Behold, I will deliver
them into the hand of Nebuchadrezzar
king of Babylon; and he shall
22] slay them before your eyes; and of
them shall be taken up a curse by all the
captives of Judah which are in Babylon,
saying, The Lord make thee like Zedekiah
and like Ahab, whom the king of
23] Babylon roasted in the fire: because
they have wrought folly in Israel, and
have committed adultery with their
neighbours' wives, and have spoken
words in my name falsely, which I commanded
them not; and I am he that
knoweth, and am witness, saith the Lord.

24] And [51] concerning Shemaiah the
Nehelamite thou shalt speak, saying,
25] Thus speaketh the Lord of hosts,
the God of Israel, saying, Because thou
hast sent letters in thine own name unto
all the people that are at Jerusalem, and
to Zephaniah the son of Maaseiah the
priest, and to all the priests, saying,
26] The Lord hath made thee priest in
the stead of Jehoiada the priest, that ye
should be officers in the house of the
Lord, for every man that is mad, and
maketh himself a prophet, that thou
shouldest put him in the stocks and in
27] [52] shackles. Now therefore, why hast
thou not rebuked Jeremiah of Anathoth,
which maketh himself a prophet to you,
28] forasmuch as he hath sent unto us in
Babylon, saying, *The captivity* is long:
build ye houses, and dwell in them; and
plant gardens, and eat the fruit of them?
29] And Zephaniah the priest read this
letter in the ears of Jeremiah the prophet.
30] Then came the word of the Lord
31] unto Jeremiah, saying, Send to all
them of the captivity, saying, Thus saith
the Lord concerning Shemaiah the Nehelamite:
Because that Shemaiah hath
prophesied unto you, and I sent him not,
and he hath caused you to trust in a lie;
32] therefore thus saith the Lord, Behold,
I will punish Shemaiah the Nehelamite,
and his seed; he shall not have a
man to dwell among this people, neither
shall he behold the good that I will do
unto my people, saith the Lord: because
he hath spoken rebellion against the
Lord.

Like all others who are forcibly exiled from their native land, the captives in Babylonia were eager to return, and hoped that the power of Babylon would soon be broken. There were not wanting prophets who mistook their own hopes for the divine voice and encouraged the homesick exiles to hope for a speedy return. Jeremiah, however, estimated more accurately the power of Babylon, hence this letter.

While the years of Zedekiah's reign were passing, changes were occurring in Egypt. Necho died in 593 and was succeeded by Psammetik II, who ruled five years, from 593 to 588. He was busy defending himself against the Nubians in the south and did not attempt to interfere with Asiatic affairs. We learn from Josephus that he hired a group of Hebrew mercenaries and stationed them at Elephantine on his southern border as a garrison to help him defend Egypt from the Nubians. We shall hear of the descendants of this garrison later.

[51] Or, *unto.*

[52] Or, *the collar.*

In 588 B.C., Psammetik II died and was succeeded by Hophra. Hophra apparently felt secure from attack by the Nubians and at once took a hand in the affairs of Asia. It was he who induced Zedekiah, in the ninth year of his reign, to rebel from Babylon. The natural result of this act (probably the simple withholding of tribute) was that Nebuchadnezzar sent an army against Jerusalem. When Zedekiah heard that it was on the way, he sent to ask Jeremiah if Yahweh would not deliver Judah out of Nebuchadnezzar's hand.

ZEDEKIAH'S INQUIRY AND JEREMIAH'S REPLY, *Jer.* 21:1–10

Jer. 21. The word which came unto
Jeremiah from the Lord, when king
Zedekiah sent unto him Pashhur the son
of Malchiah, and Zephaniah the son of
2] Masseiah the priest, saying, Inquire, I
pray thee, of the Lord for us; for
Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon maketh
war against us: peradventure the Lord
will deal with us according to all his
wondrous works, that he may go up
from us.

3] Then said Jeremiah unto them,
4] Thus shall ye say to Zedekiah: Thus
saith the Lord, the God of Israel, Behold,
I will turn back the weapons of
war that are in your hands, wherewith
ye fight against the king of Babylon, and
against the Chaldeans which besiege you,
without the walls, and I will gather them
5] into the midst of this city. And I myself
will fight against you with an outstretched
hand and with a strong arm,
even in anger, and in fury, and in great
6] wrath. And I will smite the inhabitants
of this city, both man and beast:
they shall die of a great pestilence.
7] And afterward, saith the Lord, I will
deliver Zedekiah king of Judah, and his
servants, and the people, even such as
are left in this city from the pestilence,
from the sword, and from the famine,
into the hand of Nebuchadrezzar king of
Babylon, and into the hand of their
enemies, and into the hand of those
that seek their life: and he shall smite
them with the edge of the sword; he shall
not spare them, neither have pity, nor
8] have mercy. And unto this people
thou shalt say, Thus saith the Lord:
Behold, I set before you the way of life
9] and the way of death. He that abideth
in this city shall die by the sword, and by
the famine, and by the pestilence: but
he that goeth out, and falleth away to
the Chaldeans that besiege you, he shall
live, and his life shall be unto him for a
10] prey. For I have set my face upon
this city for evil, and not for good, saith
the Lord: it shall be given into the hand
of the king of Babylon, and he shall
burn it with fire.

THE BEGINNING OF THE FIRST SIEGE, *2 Kings* 25:1, 2

2 Kings 25. [53] And it came to pass in
the ninth year of his reign, in the tenth
month, in the tenth day of the month,
that Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon
came, he and all his army, against Jerusalem,
and encamped against it; and they
2] built forts against it round about. So
the city was besieged unto the eleventh
year of king Zedekiah.

During Nebuchadnezzar's siege Hebrews held as slaves had been freed as a war measure. The act had a double purpose: it was hoped that it would ensure the favor of Yahweh, and it was doubtless thought that freemen would fight better than slaves.

[53] See *2 Chr.* 36:17–20.

HEBREWS REËNSLAVED, *Jer.* 34:8–22

Jer. 34. 8] The word that came unto Jeremiah from the Lord, after that the king Zedekiah had made a covenant with all the people which were at Jerusalem, to proclaim liberty unto them; that every 9] man should let his manservant, and every man his maidservant, being an Hebrew or an Hebrewess, go free; that none should serve himself of them, *to* 10] *wit,* of a Jew his brother: and all the princes and all the people obeyed, which had entered into the covenant, that every one should let his manservant, and every one his maidservant, go free, that none should serve themselves of them any 11] more; they obeyed, and let them go: but afterwards they turned, and caused the servants and the handmaids, whom they had let go free, to return, and brought them into subjection for serv- 12] ants and for handmaids: therefore the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah 13] from the Lord, saying, Thus saith the Lord, the God of Israel: I made a covenant with your fathers in the day that I brought them forth out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of [54] bondage, 14] saying, At the end of seven years ye shall let go every man his brother that is an Hebrew, which [55] hath been sold unto thee, and hath served thee six years, thou shalt let him go free from thee: but your fathers hearkened not unto me, neither inclined their ear. 15] And ye were now turned, and had done that which is right in mine eyes, in proclaiming liberty every man to his neighbour; and ye had made a covenant before me in the house which is called 16] by my name: but ye turned and profaned my name, and caused every man his servant, and every man his handmaid, whom ye had let go free at their pleasure, to return; and ye brought them into subjection, to be unto you for serv- 17] ants and for handmaids. Therefore thus saith the Lord: Ye have not hearkened unto me, to proclaim liberty, every man to his brother, and every man to his neighbour: behold, I proclaim unto you a liberty, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine; and I will make you to be [56] tossed to and fro among all the kingdoms of the earth. 18] And I will give the men that have transgressed my covenant, which have not performed the words of the covenant which they made before me, [57] when they cut the calf in twain and passed be- 19] tween the parts thereof; the princes of Judah, and the princes of Jerusalem, the eunuchs, and the priests, and all the people of the land, which passed be- 20] tween the parts of the calf; I will even give them into the hand of their enemies, and into the hand of them that seek their life: and their dead bodies shall be for meat unto the fowls of the heaven, and to the beasts of the earth. 21] And Zedekiah king of Judah and his princes will I give into the hand of their enemies, and into the hand of them that seek their life, and into the hand of the king of Babylon's army, which are gone 22] up from you. Behold, I will command, saith the Lord, and cause them to return to this city; and they shall fight against it, and take it, and burn it with fire: and I will make the cities of Judah a desolation, without inhabitant.

Nebuchadnezzar's army did not reach Jerusalem until the tenth month, which would correspond to our December, in the year 588 B.C. The author of the second book of *Kings* seemed to think that the siege was continuous from this time until Jerusalem fell, but we learn otherwise from the book of *Jeremiah.* Hophra in 587 marched courageously into Palestine to the help of his Judæan ally, and Nebuchadnezzar was compelled to raise the siege of Jerusalem and go to meet Hophra in Phenicia to prevent the Egyptian from cutting off communication with

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[54] Heb. *bondmen.*
[55] Or, *hath sold himself.*
[56] Or, *a terror unto.*
[57] Heb. *the calf which they cut &c.*

Babylon. When this occurred there was rejoicing among the members of the Egyptian party in Jerusalem.

JEREMIAH PROPHESIES THAT NEBUCHADNEZZAR WILL COME BACK, *Jer.* 37:3–10

Jer. 37. 3] And Zedekiah the king sent Jehucal the son of Shelemiah, and Zephaniah the son of Maaseiah the priest, to the prophet Jeremiah, saying, Pray now unto the LORD our God for us. 4] Now Jeremiah came in and went out among the people: for they had not put 5] him into prison. And Pharaoh's army was come forth out of Egypt: and when the Chaldeans that besieged Jerusalem heard tidings of them, they brake up 6] from Jerusalem. Then came the word of the LORD unto the prophet Jeremiah, 7] saying, Thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel: Thus shall ye say to the king of Judah, that sent you unto me to inquire of me; Behold, Pharaoh's army, which is come forth to help you, shall return to Egypt into their own land. 8] And the Chaldeans shall come again, and fight against this city; and they shall 9] take it, and burn it with fire. Thus saith the LORD: Deceive not [58] yourselves, saying, The Chaldeans shall surely depart from us: for they shall not 10] depart. For though ye had smitten the whole army of the Chaldeans that fight against you, and there remained but [59] wounded man among them, yet should they rise up every man in his tent, and turn this city with fire.

JEREMIAH IS IMPRISONED, *Jer.* 37:11–21

Jer. 37. 11] And it came to pass that when the army of the Chaldeans was broken up from Jerusalem for fear of 12] Pharaoh's army, then Jeremiah went forth out of Jerusalem to go into the land of Benjamin, to receive his portion [60] there, in the midst of the people. 13] And when he was in the gate of Benjamin, a captain of the ward was there, whose name was Irijah, the son of Shelemiah, the son of Hananiah; and he laid hold on Jeremiah the prophet, saying, Thou fallest away to the Chal- 14] deans. Then said Jeremiah, It is false; I fall not away to the Chaldeans; but he hearkened not to him: so Irijah laid hold on Jeremiah, and brought him 15] to the princes. And the princes were wroth with Jeremiah, and smote him, and put him in prison in the house of Jonathan the scribe: for they had made 16] that the prison. When Jeremiah was come into the [61] dungeon house, and into the cells, and Jeremiah had remained 17] there many days; then Zedekiah the king sent, and fetched him: and the king asked him secretly in his house, and said, Is there any word from the LORD? And Jeremiah said, There is. He said also, Thou shalt be delivered into the hand 18] of the king of Babylon. Moreover Jeremiah said unto king Zedekiah, Wherein have I sinned against thee, or against thy servants, or against this people, that ye have put me in prison? 19] Where now are your prophets which prophesied unto you, saying, The king of Babylon shall not come against you, nor 20] against this land? And now hear, I pray thee, O my lord the king: let my supplication, I pray thee, [62] be accepted before thee; that thou cause me not to return to the house of Jonathan the 21] scribe, lest I die there. Then Zedekiah the king commanded, and they committed Jeremiah into the court of the guard, and they gave him daily a loaf of bread out of the bakers' street, until all the bread in the city was spent. Thus Jeremiah remained in the court of the guard.

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[58] Heb. *your souls.*
[59] Heb. *thrust through.*
[60] Heb. *from thence.*
[61] Or, *house of the pit.*
[62] Heb. *fall.*

JEREMIAH'S SECOND IMPRISONMENT, *Jer.* 38: 1–13

Jer. 38. And Shephatiah the son of
Mattan, and Gedaliah the son of Pashhur,
and Jucal the son of Shelemiah,
and Pashhur tbe son of Malchiah, heard
the words that Jeremiah spake unto all
2] the people, saying, Thus saith the
Lord, He that abideth in this city shall
die by the sword, by the famine, and by
the pestilence: but he that goeth forth to
the Chaldeans shall live, and his life
shall be unto him for a prey, and he shall
3] live. Thus saith the Lord, This city
shall surely be given into the hand of the
army of the king of Babylon, and he
4] shall take it. Then the princes said
unto the king, Let this man, we pray
thee, be put to death; forasmuch as he
weakeneth the hands of the men of war
that remain in this city, and the hands
of all the people, in speaking such words
unto them: for this man seeketh not the
welfare of this people, but the hurt.
5] And Zedekiah the king said, Behold,
he is in your hand: for the king is not
he that can do any thing against you.
6] Then took they Jeremiah, and cast
him into the [63] dungeon of Malchiah
[64] the king's son, that was in the court
of the guard: and they let down Jeremiah
with cords. And in the dungeon
there was no water, but mire: and
7] Jeremiah sank in the mire. Now when
Ebed-melech the Ethiopian, an eunuch,
which was in the king's house, heard that
they had put Jeremiah in the dungeon;
the king then sitting in the gate of Benjamin;
8] Ebed-melech went forth out
of the king's house, and spake to the
9] king, saying, My lord the king, these
men have done evil in all that they have
done to Jeremiah the prophet, whom
they have cast into the dungeon; and
[65] he is like to die in the place where he
is because of the famine: for there is
10] no more bread in the city. Then the
king commanded Ebed-melech the Ethiopian,
saying, Take from hence thirty
men with thee, and take up Jeremiah the
prophet out of the dungeon, before he
11] die. So Ebed-melech took the men
with him, and went into the house of the
king under the treasury, and took thence
old cast clouts and old rotten rags, and
let them down by cords into the dungeon
12] to Jeremiah. And Ebed-melech
the Ethiopian said unto Jeremiah, Put
now these old cast clouts and rotten rags
under thine armholes under the cords.
13] And Jeremiah did so. So they drew
up Jeremiah with the cords, and took
him up out of the dungeon: and Jeremiah
remained in the court of the guard.

ZEDEKIAH AGAIN CONSULTS JEREMIAH, *Jer.* 38: 14–28

Jer. 38. 14] Then Zedekiah the king
sent, and took Jeremiah the prophet unto
him into the third entry that is in the
house of the Lord: and the king said
unto Jeremiah, I will ask thee a thing;
15] hide nothing from me. Then Jeremiah
said unto Zedekiah, If I declare
it unto thee, wilt thou not surely put me
to death? and if I give thee counsel,
16] thou wilt not hearken unto me. So
Zedekiah the king sware secretly unto
Jeremiah, saying, As the Lord liveth,
that made us this soul, I will not put thee
to death, neither will I give thee into
the hand of these men that seek thy life.
17] Then said Jeremiah unto Zedekiah,
Thus saith the Lord, the God of hosts,
the God of Israel: If thou wilt go forth
unto the king of Babylon's princes,
then thy soul shall live, and this city shall
not be burned with fire; and thou shalt
18] live, and thine house: but if thou
wilt not go forth to the king of Babylon's
princes, then shall this city be

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[63] Or, *pit*.

[64] Or, *the son of Hammelech*.

[65] Heb. *he is dead*.

given into the hand of the Chaldeans,
and they shall burn it with fire, and thou
shalt not escape out of their hand.
19] And Zedekiah the king said unto
Jeremiah, I am afraid of the Jews that
are fallen away to the Chaldeans, lest
they deliver me into their hand, and they
20] mock me. But Jeremiah said, They
shall not deliver thee. Obey, I beseech
thee, the voice of the Lord, in that which
I speak unto thee: so it shall be well with
21] thee, and thy soul shall live. But if
thou refuse to go forth, this is the word
22] that the Lord hath shewed me: Behold,
all the women that are left in the
king of Judah's house shall be brought
forth to the king of Babylon's princes,
and those women shall say, [66] Thy familiar
friends have [67] set thee on, and
have prevailed over thee: *now that* thy
feet are sunk in the mire, they are turned
23] away back. And they shall bring out
all thy wives and thy children to the
Chaldeans: and thou shalt not escape out
of their hand, but shalt be taken by the
hand of the king of Babylon: and [68] thou
shalt cause this city to be burned with
24] fire. Then said Zedekiah unto Jeremiah,
Let no man know of these words,
25] and thou shalt not die. But if the
princes hear that I have talked with thee,
and they come unto thee, and say unto
thee, Declare unto us now what thou
hast said unto the king; hide it not from
us, and we will not put thee to death:
also what the king said unto thee:
26] then thou shalt say unto them, I
[69] presented my supplication before the
king, that he would not cause me to return
to Jonathan's house, to die there.
27] Then came all the princes unto Jeremiah,
and asked him: and he told them
according to all these words that the
king had commanded. So they left off
speaking with him; for the matter was
28] not [70] perceived. So Jeremiah abode
in the court of the guard until the day
that Jerusalem was taken.

The preceding quotations graphically describe what Jeremiah suffered because of his conviction that it was hopeless for Judah to oppose Nebuchadnezzar, and, if she did, Jerusalem would be destroyed. He was suspected of treason and doubtless it was only because of a half-superstitious fear that, if they put to death a man of God, greater disaster would come upon them that his life was spared.

TWO ACCOUNTS OF JERUSALEM'S FALL

2 Kings 25:4–22

2 Kings 25. 4] Then a breach was
made in the city, and all the men of war
fled by night by the way of the gate between
the two walls, which was by the
king's garden: (now the Chaldeans were
against the city round about:) and *the
king* went by the way of the Arabah.
5] But the army of the Chaldeans pursued
after the king, and overtook him in
the plains of Jericho: and all his army
6] was scattered from him. Then they
took the king, and carried him up unto
the king of Babylon to Riblah; and they

Jer. 39:1–18

Jer. 39. And it came to pass when
Jerusalem was taken, [71] (in the ninth
year of Zedekiah king of Judah, in the
tenth month, came Nebuchadrezzar king
of Babylon and all his army against
2] Jerusalem, and besieged it; in the
eleventh year of Zedekiah, in the fourth
month, the ninth day of the month, a
3] breach was made in the city:) that all
the princes of the king of Babylon came
in, and sat in the middle gate, even Nergal-sharezer,
Samgar-nebo, Sarsechim,
[72] Rab-saris, Nergal-sharezer, [73] Rab-

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[66] Heb. *The men of thy peace.*
[67] Or, *deceived thee.*
[68] Heb. *thou shalt burn &c.*
[69] Heb. *caused to fall.*
[70] Or, *reported.*
[71] See ch. 52: 4, &c., *2 Kings* 25: 1–12.
[72] Titles of officers.

7] [73] gave judgement upon him. And
they slew the sons of Zedekiah before
his eyes, and put out the eyes of Zedekiah,
and bound him in fetters, and carried
him to Babylon.

8] Now in the fifth month, on the
seventh day of the month, which was the
nineteenth year of king Nebuchadnezzar,
king of Babylon, came Nebuzaradan the
captain of the guard, a servant of the
9] king of Babylon, unto Jerusalem: and
he burnt the house of the LORD, and the
king's house; and all the houses of Jerusalem,
even every great house, burnt he
10] with fire. And all the army of the
Chaldeans, that were *with* the captain
of the guard, brake down the walls of
11] Jerusalem round about. And the residue
of the people that were left in the
city, and those that fell away, that fell
to the king of Babylon, and the residue
of the multitude, did Nebuzaradan the
captain of the guard carry away captive.
12] But the captain of the guard left
of the poorest of the land to be vinedressers
13] and husbandmen. And the
pillars of brass that were in the house of
the LORD, and the bases and the brasen
sea that were in the house of the LORD,
did the Chaldeans break in pieces, and
carried the brass of them to Babylon.
14] And the pots, and the shovels, and
the snuffers, and the spoons, and all the
vessels of brass wherewith they ministered,
15] took they away. And the
firepans, and the basons; that which was
of gold, in gold, and that which was of
silver, in silver, the captain of the guard
16] took away. The two pillars, the one
sea, and the bases, which Solomon had
made for the house of the LORD; the
brass of all these vessels was without
17] weight. The height of the one pillar
was eighteen cubits, and a chapiter of
brass was upon it: and the height of the
chapiter was three cubits; with network
and pomegranates upon the chapiter
round about, all of brass: and like unto
these had the second pillar with network.
18] And the captain of the guard took
Seraiah the chief priest, and Zephaniah

mag, with all the rest of the princes of
4] the king of Babylon. And it came to
pass that when Zedekiah the king of
Judah and all the men of war saw them,
then they fled, and went forth out of the
city by night, by the way of the king's
garden, by the gate betwixt the two
walls: and he went out the way of the
5] Arabah. But the army of the Chaldeans
pursued after them, and overtook
Zedekiah in the plains of Jericho: and
when they had taken him, they brought
him up to Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon
to Riblah in the land of Hamath, and
6] he [74] gave judgement upon him. Then
the king of Babylon slew the sons of
Zedekiah in Riblah before his eyes: also
the king of Babylon slew all the nobles
7] of Judah. Moreover he put out Zedekiah's
eyes, and bound him in fetters, to
8] carry him to Babylon. And the Chaldeans
burned the king's house, and the
houses of the people, with fire, and brake
9] down the walls of Jerusalem. Then
Nebuzaradan the [75] captain of the guard
carried away captive into Babylon the
residue of the people that remained in
the city, the deserters also, that fell away
to him, and the residue of the people
10] that remained. But Nebuzaradan the
captain of the guard left of the poor of
the people, which had nothing, in the
land of Judah, and gave them vineyards
11] and fields at the same time. Now
Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon gave
charge concerning Jeremiah to Nebuzaradan
the captain of the guard, saying,
12] Take him, and look well to him,
and do him no harm; but do unto him
13] even as he shall say unto thee. So
Nebuzaradan the captain of the guard
sent, and Nebushazban, Rabsaris, and
Nergal-sharezer, Rab-mag, and all the
chief officers of the king of Babylon;
14] they sent, and took Jeremiah out
of the court of the guard, and committed
him unto Gedaliah the son of Ahikam,
the son of Shaphan, that he should carry
him home: so he dwelt among the people.

15] Now the word of the LORD came

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[73] Or, *spake with him of judgement.*

[74] Heb. *spake judgements with him.* See ch. 12: 1.

[75] See *Gen.* 37: 36.

the second priest, and the three keepers
of the [76] door: and out of the city he
19] took an [77] officer that was set over
the men of war; and five men of them
that saw the king's face, which were
found in the city; and the [78] scribe, the
captain of the host, which mustered the
people of the land; and three-score men
of the people of the land, that were found
20] in the city. And Nebuzaradan the
captain of the guard took them, and
brought them to the king of Babylon to
21] Riblah. And the king of Babylon
smote them, and put them to death at
Riblah in the land of Hamath. So Judah
was carried away captive out of his
22] land. And as for the people that were
left in the land of Judah, whom Nebuchadnezzar
king of Babylon had left,
even over them he made Gedaliah the
son of Ahikam, the son of Shaphan,
governor.

unto Jeremiah, while he was shut up in
16] the court of the guard, saying, Go,
and speak to Ebed-melech the Ethiopian,
saying, Thus saith the Lord of hosts,
the God of Israel: Behold, I will bring
my words upon this city for evil, and
not for good; and they [79] shall be accomplished
before thee in that day.
17] But I will deliver thee in that day,
saith the Lord: and thou shalt not be
given into the hand of the men of whom
18] thou art afraid. For I will surely
save thee, and thou shalt not fall by the
sword, but thy life shall be for a prey
unto thee: because thou hast put thy
trust in me, saith the Lord.

Thus in August of the year 586 B.C. the temple and palace which Solomon had built nearly four hundred years before were destroyed, and the walls of Jerusalem were broken down. The wealthier and more influential people were carried captive to Babylon. The number so transported is not stated; probably it was not more than twenty-five or thirty thousand. The mass of the population consisted of poor peasants; they were left in the land. It is a mistake to think of the whole population as having been deported.

THE GOVERNORSHIP OF GEDALIAH

Jer. 40–42

Jer. 40. The word which came to Jeremiah
from the Lord, after that Nebuzaradan
the captain of the guard had let
him go from Ramah, when he had taken
him being bound in chains among all the
captives of Jerusalem and Judah, which
were carried away captive unto Babylon.
2] And the captain of the guard took
Jeremiah, and said unto him, The Lord
thy God pronounced this evil upon this
3] place: and the Lord hath brought it,
and done according as he spake; because
ye have sinned against the Lord,
and have not obeyed his voice, therefore
4] this thing is come upon you. And now,

2 Kings 25:23–26

2 Kings 25. 23] [80] Now when all the
captains of the forces, they and their
men, heard that the king of Babylon had
made Gedaliah governor, they came to
Gedaliah to Mizpah, even Ishmael the
son of Nethaniah, and Johanan the son
of Kareah, and Seraiah the son of Tanhumeth
the Netophathite, and Jaazaniah
the son of the Maacathite, they and their
24] men. And Gedaliah sware to them
and to their men, and said unto them,
Fear not because of the servants of the
Chaldeans: dwell in the land, and serve
the king of Babylon, and it shall be
25] well with you. [81] But it came to pass

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[76] Heb. *threshold.*

[77] Or, *eunuch.*

[78] Or, *scribe of the captain of the host.*

[79] Or, *shall be before thee.*

[80] See *Jer.* 40:7–9.

[81] See *Jer.* 41:1, 2.

behold, I loose thee this day from the
chains which are upon thine hand. If it
seem good unto thee to come with me
into Babylon, come, and I will look well
unto thee; but if it seem ill unto thee to
come with me into Babylon, forbear:
behold, all the land is before thee;
whither it seemeth good and [82] convenient
5] unto thee to go, thither go. Now
while he was not yet gone back, Go back
then, *said he,* to Gedaliah the son of
Ahikam, the son of Shaphan, whom the
king of Babylon hath made governor
over the cities of Judah, and dwell with
him among the people: or go whereso-ever
it seemeth [82] convenient unto thee to
go. So the captain of the guard gave him
[83] victuals and a present, and let him go.
6] Then went Jeremiah unto Gedaliah
the son of Ahikam to Mizpah, and dwelt
with him among the people that were left
in the land.

7] [84] Now when all the captains of the
forces which were in the fields, even they
and their men, heard that the king of
Babylon had made Gedaliah the son of
Ahikam governor in the land, and had
committed unto him men, and women,
and children, [85] and of the poorest of the
land, of them that were not carried
8] away captive to Babylon; then they
came to Gedaliah to Mizpah, even Ishmael
the son of Nethaniah, and Johanan
and Jonathan the sons of Kareah, and
Seraiah the son of Tanhumeth, and the
sons of Ephai the Netophathite, and Jezaniah
the son of the Maacathite, they and
9] their men. And Gedaliah the son of
Ahikam the son of Shaphan sware unto
them and to their men, saying, Fear not
to serve the Chaldeans: dwell in the
land, and serve the king of Babylon, and
10] it shall be well with you. As for me,
behold, I will dwell at Mizpah, to stand
before the Chaldeans, which shall come
unto us: but ye, gather ye wine and
summer fruits and oil, and put them in
your vessels, and dwell in your cities
11] that ye have taken. Likewise when
all the Jews that were in Moab, and
among the children of Ammon, and in
Edom, and that were in all the countries,
heard that the king of Babylon had left
a remnant of Judah, and that he had set
over them Gedaliah the son of Ahikam,
12] the son of Shaphan; then all the
Jews returned out of all places whither
they were driven, and came to the land
of Judah, to Gedaliah, unto Mizpah, and
gathered wine and summer fruits very
much.

in the seventh month, that Ishmael the
son of Nethaniah, the son of Elishama,
of the seed royal came, and ten men with
him, and smote Gedaliah, that he died,
and the Jews and Chaldeans that were
26] with him at Mizpah. And all the people,
both small and great, and the captains
of the forces, arose, and came to
Egypt: for they were afraid of the
Chaldeans.

13] Moreover Johanan the son of Kareah,
and all the captains of the forces
that were in the fields, came to Gedaliah
14] to Mizpah, and said unto him, Dost
thou know that Baalis the king of the
children of Ammon hath sent Ishmael
the son of Nethaniah to take thy life?
But Gedaliah the son of Ahikam believed
15] them not. Then Johanan the
son of Kareah spake to Gedaliah in
Mizpah secretly, saying, Let me go, I
pray thee, and I will slay Ishmael the
son of Nethaniah, and no man shall know
it: wherefore should he take thy life, that
all the Jews which are gathered unto
thee should be scattered, and the remnant
16] of Judah perish? But Gedaliah
the son of Ahikam said unto Johanan
the son of Kareah, Thou shalt
not do this thing: for thou speakest
falsely of Ishmael.

41. [86] Now it came to pass in the seventh
month, that Ishmael the son of
Nethaniah, the son of Elishama, of the
seed royal, and *one of* the chief officers
of the king, and ten men with him, came
unto Gedaliah the son of Ahikam to
Mizpah; and there they did eat bread
2] together in Mizpah. Then arose Ish-

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[82] Or, *right.*
[83] Or, *an allowance.*
[84] See *2 Kings* 25: 23, 24.
[85] Or, *even.*
[86] See *2 Kings* 25: 25.

mael the son of Nethaniah, and the ten
men that were with him, and smote Gedaliah,
the son of Ahikam the son of
Shaphan with the sword, and slew him,
whom the king of Babylon had made
3] governor over the land. Ishmael also
slew all the Jews that were with him,
even with Gedaliah, at Mizpah, and the
Chaldeans that were found there, even
4] the men of war. And it came to pass
the second day after he had slain Gedaliah,
5] and no man knew it, that there
came certain from Shechem, from Shiloh,
and from Samaria, even fourscore
men, having their beards shaven and their
clothes rent, and having cut themselves,
with [87] oblations and frankincense in
their hand, to bring them to the house of
6] the LORD. And Ishmael the son of Nethaniah
went forth from Mizpah to meet
them, weeping all along as he went: and
it came to pass, as he met them, he said
unto them, Come to Gedaliah the son of
7] Ahikam. And it was so, when they
came into the midst of the city, that
Ishmael the son of Nethaniah slew them,
and cast them into the midst of the
pit, he, and the men that were with him.
8] But ten men were found among them
that said unto Ishmael, Slay us not: for
we have stores hidden in the field, of
wheat, and of barley, and of oil, and of
honey. So he forbare, and slew them not
9] among their brethren. Now the pit
wherein Ishmael cast all the dead bodies
of the men whom he had slain, by the
side of Gedaliah, (the same was that
which Asa the king had made for fear
of Baasha king of Israel,) Ishmael the
son of Nethaniah filled it with them
10] that were slain. Then Ishmael carried
away captive all the residue of the
people that were in Mizpah, even the
king's daughters, and all the people that
remained in Mizpah, whom Nebuzaradan
the captain of the guard had committed
to Gedaliah the son of Ahikam:
Ishmael the son of Nethaniah carried
them away captive, and departed to go
over to the children of Ammon.

11] But when Johanan the son of Kareah,
and all the captains of the forces
that were with him, heard of all the evil
that Ishmael the son of Nethaniah had
12] done, then they took all the men, and
went to fight with Ishmael the son of
Nethaniah, and found him by the great
13] waters that are in Gibeon. Now it
came to pass that when all the people
which were with Ishmael saw Johanan
the son of Kareah, and all the captains
of the forces that were with him, then
14] they were glad. So all the people
that Ishmael had carried away captive
from Mizpah cast about and returned,
and went unto Johanan the son of Kareah.
15] But Ishmael the son of Nethaniah
escaped from Johanan with eight
men, and went to the children of Ammon.
16] Then took Johanan the son of
Kareah, and all the captains of the
forces that were with him, all the remnant
of the people whom he had recovered
from Ishmael the son of Nethaniah,
from Mizpah, after that he had slain Gedaliah
the son of Ahikam, even the men
of war, and the women, and the children,
and the eunuchs, whom he had
17] brought again from Gibeon: and
they departed, and dwelt in [88] Geruth
Chimham, which is by Beth-lehem, to go
18] to enter into Egypt, because of the
Chaldeans: for they were afraid of them,
because Ishmael the son of Nethaniah
had slain Gedaliah the son of Ahikam,
whom the king of Babylon made governor
over the land.

42. Then all the captains of the forces,
and Johanan the son of Kareah, and
[89] Jezaniah the son of Hoshaiah, and all
the people from the least even unto the
2] greatest, came near, and said unto
Jeremiah the prophet, Let, we pray thee,
our supplication [90] be accepted before
thee, and pray for us unto the LORD thy
God, even for all this remnant; for we
are left but a few of many, as thine eyes
3] do behold us: that the LORD thy God
may shew us the way wherein we should
walk, and the thing that we should do.
4] Then Jeremiah the prophet said unto
them, I have heard you; behold, I will

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[87] Or, *meal offerings.*

[88] Or, *the lodging place of Chimham.*

[89] In ch. 43: 2, *Azariah.*

[90] Heb. *fall.*

pray unto the LORD your God according
to your words; and it shall come to pass
that whatsoever thing the LORD shall answer
you, I will declare it unto you; I
will keep nothing back from you.
5] Then they said to Jeremiah, The LORD
be a true and faithful witness [91] amongst
us, if we do not even according to all the
word wherewith the LORD thy God shall
6] send thee to us. Whether it be good,
or whether it be evil, we will obey the
voice of the LORD our God, to whom we
send thee; that it may be well with us,
when we obey the voice of the LORD
our God.

7] And it came to pass after ten days,
that the word of the LORD came unto
8] Jeremiah. Then called he Johanan the
son of Kareah, and all the captains of
the forces which were with him, and all
the people from the least even to the
9] greatest, and said unto them, Thus
saith the LORD, the God of Israel, unto
whom ye sent me to [92] present your supplication
10] before him: If ye will still
abide in this land, then will I build you,
and not pull you down, and I will plant
you, and not pluck you up: for I repent
me of the evil that I have done unto you.
11] Be not afraid of the king of Babylon,
of whom ye are afraid; be not
afraid of him, saith the LORD: for I am
with you to save you, and to deliver you
12] from his hand. And I will grant you
mercy, that he may have mercy upon
you, and cause you to return to your
13] own land. But if ye say, We will
not dwell in this land; so that ye obey
not the voice of the LORD your God;
14] saying, No; but we will go into the
land of Egypt, where we shall see no
war, nor hear the sound of the trumpet,
nor have hunger of bread; and there will
15] we dwell: now therefore hear ye the
word of the LORD, O remnant of Judah:
thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of
Israel, If ye wholly set your faces to
enter into Egypt, and go to sojourn
16] there; then it shall come to pass,
that the sword, which ye fear, shall overtake
you there in the land of Egypt, and
the famine, whereof ye are afraid,
[93] shall follow hard after you there in
17] Egypt; and there ye shall die. So
shall it be with all the men that set their
faces to go into Egypt to sojourn there;
they shall die by the sword, by the famine,
and by the pestilence: and none of
them shall remain or escape from the
18] evil that I will bring upon them. For
thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of
Israel; As mine anger and my fury hath
been poured forth upon the inhabitants
of Jerusalem, so shall my fury be poured
forth upon you, when ye shall enter into
Egypt: and ye shall be an execration,
and an astonishment, and a curse, and
a reproach; and ye shall see this place
19] no more. The LORD hath spoken concerning
you, O remnant of Judah, Go
ye not into Egypt: know certainly that
I have testified unto you this day.
20] For ye have dealt deceitfully
[94] against your own souls; for ye sent
me unto the LORD your God, saying,
Pray for us unto the LORD our God; and
according unto all that the LORD our God
shall say, so declare unto us, and we
21] will do it: and I have this day declared
it to you; but ye have not obeyed
the voice of the LORD your God in any
thing for the which he hath sent me unto
22] you. Now therefore know certainly
that ye shall die by the sword, by
the famine, and by the pestilence, in the
place whither ye desire to go to sojourn
there.

Jerusalem had been so ruined that the capital was moved to Mizpeh, the modern Tell-en-Nasbeh, seven miles north of Jerusalem. Here for two months Gedaliah ruled and then, as so fully described in the preceding quotations, his life ended in tragedy. With the story of his death our sources for the connected history of Palestine fail us.

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[91] Or, *against.*
[92] Or, *lay.*
[93] Heb. *shall cleave after you.*
[94] Or, *in your souls.*

JEREMIAH TAKEN TO EGYPT, *Jer.* 43:1–13

Jer. 43. And it came to pass that when
Jeremiah had made an end of speaking
unto all the people all the words of the
Lord their God, wherewith the Lord
their God had sent him to them, even
2] all these words, then spake Azariah
the son of Hoshaiah, and Johanan
the son of Kareah, and all the proud
men, saying unto Jeremiah, Thou speakest
falsely: the Lord our God hath not
sent thee to say, Ye shall not go into
3] Egypt to sojourn there: but Baruch
the son of Neriah setteth thee on against
us, for to deliver us into the hand of the
Chaldeans, that they may put us to death,
and carry us away captives to Babylon.
4] So Johanan the son of Kareah, and all
the captains of the forces, and all the
people, obeyed not the voice of the Lord,
5] to dwell in the land of Judah. But
Johanan the son of Kareah, and all the
captains of the forces, took all the remnant
of Judah, that were returned from
all the nations whither they had been
driven to sojourn in the land of Judah;
6] the men, and the women, and the children,
and the king's daughters, and every
person that Nebuzaradan the captain of
the guard had left with Gedaliah the son
of Ahikam, the son of Shaphan, and
Jeremiah the prophet, and Baruch the
7] son of Neriah; and they came into the
land of Egypt; for they obeyed not the
voice of the Lord: and they came even
8] to Tahpanhes. Then came the word
of the Lord unto Jeremiah in Tahpanhes,
9] saying, Take great stones in thine
hand, and [95] hide them in mortar in the
brickwork, which is at the entry of Pharaoh's
house in Tahpanhes, in the sight
10] of the men of Judah; and say unto
them, Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the
God of Israel: Behold, I will send and
take Nebuchadrezzar the king of Babylon,
my servant, and will set his throne
upon these stones that I have hid; and he
shall spread his [96] royal pavilion over
11] them. And he shall come, and shall
smite the land of Egypt; such as are for
death *shall be given* to death, and such
as are for captivity to captivity, and such
as are for the sword to the sword.
12] And I will kindle a fire in the houses
of the gods of Egypt; and he shall burn
them, and carry them away captives:
and he shall array himself with the land
of Egypt, as a shepherd putteth on his
garment; and he shall go forth from
13] thence in peace. He shall also break
the [97] pillars of [98] Beth-shemesh, that is
in the land of Egypt; and the houses of
the gods of Egypt shall he burn with fire.

Thus, after forty years of arduous service during one of the saddest periods of Jewish history, Jeremiah disappears from our view. It was a fitting climax to his life of danger that, at the end, he was taken, against his better judgment, to the land against trust in which he had all his life spoken. There, apparently he died; we hear of him no more.

Jeremiah was, perhaps, the greatest of Israel's prophets. The only one that can approach him is the Second Isaiah. Jeremiah advanced the religious thought of his predecessors in four particulars: (1) that heathen gods have no reality, but are mere figments of the imagination; (2) that God welcomes good heathen to his worship as well as good Jews; (3) that religion is a matter of the heart rather than of mere outward rule; and (4) that the individual rather than the family is the ethical unit.

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[95] Or, *lay them with mortar in the pavement* (or *square*).

[96] Or, *glittering.*

[97] Or, *obelisks.*

[98] Or, *The house of the sun.* Probably, *Heliopolis* or *On.*

CHRONOLOGY

Judah

Jehoahaz, 3 mos. 609 B.C.
Jehoiakim, 609–597
Jehoiachin, 3 mos. 597
Zedekiah, 597–586

CHAPTER XIX

THE CAPTIVITY AND AFTER

IT was long popularly supposed that during the Babylonian exile all the Jews were in Babylonia. It has already been pointed out how erroneous that impression is. The great bulk of the population was still in Palestine, for in every country the poor outnumber the rich and influential. It is true, however, that the great majority of the influential Jews were in Babylonia, where they and their descendants lived for fifteen hundred years, so that for a long time the Jews of Babylonia exerted a far greater influence than those in Palestine.

For the greater portion of the time between 586 and the beginning of the Christian era we have no connected sources of information such as we have for the time between the Judges and the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. We are compelled, therefore to piece together information from various sources and make such a picture as we can.

EZEKIEL

The young priest Ezekiel, who, as already noted, was carried to Babylonia in 597, and who became a prophet in 593 B.C., continued to live and prophesy until about 570 B.C. His last dated prophecy was uttered in the year 571 B.C. (see *Ezek.* 29: 17). The first twenty-four chapters of his book contain prophecies uttered before the fall of Jerusalem in 586; the rest of the book contains later visions. In chapters 40–48 Ezekiel records a vision which he had of the return of the Hebrews to their land, rebuilding of the temple, and the reëstablishment of the temple service. One part of this vision had great influence on the future.

EZEKIEL'S PROPHECY CONCERNING LEVITES, *Ezek.* 44: 8–18

Ezek. 44. 8] And ye have not kept the
charge of mine holy things: but ye have
set keepers of my charge in my sanc-
9] tuary for yourselves. Thus saith the
Lord God, No alien, uncircumcised in
heart and uncircumcised in flesh, shall
enter into my sanctuary, of any alien
that is among the children of Israel.
10] But the Levites that went far from
me, when Israel went astray, which
went astray from me after their idols;
11] they shall bear their iniquity. Yet
they shall be ministers in my sanctuary,
having oversight at the gates of the
house, and ministering in the house: they
shall slay the burnt offering and the sac-

rifice for the people, and they shall stand before them to minister unto them. 12] Because they ministered unto them before their idols, and became a stumblingblock of iniquity unto the house of Israel; therefore have I lifted up mine hand against them, saith the Lord God, and they shall bear their iniquity. 13] And they shall not come near unto me, to execute the office of priest unto me, nor to come near to any of my holy things, unto the things that are most holy: but they shall bear their shame, and their abominations which they have 14] committed. Yet will I make them keepers of the charge of the house, for all the service thereof, and for all that shall be done therein.

15] But the priests the Levites, the sons of Zadok, that kept the charge of my sanctuary when the children of Israel went astray from me, they shall come near to me to minister unto me; and they shall stand before me to offer unto me the fat and the blood, 16] saith the Lord God: they shall enter into my sanctuary, and they shall come near to my table, to minister unto me, 17] and they shall keep my charge. And it shall be that when they enter in at the gates of the inner court, they shall be clothed with linen garments; and no wool shall come upon them, whiles they minister in the gates of the inner court, and 18] [1] within. They shall have linen tires upon their heads, and shall have linen breeches upon their loins; they shall not gird themselves with *any thing that causeth* sweat.

The significance of this passage is that for the first time in Hebrew history it legislates into existence the "Levites," as a class distinct from the priests, who are assigned to the menial tasks of the temple—killing the offerings, washing the pots, kettles, and other implements, etc. Later the books of *Chronicles* assign the singing to them. We have seen how the law of *Deuteronomy* regards every Levite as a potential priest and provides that every Levite shall have the right to minister as a priest at the altar in Jerusalem. It was also noted that Josiah was unable to enforce this provision. Ezekiel now degrades the priests who had officiated in the abolished shrines from the priesthood altogether, and decrees that they shall perform the menial work which has hitherto been done by foreign slaves. It was a practical suggestion and was taken up by later priestly legislators. Ezekiel had served as a priest and was qualified to make useful arrangements for them. Other features of his vision were impractical and had no influence. His suggestions for the redistribution of the land among the twelve tribes, to take but one example, laid the land out in parallelograms like the town lots on a smooth western prairie. It ignored all the deep, winding, devious valleys of Palestine which make the running of straight lines impossible. It had no influence. It was the kind of plan that many a priest or university professor might make; not that of a practical statesman.

JEHOIACHIN RELEASED FROM PRISON, *2 Kings* 25:27–30

2 Kings. 25. 27] [2] And it came to pass in the seven and thirtieth year of the captivity of Jehoiachin king of Judah, in the twelfth month, on the seven and twentieth day of the month, that Evil-merodach king of Babylon, in the year

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[1] Or, *in the house*.

[2] See *Jer.* 52:31–34.

> that he began to reign, did lift up the
> head of Jehoiachin king of Judah out of
> 28] prison; and he spake kindly to him,
> and set his throne above the throne of
> the kings that were with him in Baby-
> 29] lon. And he changed his prison gar-
> ments, and did eat bread before him con-
> 30] tinually all the days of his life. And
> for his allowance, there was a continual
> allowance given him of the king, every
> day a portion, all the days of his life.

The great Nebuchadnezzar died in the year 562 B.C. and was succeeded by his son Amil-Marduk, whom the Bible calls Evil-merodach. Nebuchadnezzar had kept Jehoiachin in prison all the years from that midsummer day when, as a boy of twenty, he had been led captive from Jerusalem after a reign of but three months. Amil-Marduk released Jehoiachin from prison and made him one of his courtiers. How long he lived, we do not know. After two years Amil-Marduk was displaced by Nergalsharusur (Neriglissar), who reigned but four years. His young son, Labasi-Marduk, was put aside after a reign of but a few months, and Nubu-na'id (Nabonidus), apparently another son-in-law of Nebuchadnezzar, who was already advanced in years, became king. He ruled from 555 to 538 B.C. After his third year he resided until just at the end of his reign at Têma in western Arabia and his son Balatsuusur (Belshazzar) as the "King's Son" exercised the royal power in Babylonia.[3]

CYRUS THE GREAT

Meantime a new power had risen in the East, mightier than any that had gone before. In the year 553 B.C. Cyrus the Persian had conquered Astyages, the last of the kings of the Medes, and founded the great Persian empire. While Nabonidus was reigning in Babylon and Têma, Cyrus was conquering much of the great table-land of what is now modern Persia and Asia Minor as far as the Ægean, having overthrown Crœsus, king of Lydia, in 546 B.C. Finally in 538 B.C. Cyrus conquered Babylonia and brought to an end the empire of the Chaldeans. Cyrus tells us in an inscription that he caused to be written, that he permitted all captive peoples to return to their lands, encouraged them to rebuild their temples, and asked them to pray for the prosperity of his government.[4] This was a reversal of the policy practised by Assyrians and Babylonians for three hundred years. This made so great an impression on later Jews that the book of *Ezra* represents Cyrus as making a special decree permitting the Jews to return, and a later editor twice inserted the name of Cyrus in the prophecies of the Second Isaiah (see *Isa.* 44:28, 45:1) to make it appear that Isaiah had predicted the coming of Cyrus and had represented Yahweh as calling Cyrus

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[3] See R. P. Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar, a Study of the Closing Events of the Neo-Babylonian Empire*, New Haven, 1929.

[4] See G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., p. 445 f.

"my servant." Although these insertions spoiled the meter of the poem in which they are inserted, most scholars have regarded them as a part of the original text.

Although the conquest of Cyrus permitted the Jewish exiles in Babylonia to return to their land, almost none of them took advantage of the opportunity. They had settled in Babylonia and were becoming prosperous. Babylonia afforded much better opportunities for business than Jerusalem, and they did not desire to return thither any more than the wealthy Jews of London and New York desire to go back there now. The one result of the change of policy effected by Cyrus, as far as the Jews were concerned, was the return to Jerusalem as governor under the Persians of Zerubbabel,[5] a grandson of Jehoiachin. Perhaps a few individual Jews went back to Jerusalem with him, but not a sufficient number to make any impression either on the number of captives in Babylonia or on the population of the city of Jerusalem.

The years passed on. People crept back into Jerusalem and rebuilt their houses, but the temple and the city walls were in ruins. Cyrus died in 529 and was succeeded by his son Cambyses. Cambyses ostensibly sent his only brother to be governor of distant Hyrcania, but, being jealous of him, had him secretly put to death. As Cyrus had left a tradition of conquest, Cambyses determined to maintain it. He accordingly marched into Egypt in 525 B.C. and, overthrowing Psammetik III, the last of the twenty-sixth dynasty, made Egypt a Persian province. He remained three years in Africa, vainly endeavoring to subdue Carthage, the great oasis to the west of Egypt now called Kharga, and the kingdom of Nubia. In 522 a pretender, who had discovered the secret of Bardiya's death, assumed the crown of Persia, giving out that he was Bardiya. As Cambyses was traveling toward Persia from Egypt a messenger brought him this news. Angrily trying to dismount from his horse and strike the messenger dead at the same time, Cambyses fell on his own sword and received a wound from which he died three days later. Both the sons of Cyrus thus perished without issue, and the false Bardiya was left in power. The fact that he was a pretender gradually became known, and the highest nobles of Persia chose Darius, son of Hystaspes, as their leader and assassinated the usurper. Darius thus became king of Persia and entered upon a long reign which continued from 521 to 486 B.C. The irregular way by which Darius had gained the throne, together with the fact that as a military leader his ability was unknown, led province after province of the empire to revolt, and the first six years of his reign were spent in putting down these revolutions.

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[5] The name "Zerubbabel" means "Seed-of-Babylon" or, as we should say, "Born-in-Babylon." Probably it was a nickname; what his real name may have been, we do not know.

THE REBUILDING OF THE TEMPLE

During the early years of the reign of Darius, while the revolutions just spoken of were in progress, the temple was rebuilt. The story of its rebuilding is told in the books of *Haggai* and *Zechariah* 1–8. Haggai's account is as follows:

Hag. 1. In the second years of Darius
the king, in the sixth month, in the first
day of the month, came the word of the
LORD by Haggai the prophet unto Zerubbabel
the son of Shealtiel, governor of
Judah, and to Joshua the son of Jehozadak,
2] the high priest, saying, Thus
speaketh the LORD of hosts, saying, This
people say, [6] It is not the time *for us* to
come, the time for the LORD's house to be
3] built. Then came the word of the
LORD by Haggai the prophet, saying, Is
it a time for you yourselves to dwell in
your cieled houses, while this house lieth
5] waste? Now therefore thus saith the
LORD of hosts: [7] Consider your ways.
Ye have sown much, and bring in little;
ye eat, but ye have not enough; ye
drink, but ye are not filled with drink;
ye clothe you, but there is none warm;
and he that earneth wages earneth wages
7] *to put it* into a bag with holes. Thus
saith the LORD of hosts: [7] Consider your
8] ways. Go up to the [8] mountain, and
bring wood, and build the house; and I
will take pleasure in it, and I will be
9] glorified, saith the LORD. Ye looked for
much, and, lo, it came to little; and when
ye brought it home, I did [9] blow upon it.
Why? saith the LORD of hosts. Because
of mine house that lieth waste, while ye
run every man to his own house.
10] Therefore [10] for your sake the
heaven is stayed from dew, and the earth
11] is stayed *from* her fruit. And I called
for a drought upon the land, and upon
the mountains, and upon the corn, and
upon the wine, and upon the oil, and
upon that which the ground bringeth
forth, and upon men, and upon cattle,
and upon all the labour of the hands.

12] Then Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel,
and Joshua the son of Jehozadak,
the high priest, with all the remnant of
the people, obeyed the voice of the LORD
their God, and the words of Haggai
the prophet, as the LORD their God had
sent him; and the people did fear before
13] the LORD. Then spake Haggai the
LORD's messenger in the LORD's message
unto the people, saying, I am with you,
14] saith the LORD. And the LORD stirred
up the spirit of Zerubbabel the son of
Shealtiel, governor of Judah, and the
spirit of Joshua the son of Jehozadak,
the high priest, and the spirit of all the
remnant of the people; and they came
and did work in the house of the LORD
15] of hosts, their God, in the four and
twentieth day of the month, in the sixth
month, in the second year of Darius the
king.

2. In the seventh *month*, in the one
and twentieth *day* of the month, came
the word of the LORD by Haggai the
2] prophet, saying, Speak now to Zerubbabel
the son of Shealtiel, governor of
Judah, and to Joshua the son of Jehozadak,
the high priest, and to the remnant
3] of the people, saying, Who is
left among you that saw this house in
its former glory? and how do ye see it
now? is it not in your eyes as nothing?
4] Yet now be strong, O Zerubbabel,
saith the LORD; and be strong, O Joshua,
son of Jehozadak, the high priest; and
be strong, all ye people of the land, saith
the LORD, and work: for I am with you,
5] saith the LORD of hosts, [11] *according to*
the word that I covenanted with you
when ye came out of Egypt, and my
spirit [12] abode among you: fear ye not.
6] For thus saith the LORD of hosts:
Yet once, it is a little while, and I will
shake the heavens, and the earth, and the

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[6] According to many ancient versions, *The time is not come for the LORD'S house &c.*

[7] Heb. *Set your heart on your ways.*

[8] Or, *hill country.*

[9] Or, *blow it away.*

[10] Or, *over you.*

[11] Or, Remember *the word &c.*

[12] Or, *abideth.*

7] sea, and the dry land; and I will shake
all nations, and [13] the desirable things of
all nations shall come, and I will fill
this house with glory, saith the LORD of
8] hosts. The silver is mine, and the gold
9] is mine, saith the LORD of hosts. The
latter glory of this house shall be greater
than the former, saith the LORD of hosts:
and in this place will I give peace, saith
the LORD of hosts.

10] In the four and twentieth *day* of
the ninth *month,* in the second year of
Darius, came the word of the LORD by
11] Haggai the prophet, saying, Thus
saith the LORD of hosts: Ask now the
12] priests concerning the law, saying, If
one bear holy flesh in the skirt of his
garment, and with his skirt do touch
bread, or pottage, or wine, or oil, or any
meat, shall it become holy? And the
13] priests answered and said, No. Then
said Haggai, If one that is unclean by a
dead body touch any of these, shall it be
unclean? And the priests answered and
14] said, It shall be unclean. Then answered
Haggai and said, So is this
people, and so is this nation before me,
saith the LORD; and so is every work of
their hands; and that which they offer
15] there is unclean. And now, I pray
you, consider from this day and upward,
from before a stone was laid upon
a stone in the temple of the LORD:
16] [14] through all that time, when one
came to an heap of twenty *measures,*
there were but ten; when one came to
the winefat for to draw out fifty vessels,
17] there were but twenty. I smote
you with blasting and with mildew and
with hail in all the work of your hands;
yet ye *turned* not to me, saith the LORD.
18] Consider, I pray you, from this day
and upward, from the four and twentieth
day of the ninth *month,* since the day
that the foundation of the LORD's temple
19] was laid, consider it. Is the seed yet
in the barn? yea, the vine, and the fig
tree, and the pomegranate, and the olive
tree hath not brought forth; from this
day will I bless *you.*

20] And the word of the LORD came
the second time unto Haggai in the four
and twentieth *day* of the month, saying,
21] Speak to Zerubbabel, governor of
Judah, saying, I will shake the heavens
22] and the earth: and I will overthrow
the throne of kingdoms, and I will destroy
the strength of the kingdoms of the
nations; and I will overthrow the chariots,
and those that ride in them; and
the horses and their riders shall come
down, every one by the sword of his
23] brother. In that day, saith the LORD
of hosts, will I take thee, O Zerubbabel,
my servant, the son of Shealtiel, saith
the LORD, and will make thee as a signet:
for I have chosen thee, saith the
LORD of hosts.

It seems probable that both Haggai and Zechariah had but recently come to Jerusalem from Babylonia. They were surprised to find the temple still in ruins while the citizens of Jerusalem were dwelling in comfortable houses. It happened that the land was in the midst of a famine due to lack of rainfall, similar to the famine that had occurred in the reign of David (see *2 Sam.* 21:1–14). Haggai attributed the lack of rain to Yahweh's anger that his temple had not been rebuilt, and spoke with such earnestness that he convinced the people of the truth of his words. His four prophecies were all spoken within the space of three months. After Haggai had spoken twice, Zechariah uttered his first oracle on the subject, and, when the time for the rainy season to begin came around, abundant showers fell. This convinced the people that their prophets had read Yahweh's mind aright, and encouraged by Zechariah, who continued to prophesy much longer than Haggai, they finished rebuilding the temple in three years.

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[13] Or, *the things desired* (Heb. *desire*) *of all nations shall come.*

[14] Heb. *since those* days *were.*

DID ZERUBBABEL REBEL AGAINST PERSIA? *Zech.* 6:9–15

Zech. 6. 9] And the word of the Lord
10] came unto me, saying, Take of them
of the captivity, even of Heldai, of Tobijah,
and of Jedaiah; and come thou the
same day, and go into the house of Josiah
the son of Zephaniah, whither they
11] are come from Babylon; yea, take
of them silver and gold, and make
[15] crowns, set them upon the head of
Joshua the son of Jehozadak, the high
12] priest; and speak unto him, saying,
Thus speaketh the Lord of hosts, saying,
Behold, the man [16] whose name is the
[17] Branch; and he shall [18] grow up out
of his place, and he shall build the temple
13] of the Lord: even he shall build the
temple of the Lord; and he shall bear
the glory, and shall sit and rule upon his
throne; and [19] he shall be a priest upon
his throne: and the counsel of peace shall
14] be between them both. And the
[20] crowns shall be to Helem, and to Tobijah,
and to Jedaiah, and [21] to Hen the
son of Zephaniah, for a memorial in the
15] temple of the Lord. And they that
are far off shall come and build in the
temple of the Lord, and ye shall know
that the Lord of hosts hath sent me unto
you. And *this* shall come to pass, if ye
will diligently obey the voice of the Lord
your God.

The passage just quoted shows that Jews in Babylonia had become rich and were able to send money to Jerusalem. As the text of Zechariah stands, the prophet directed that two crowns should be made and put upon the head of Joshua, the high priest, but it is difficult to see why he should wear two crowns at once! If he had a gold crown, why should he need one of silver? It accordingly seems probable that, in the original form of the text, the golden crown was to be put on the head of Zerubbabel as king and the silver crown on the head of Joshua. It should be remembered that, during the first six years of Darius, Babylonia rebelled against him twice, and that the Jews who sent the money lived there. Probably they intended it as an aid to an effort to free Judea from the yoke of Persia, and the prophet Zechariah encouraged the plan. Whether or not Zerubbabel yielded to the persuasion and tried to make himself an independent king, we do not know. Concerning this our sources are silent. We only know that Judah continued to be subject to Persian rule. Indeed, at the end of six years Darius emerged triumphant over all his foes, having lost no territory that Cyrus and Cambyses had won.

THE COMPLETION OF THE TEMPLE

The temple was rebuilt in three years. It seems to have been built on the lines of Solomon's temple. Indeed, probably the bases of its walls were the work of Solomon which had not been overthrown. Many of the old stones were also employed. It was, however, without ornament, and it is doubtful if it had but one court at this time. The book of *Ezra* has the following to say of the first service in it.

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[15] Or, *a crown, and set it.*

[16] Or, *whose name is the Bud; and it* (or *they*) *shall bud forth under him.*

[17] Or, *Shoot,* Or, *Sprout.*

[18] Or, *shoot.*

[19] Or, *there shall be.*

[20] Or, *crown.*

[21] Or, *for the kindness of the Son &c.*

Ezra 3. 11] And they sang one to another in praising and giving thanks unto the LORD, *saying*, For he is good, for his mercy *endureth* for ever toward Israel. And all the people shouted with a great shout, when they praised the LORD, because the foundation of the house of 12] the LORD was laid. But many of the priests and Levites and heads of fathers' *houses*, the old men that had seen [22] the first house, when the foundation of this house was laid before their eyes, wept with a loud voice; and many shouted 13] aloud for joy: so that the people could not discern the noise of the shout of joy from the noise of the weeping of the people: for the people shouted with a loud shout, and the noise was heard afar off.

The temple was completed by 516 B.C. seventy years after its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar. It is this seventy years that is in the minds of those who speak of the Babylonian captivity as lasting seventy years. In no real sense, however, did this event conclude the "captivity." There were no fewer Jews in Babylonia after it than before.

THE COMPLETION OF THE CODE OF HOLINESS

About 500 B.C. some one who was interested in the development of the ritual of Jewish worship collected in written form the oldest group of priestly laws to be codified. It consisted, barring some expansions by a later writer, of *Leviticus* 17–26; it contains, among other regulations, the laws defining the degrees of kinship within which persons may not marry (*Lev.* 18, 20). The main purpose of the collection of laws was to keep the Jews a pure people, and it is accordingly called by scholars "The Code of Holiness." The compiler of the Deuteronomic code had represented his laws as spoken by Moses to Israel; the compiler of the Code of Holiness goes a step further and represents his laws as spoken by God to Moses. It was an expression of a widespread ancient feeling that all important laws come from a divine source. The Babylonian king, Hammurabi, pictures the sun-god as handing him his code of laws. In the case of the Code of Holiness, it must be said that it includes many laws which originated in remote Semitic antiquity. The laws of marriage among most savage races of men prohibit unions between near kinsfolk, and there can be no doubt that many of the provisions on this subject contained in this code are much older than Moses. A comparison of this group of laws with the book of *Ezekiel* shows, in the opinion of most scholars, that the writer who compiled it had been profoundly influenced by Ezekiel.

[22] Or, *the first house* standing *on its foundation, when this house was before their eyes.*

DARIUS AND XERXES

During the rest of the reigns of Darius and Xerxes our sources give us practically no knowledge of what was happening to the Jews, except that business documents from Nippur in Babylonia reveal the fact that many Jews were living there and were engaged in mercantile and other pursuits. Darius enlarged the empire which he had won, adding a province in the Punjab region of India, and two, Macedonia and Thrace, in Europe. He even made an expedition into what is now southern Russia to punish the Scythians. The little Jewish nation was but a speck on the map of the greatest empire the world had ever seen. The attempt of Darius to conquer Greece and the famous defeat of his forces at Marathon in 490 B.C. is one of the best known events in ancient history.

Xerxes succeeded his father in 486 B.C., and in 480, when trying to conquer Greece, his fleet was destroyed at the battle of Salamis, after which he lost the European provinces which his father had won. According to the Jewish historian, Josephus, Xerxes favored the Jews,[23] but this may have been an inference from the book of *Esther,* which Josephus mistook for history. Xerxes is the Ahasuerus of the book of *Esther,* but that book is a late romance, based on Babylonian sources, written about 100 B.C.[24] In 464 B.C. Xerxes was succeeded by Artaxxerxes I, who ruled for forty years, dying in 424 B.C.

THE PROPHET OBADIAH

A part of the little book of *Obadiah* was composed during this part of the fifth century before Christ. It refers to the overrunning of the land of Edom by the Nabathæans, which occurred during this century. It reads as follows:

Obad. 1] The vision of Obadiah.
Thus saith the Lord God [25] concerning
Edom: We have heard tidings from the
Lord, and an ambassador is sent among
the nations, *saying,* Arise ye, and let us
2] rise up against her in battle. Behold,
I have made thee small among the na-
3] tions: thou are greatly despised. The
pride of thine heart hath deceived thee,
O thou that dwellest in the clefts of
[26] the rock, whose habitation is high;
that saith in his heart, Who shall bring
4] me down to the ground? Though thou
mount on high as the eagle, and though
thy nest be set among the stars, I will
bring thee down from thence, saith the
5] Lord. If thieves came to thee, if rob-
bers by night, (how art thou cut off!)
would they not steal till they had enough?
if grapegatherers came to thee, would
they not leave some gleaning grapes?
6] How are [27] *the things of* Esau
searched out! how are his hidden treas-
7] ures sought up! All the men of thy
confederacy have [28] brought thee on thy
way, even to the border: the men that

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[23] *Antiquities,* 11: 5, 1.

[24] Mordecai is the Babylonian god Marduk, Esther the goddess Ishtar, Vashti is Mashtu, and Haman, Humbaba, both Elamitic deities.

[25] See *Jer.* 49: 7–22.

[26] Or, *Sela.* See *2 Kings* 14: 7.

[27] Or, *the men.*

[28] Or, *driven thee out.*

were at peace with thee have deceived
thee, and prevailed against thee; [29] *they
that eat* thy bread lay a [30] snare under
thee: there is none understanding [31] in
8] him. Shall I not in that day, saith the
LORD, destroy the wise men out of Edom,
and understanding out of the mount of
9] Esau? And thy mighty men, O Teman,
shall be dismayed, to the end that
every one may be cut off from the mount
10] of Esau by slaughter. For the violence
done to thy brother Jacob shame
shall cover thee, and thou shalt be cut
11] off for ever. In the day that thou
stoodest [32] on the other side, in the day
that strangers carried away his [33] substance,
and foreigners entered into his
gates, and cast lots upon Jerusalem, even
12] thou wast as one of them. But look
not thou on the day of thy brother in
[34] the day of his disaster, and rejoice
not over the children of Judah in the
day of their destruction; neither speak
13] proudly in the day of distress. Enter
not into the gate of my people in the
day of their calamity; yea, look not thou
on their affliction in the day of their calamity,
neither lay ye *hands* on their
substance in the day of their calamity.
14] And stand thou not in the crossway,
to cut off those of him that escape; and
deliver not up those of his that remain
in the day of distress.

In the time of Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, two hundred years before this, the Nabathæans were roaming the Arabian desert to the eastward and southeastward of Edom. About the time of which we are writing they overran Edom and captured Sela, afterward called Petra, and drove the Edomites out. Expelled from their own land, the Edomites swept westward and took possession of southern Judah, occupying the whole of it up to and including the city of Hebron. What Jews may have been still living there were driven northward, and from this time onward Edom (or in its Greek form, Idumæa) was southern Palestine. All this Obadiah foresaw, and he alludes to it in the passage quoted. There had been friction between Edomites and Hebrews from time immemorial, but this conquest of Judæan territory greatly intensified it. The Nabathæans, intrenched at Petra, established a kingdom which continued until 105 A.D., when the Roman emperor Trajan overthrew it and organized its territory into the Roman province of Arabia. It was later called the kingdom of Arabia and one of its kings is mentioned in St. Paul's Second Epistle to the *Corinthians* 11:32.

THE PROPHET JOEL

Another prophet who seems to have written during this period was Joel. His little book is largely visions of a terrible plague of locusts, which Joel thought would precede the judgment. The one historical allusion in it is in *Joel* 3:6, where he accuses Phenicians, who were the traders and navigators of the ancient world, of having sold Jews to Grecians, "to remove them far from their border." Phenicians had been trading with the coast-lands of Ionia and Greece for centuries, but not until Ionia came under Persian sway, and Judea had been reduced to a state of extreme weakness do they seem to have sold Jewish slaves to Greeks.

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[29] Or, *thy bread they make &c.*
[30] Or, *wound.*
[31] Or, *of it.*
[32] Or, *aloof.*
[33] Or, *forces.*
[34] Or, *the day that he was made a stranger.*

A JEWISH COLONY AT ELEPHANTINE IN EGYPT

About thirty years ago an archive of papyri in the Aramaic language was found on the island of Elephantine in the first cataract of the Nile at the southern border of Egypt. The documents were written by members of a Jewish colony there, probably the descendants of the men whom Psammetik II had stationed there a hundred and eighty years before. At the time these documents were written Artaxerxes I had died and Darius II (424–405 B.C.) was sitting on the throne of Persia. The most important of these papyri contains a copy of a letter written in 407 B.C. to Bagohi (Bagoas), a Persian, who was then governor of Judah. It states that three years before, Waidrang, a local Egyptian governor, had destroyed a temple of Yahweh which they had on the Island of Elephantine. The writers say that "from the days of the kings of Egypt" their fathers had built the temple, and that Cambyses had spared it, when he overthrew temples of the gods of Egypt. They say that they appealed to Jehohanan, high priest at Jerusalem, but have received no help, so they now appeal to the governor that he use his influence that the temple be rebuilt. They have also written to Dalajah and Shelemjah, sons of Sanballat, governor of Samaria.

This letter gives us a glimpse not only of Jews in Egypt, but of Jerusalem and Samaria also. Samaria appears to have been trusted with a native governor, but Judah was under a Persian. From other papyri we learn that a new rule for the observance of the Passover reached Elephantine during this period, that the Jews were unpopular in Egypt, that they engaged in trade, and that they married and were given in marriage. A marriage contract shows that the bride was granted the same privilege of divorce as the husband—a privilege not allowed her by the law of *Deuteronomy* (see *Deut.* 24: 1–4).

THE PRIESTLY DOCUMENT

At some time during the latter half of this century a priest compiled the great body of ritual laws found in *Exodus* 25–31, *Leviticus*, and *Numbers*. He also wrote an account of the creation (*Gen.* 1: 1—2: 4*a*), transformed from the Babylonian creation epic, of the flood, the lives of the Patriarchs, the descent to Egypt, the bondage there and the deliverance from it, the covenant at Sinai, the conquest of Palestine and the division of the land among the twelve tribes. The laws which he collected were many of them very old. The ritual of the scapegoat for the Day of Atonement (*Lev.* 16) embodies primitive ideas. Together with these the priestly lawgiver introduced provisions of his own which defined more clearly vague laws of earlier times. Thus he expanded in *Leviticus* 23 the earlier laws of the feasts so as to specify just when each of the three great feasts should begin, and just how long it should continue. He represented circumcision as having begun with Abraham, whereas the J Document had represented it as beginning, so far as Hebrews were concerned, with Moses and Joshua. He carried the whole ritual back to the wilderness and Moses, imagining that Moses constructed a portable sanctuary (the tabernacle) which he really patterned on Solomon's temple. He adopted Ezekiel's regulation about the Levites, assigning them to the menial tasks of the temple, and representing this distinction as having been made by Moses. He even went so far as to call all the old cities of Palestine in which important sanctuaries (high places) had existed, "Levitical cities," and to represent Joshua as assigning these cities to the tribe of Levi instead of a compact territory such as the other tribes received. He followed the author of the Code of Holiness in representing that all these regulations, except circumcision which was communicated to Abraham, had been communicated to Moses by God. In *Leviticus* 25: 39–46 he repealed the slave-laws of the "Book of the Covenant" and the Deuteronomic code by forbidding that a Hebrew should under any circumstances be made a slave.

This was the last of the great documents of the Hexateuch. How were the Jews to be persuaded to accept its laws and observe them? The older law-books were still extant, and *Deuteronomy* had some time before been expanded into its present form. Some ingenious soul (possibly Ezra) conceived the idea of combining the four documents, J, E, D, and P into one book in such a way that the priestly documents should afford the framework of the whole and the priestly laws appear to be the covenant between Yahweh and Israel. This was done so skilfully that it was not until the rise of modern scientific criticism within the last two hundred years that it was discovered that this was not the case.

THE SECOND ISAIAH

According to the most recent investigation[35] it was during the latter half of the fifth century B.C. that there lived at Jerusalem one of the greatest of the Hebrew prophets. He is the only one who compares with Jeremiah in breadth of vision and depth of thought. We do not know his name, but he is called the Second Isaiah, because his work was attached by some editor to the prophecies of Isaiah the son of Amoz who lived in the eighth century before Christ. His work consists of a series of great poems comprising *Isaiah* 34, 35, and 40–66. At the time he lived Jews were not only living in Babylonia and Egypt, where they had multiplied, but had for commercial reasons scattered widely throughout the East. This prophet had pondered long the problem as to why this people, chosen of Yahweh, should have been permitted to be so torn asunder by its misfortunes and so widely scattered over the earth. Israel had suffered "double for all her sins" (*Isa.* 40:2). As he pondered the problem as to why this had happened, he found the solution in the faith that Israel had suffered for the sins of the nations—had suffered to make Yahweh known to the nations. Israel was Yahweh's chosen servant—chosen not to enjoy favors and luxuries, but for service—the service of making the true God known to all the world. This he expressed in a series of poetical descriptions of the servant, the longest of which (*Isa.* 52:13—53:12) represents the kings of the nations as looking at the servant, disfigured by his torture almost out of semblance of a man, and wondering why he thus suffered, when it dawns upon them that—

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[35] See Charles C. Torrey, *The Second Isaiah*, New York, 1928.

> "He was wounded for our transgressions,
> He was bruised for our iniquities,
> The chastisement of our peace was upon him
> And by his stripes we are healed."

The prophet further thought that, when this service was accomplished, Israel would be restored to her land. His poems contain many impassioned passages summoning exiled Jews of all countries to return to their native land. Not only this, but he invited the heathen also to come and unite themselves with the people of God and enjoy the blessings which come only to those who are in communion with the living Creator of the world. Upon occasion his wrath can scorch like a flame, as when in ch. 63:1–6 he portrays the punishment inflicted, and still to be inflicted, upon the Edomites, who were at the time pushing their way into southern Judah as they themselves were being pushed out of Edom. Such conquests are always ruthless, and to our poet-prophet the acts of the Edomites seemed somewhat as the violation of Belgium in 1914 seemed to the Allies. Ordinarily, however, his utterances, though full of scathing denunciations of sin, are also full of words of comfort, hope, sympathy, and encouragement.

THE BOOK OF JOB

About this time there lived also another great Hebrew genius who wrestled too with the problem of suffering. We do not know his name, but he was the author of the book of *Job*. He stood apart from both the priestly and prophetic class, and judged questions of religion and life by reason and common sense. The Second Isaiah had dealt with the problem, Why does the chosen nation suffer? The author of *Job* discusses the question, Why do righteous individuals suffer? The accepted view in Jewish circles in his time was that the service of God ensured good health, prosperity in worldly matters, a large family, and happiness. They went so far as to infer that, if in any of these respects misfortune befell a person, it must be that he was in some way a sinner. Against this view, so out of accord with the facts of life, this poet protested. He took an old prose tale about a patriarch named Job who had been most patient and uncomplaining in misfortune, dropped out the middle portion, and inserted his poem in its place. His poem describes anything but a patient man—a man who in his suffering allows his tongue to utter bitter complaints and who arraigns shockingly at times the government of God. Nevertheless his Job is a man whose soul grows in suffering, and who finds that there is no refuge from God but God. The author of the poem was the Shakespeare of the Hebrew people, and his poem has happily been called "The Epic of the Inner Life."[36]

Our sources do not permit us to write a detailed history of the Hebrew people during the almost two centuries from the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. to the coming of Ezra in 398 B.C., but the glimpses we get show that, however weak Judea may have been, Jews were multiplying in Babylonia and Egypt and were producing great men.

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[36] The title given by Genung to his translation of the book of *Job*.

CHAPTER XX

THE WORK OF EZRA AND NEHEMIAH

THE evidence for the century in which Ezra and Nehemiah lived is ambiguous. Ezra is said to have come from Babylonia in the seventh year of Artaxerxes, (*Ezra* 7:7) and Nehemiah, to have rebuilt the wall of Jerusalem in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes; but which Artaxerxes it was—whether Artaxerxes I or Artaxerxes II—is not certain. It has long been the working hypothesis of scholars that these references were to the reign of Artaxerxes I; so the return of Ezra has been dated in the year 457 B.C. and the coming of Nehemiah in the year 444 B.C. A few (and among them is the present writer) believe that these passages refer to the reign of Artaxerxes II (Mnemon), and that the coming of Ezra should be placed in 398 B.C. and that of Nehemiah in 386 B.C. In this chapter the last mentioned dates are assumed as a working theory, though it should be borne in mind that the matter is not certain.

Darius II died in 405 B.C., as related in the opening chapter of Xenophon's *Anabasis*. He was succeeded by his son Artaxerxes, whose younger brother Cyrus was made satrap of Lydia. How Cyrus induced 10,000 Greeks to join his army and led them to help him snatch the crown from his brother, how they were defeated at the battle of Cunaxa in Babylonia in 401 B.C., and how the Greeks made their famous retreat, used to be the common property of every advanced schoolboy. If our conception of the chronology is correct, when the battle of Cunaxa was fought, Ezra was in Babylonia preparing copies of the law.

EZRA

The coming of Ezra to Jerusalem was a religious event. A memoir of Ezra himself is quoted in the book of *Ezra* 8:15—9:15, from which it appears that he regarded his coming as a kind of religious pilgrimage, and that, when he arrived in Jerusalem, he was shocked to find how many of the Jews resident there had foreign wives. Apparently, however, they gave little heed to his teaching at the time. Later tradition credits Ezra as having brought from Babylonia the completed law, and the tradition is probably true. Its introduction, however, awaited the coming of the statesman Nehemiah.

NEHEMIAH

Fortunately for us the story of Nehemiah is graphically told in a memoir from his own hand embodied in the book of *Nehemiah*. We shall let him tell his own story.

NEHEMIAH, A CUP-BEARER TO ARTAXERXES, HEARS OF JERUSALEM'S STATE, *Neh.* 1

Neh. 1. The [1] words of Nehemiah the
son of Hacaliah.
Now it came to pass in the month
Chislev, [2] in the twentieth year, as I was
2] in Shushan the [3] palace, that Hanani,
one of my brethren, came, he and certain
men out of Judah; and I asked them concerning
the Jews that had escaped, which
were left of the captivity, and concerning
3] Jerusalem. And they said unto
me, The remnant that are left of the
captivity there in the province are in
great affliction and reproach: the wall of
Jerusalem also is broken down, and the
gates thereof are burned with fire.
4] And it came to pass, when I heard
these words, that I sat down and wept,
and mourned certain days; and I fasted
and prayed before the God of heaven,
5] and said, I beseech thee, O LORD, the
God of heaven, the great and terrible
God, that keepeth covenant and mercy
with them that love him and keep his
6] commandments: let thine ear now be
attentive, and thine eyes open, that thou
mayest hearken unto the prayer of thy
servant, which I pray before thee at this
time, day and night, for the children of
Israel thy servants, while I confess the
sins of the children of Israel, which we
have sinned against thee: yea, I and my
7] father's house have sinned. We have
dealt very corruptly against thee, and
have not kept the commandments, nor
the statutes, nor the judgements, which
thou commandedst thy servant Moses.
8] Remember, I beseech thee, the word
that thou commandedst thy servant
Moses, saying, If ye trespass, I will scatter
9] you abroad among the peoples: but
if ye return unto me, and keep my commandments
and do them, though your
outcasts were in the uttermost part of
the heaven, yet will I gather them from
thence, and will bring them unto the
place that I have chosen to cause my
10] name to dwell there. Now these are
thy servants and thy people, whom thou
hast redeemed by thy great power, and
11] by thy strong hand. O Lord, I beseech
thee, let now thine ear be attentive
to the prayer of thy servant, and to the
prayer of thy servants, who delight to
fear thy name: and prosper, I pray thee,
thy servant this day, and grant him
mercy in the sight of this man. (Now I
was cupbearer to the king.)

One sees in this story the kitchen of the palace at Susa in Elam with its Jewish servants, the Jewish travelers stopping to be entertained by their fellows at royal expense, the patriotic young Nehemiah gathering his information, and his grief when he learned that the walls of Jerusalem were, after two hundred years, still in ruins.

NEHEMIAH GETS HIMSELF APPOINTED GOVERNOR OF JUDEA, *Neh.* 2:1–8

Neh. 2. And it came to pass in the month Nisan, in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes the king, when wine was before him, that I took up the wine, and gave it unto the king. Now I had not been *beforetime* sad in his presence. 2] And the king said unto me, Why is thy countenance sad, seeing thou art not sick? this is nothing else but sorrow of 3] heart. Then I was very sore afraid. And I said unto the king, Let the king live for ever: why should not my countenance be sad, when the city, the place of my fathers' sepulchres, lieth waste, and the gates thereof are consumed with 4] fire? Then the king said unto me, For what dost thou make request? So I 5] prayed to the God of heaven. And I said unto the king, If it please the king, and if thy servant have found favour in thy sight, that thou wouldest send me unto Judah, unto the city of my fathers' 6] sepulchres, that I may build it. And the king said unto me, (the queen also sitting by him,) For how long shall thy journey be? and when wilt thou return? So it pleased the king to send me; and 7] I set him a time. Moreover I said unto the king, If it please the king, let letters be given me to the governors beyond the river, that they may let me pass 8] through till I come unto Judah; and a letter unto Asaph the keeper of the king's [4] forest, that he may give me timber to make beams for the gates of the castle which appertaineth to the house, and for the wall of the city, and for the house that I shall enter into. And the king granted me, according to the good hand of my God upon me.

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[1] Or, *history*.
[2] See ch. 2:1.
[3] Or, *castle*.

Nehemiah was evidently a favorite with the king, and the sadness which he assumed in order to induce his sovereign to ask the cause can almost be seen by one who has been some time in the East, where people can seem at will to fill their eyes with unshed tears.

NEHEMIAH REACHES JERUSALEM AND BEGINS TO REBUILD THE WALLS, *Neh.* 2:9–20

Neh. 2. 9] Then I came to the governors beyond the river, and gave them the king's letters. Now the king had sent with me captains of the army and 10] horsemen. And when Sanballat the Horonite, and Tobiah the servant, the Ammonite, heard of it, it grieved them exceedingly, for that there was come a man to seek the welfare of the children 11] of Israel. So I came to Jerusalem, 12] and was there three days. And I arose in the night, I and some few men with me; neither told I any man what my God put into my heart to do for Jerusalem: neither was there any beast with me, save the beast that I rode upon. 13] And I went out by night by the valley gate, even toward the dragon's well, and to the dung gate, and viewed the walls of Jerusalem, which were broken down, and the gates thereof were con-14] sumed with fire. Then I went on to the fountain gate and to the king's pool: but there was no place for the beast that 15] was under me to pass. Then went I up in the night by the brook, and viewed the wall; and I turned back, and entered by the valley gate, and so returned. 16] And the [5] rulers knew not whither I went, or what I did; neither had I as yet told it to the Jews, nor to the priests, nor to the nobles, nor to the [5] rulers, nor 17] to the rest that did the work. Then said I unto them, Ye see the evil case that we are in, how Jerusalem lieth waste, and the gates thereof are burned with fire: come and let us build up the wall of Jerusalem, that we be no more a re-18] proach. And I told them of the hand of my God which was good upon me; as also of the king's words that he had spoken unto me. And they said, Let us rise up and build. So they strengthened 19] their hands for the good *work*. But when Sanballat the Horonite, and Tobiah the servant, the Ammonite, and Geshem the Arabian, heard it, they laughed us to scorn, and despised us, and said, What

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[4] Or, *park*.

[5] Or, *deputies*.

is this thing that ye do? will ye rebel
20] against the king? Then answered
I them, and said unto them, The God of
heaven, he will prosper us; therefore we
his servants will arise and build: but ye
have no portion, nor right, nor memorial,
in Jerusalem.

The young governor had come to the city of his ancestors for the purpose of rebuilding the walls, and on a moonlight night, three days after his arrival, he rode around them to get a first-hand impression of the ruins. Those who know the topography of Jerusalem can easily recognize each point that he mentions. Such was his enthusiasm and the influence of his personality that he persuaded the population of Judah to join in rebuilding the wall. He met with opposition from Sanballat and the Samaritans, who induced the Ammonites, ancient enemies of Israel, to join in harassing Nehemiah, and, if possible, making it impossible for him to carry out his purpose. This Sanballat was probably a son of the Sanballat who had been consulted some thirty years before by the Jews of Elephantine. The condition existing in Palestine, where one race or religion, or even a different section of the same race, could set upon and attack another, were very similar to those that have often prevailed there even in modern times.

Nehemiah in the third chapter of his book gives a list of the people from several towns in Judea who built different sections of the wall and the section which each built. His method was to get the people of a town to become responsible for building a certain portion of it. The line of the wall was the same as it had been from the days of Hezekiah onward, and the stones used were doubtless the stones of the wall which Nebuchadnezzar had overthrown, wherever these could be found. Parts of Nehemiah's wall have been uncovered and his work identified.[6] As the people who are named by Nehemiah are now to us mere names, we do not here quote his third chapter.

DIFFICULTIES FROM ENEMIES, *Neh.* 4: 1–23

Neh. 4. [7] But it came to pass that,
when Sanballat heard that we builded
the wall, he was wroth, and took great
indignation, and mocked the Jews.
2] And he spake before his brethren and
the army of Samaria, and said What do
these feeble Jews? [8] will they fortify
themselves? will they sacrifice? will they
make an end in a day? will they revive
the stones out of the heaps of rubbish,
3] seeing they are burned? Now Tobiah
the Ammonite was by him, and he said,
Even that which they build, if a [9] fox
go up, he shall break down their stone
4] wall. Hear, O our God; for we are
despised: and turn back their reproach
upon their own head, and give them up
5] to spoiling in a land of captivity: and
cover not their iniquity, and let not their
sin be blotted out from before thee: for
they have provoked *thee* to anger before
6] the builders. So we built the wall;

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[6] For a picture of a part of Nehemiah's wall see G. A. Barton *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., Fig. 254.

[7] Ch. 3: 33 in Heb.

[8] Or, *will they leave to themselves* aught? Or, *will ment let them alone?*

[9] Or, *jackal.*

and all the wall was joined together unto
half *the height* thereof: for the people
had a mind to work.
7] [10] But it came to pass that, when
Sanballat, and Tobiah, and the Arabians,
and the Ammonites, and the Ashdodites,
heard that [11] the repairing of the walls
of Jerusalem went forward, *and* that the
breaches began to be stopped, then they
8] were very wroth; and they conspired
all of them together to come and fight
against Jerusalem, and to cause confusion
9] therein. But we made our
prayer unto our God, and set a watch
against them day and night, because of
10] them. And Judah said, The strength
of the bearers of burdens is decayed,
and there is much rubbish; so that we
11] are not able to build the wall. And
our adversaries said, They shall not
know, neither see, till we come into the
midst of them, and slay them, and cause
12] the work to cease. And it came to
pass that, when the Jews which dwelt by
them came, they said unto us ten times
[12] from all places, Ye must return unto
13] us. Therefore set I in the lowest
parts of the space behind the wall, in the
open places, I even set the people after
their families with their swords, their
14] spears, and their bows. And I looked,
and rose up, and said unto the nobles,
and to the [13] rulers, and to the rest of
the people, Be not ye afraid of them:
remember the Lord, which is great and
terrible, and fight for your brethren,
your sons and your daughters, your
15] wives and your houses. And it came
to pass, when our enemies heard that it
was known unto us, and God had brought
their counsel to nought, that we returned
all of us to the wall, every one unto his
16] work. And it came to pass from that
time forth, that half of my servants
wrought in the work, and half of them
held the spears, the shields, and the bows,
and the coats of mail; and the rulers
were behind [14] all the house of Judah.
17] They that builded the wall and they
that bare burdens laded themselves, every
one with one of his hands wrought in
the work, and with the other held his
18] weapon; and the builders, every one
had his sword girded by his side, and so
builded. And he that sounded the trumpet
19] was by me. And I said unto the
nobles, and to the [13] rulers and to the
rest of the people, The work is great and
large, and we are separated upon the
20] wall, one far from another: in what
place soever ye hear the sound of the
trumpet, resort ye thither unto us; our
21] God shall fight for us. So we
wrought in the work: and half of them
held the spears from the rising of the
22] morning till the stars appeared. Likewise
at the same time said I unto the
people, Let every one with his servant
lodge within Jerusalem, that in the night
they may be a guard to us, and may
23] labour in the day. So neither I, nor
my brethren, nor my servants, nor the
men of the guard which followed me,
none of us put off our clothes, [15] every
one *went with* his weapon *to* the water.

This vivid description of the length to which Sanballat and his associates carried their opposition, until the builders had to work with sword in one hand and trowel in the other, needs no comment. Still the enthusiastic young governor was able by his personal courage to push the work through to completion.

FURTHER MACHINATIONS OF SANBALLAT, *Neh.* 6: 1–14

Neh. 6. Now it came to pass, when it was reported to Sanballat and Tobiah, and to Geshem the Arabian, and unto the rest of our enemies, that I had

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[10] Ch. 4: 1 in Heb.

[11] Heb. *healing went up upon the walls.*

[12] Or, *From all places whence ye shall return they will be upon us.*

[13] Or, *deputies.*

[14] Or, *all the house of Judah that builded the wall. And they that &c.*

[15] The text is probably faulty.

builded the wall, and that there was
no breach left therein; (though even unto
that time I had not set up the doors in
2] the gates;) that Sanballat and Geshem
sent unto me, saying, Come, let us meet
together in *one of* the villages in the
plain of Ono. But they thought to do me
3] mischief. And I sent messengers unto
them, saying, I am doing a great work,
so that I cannot come down: why should
the work cease, whilst I leave it, and
4] come down to you? And they sent
unto me four times after this sort; and
I answered them after the same manner.
5] Then sent Sanballat his servant unto
me in like manner the fifth time with an
6] open letter in his hand; wherein was
written, It is reported among the nations,
and [16] Gashmu saith it, that thou
and the Jews think to rebel; for which
cause thou buildest the wall: and thou
wouldest be their king, according to these
7] words. And thou hast also appointed
prophets to preach of thee at Jerusalem,
saying, There is a king in Judah: and
now shall it be reported to the king according
to these words. Come now therefore,
and let us take counsel together.
8] Then I sent unto him, saying, There
are no such things done as thou sayest,
but thou feignest them out of thine own
9] heart. For they all would have made
us afraid, saying, Their hands shall be
weakened from the work, that it be not
done. But now, [17] *O God,* strengthen thou
my hands.

10] And I went unto the house of
Shemaiah the son of Delaiah the son of
Mehetabel, who was shut up; and he
said, Let us meet together in the house
of God, within the temple, and let us
shut the doors of the temple: for they
will come to slay thee; yea, in the night
11] will they come to slay thee. And I
said, Should such a man as I flee? and
who is there, that, being such as I,
[18] would go into the temple to save his
12] life? I will not go in. And I discerned,
and, lo, God had not sent him:
but he pronounced this prophecy against
me: and Tobiah and Sanballat had hired
13] him. For this cause was he hired,
that I should be afraid, and do so, and
sin, and that they might have matter
for an evil report, that they might reproach
14] proach me. Remember, O my God,
Tobiah and Sanballat according to these
their works, and also the prophetess
Noadiah, and the rest of the prophets,
that would have put me in fear.

This passage shows Nehemiah to have been cautious and courageous as well as energetic.

THE WALLS BUILT IN LESS THAN THREE MONTHS, *Neh.* 6:15–19

Neh. 6. 15] So the wall was finished
in the twenty and fifth *day* of *the month*
16] Elul, in fifty and two days. And it
came to pass, when all our enemies heard
thereof, that all the heathen that were
about us [19] feared, and were much cast
down in their own eyes: for they perceived
that this work was wrought of
17] our God. Moreover in those days the
nobles of Judah sent many letters unto
Tobiah, and *the letters* of Tobiah came
18] unto them. For there were many in
Judah sworn unto him, because he was
the son in law of Shecaniah the son of
Arah; and his son Jehohanan had taken
the daughter of Meshullam the son of
19] Berechiah to wife. Also they spake
of his good deeds before me, and reported
my words to him. *And* Tobiah sent
letters to put me in fear.

HANANI MADE GOVERNOR OF JERUSALEM, *Neh.* 7:1–4

Neh. 7. Now it came to pass, when the
wall was built, and I had set up the doors,
and the porters and the singers and the
2] Levites were appointed, that I gave

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[16] In ver. 1, and elsewhere, *Geshem.*
[17] Or, *I will strengthen my hands.*
[18] Or, *could go into the temple and live.*
[19] According to another reading, *saw.*

my brother Hanani, and Hananiah the governor of the castle, charge over Jerusalem: for he was a faithful man, and 3] feared God above many. And I said unto them, Let not the gates of Jerusalem be opened until the sun be hot; and while they stand *on guard*, let them shut the doors, and bar ye them: and appoint watches of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, every one in his watch, and every 4] one *to be* over against his house. Now the city was wide and large: but the people were few therein, and the houses were not builded.

NEHEMIAH TAKES A CENSUS, *Neh.* 7:5–69

Neh. 7. 5] And my God put into my heart to gather together the nobles, and the [20] rulers, and the people, that they might be reckoned by genealogy. And I found the book of the genealogy of them which came up at the first, and I found 6] written therein: [21] These are the children of the province, that went up out of the captivity of those that had been carried away, whom Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon had carried away, and that returned unto Jerusalem and to 7] Judah, every one unto his city; who came with Zerubbabel, Jeshua, Nehemiah, Azariah, Raamiah, Nahamani, Mordecai, Bilshan, Mispereth, Bigvai, 66] Nehum, Baanah. . . .[22] The whole congregation together was forty and two thousand, three hundred and threescore, 67] beside their menservants and their maidservants, of whom there were seven thousand three hundred thirty and seven: and they had two hundred forty and five singing men and singing women. 68] Their horses were seven hundred thirty and six; their mules, two hun- 69] dred forty and five; *their* camels, four hundred thirty and five; *their* asses, six thousand seven hundred and twenty.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE TREASURY, *Neh.* 7:70–72

Neh. 7. 70] And some from among the heads of fathers' *houses* gave unto the work. The [23] Tirshatha gave to the treasury a thousand darics of gold, fifty basons, five hundred and thirty priests' 71] garments. And some of the heads of fathers' *houses* gave into the treasury of the work twenty thousand darics of gold, and two thousand and two hundred 72] [24] pound of silver. And that which the rest of the people gave was twenty thousand darics of gold, and two thousand pound of silver, and threescore and seven priests' garments.

THE ADOPTION OF THE COMPLETED PENTATEUCH, *Neh.* 7:73*b*—9:38

Neh. 7. 73*b*. [25] And when the seventh month was come, the children of Israel 8. were in their cities. And all the people gathered themselves together as one man into the broad place that was before the water gate; and they spake unto Ezra the scribe to bring the book of the law of Moses, which the Lord had com- 2] manded to Israel. And Ezra the priest brought the law before the congregation, both men and women, and all that could hear with understanding, upon the first 3] day of the seventh month. And he read therein before the broad place that was before the water gate [26] from early morning until midday, in the presence of the men and the women, and of those that could understand; and the ears of

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[20] Or, *deputies*.

[21] See *Ezra* 2:1, &c.

[22] As verses 8–65 contain principally the names and numbers of different classes of people who are now of little general interest we omit them.

[23] Nehemiah's Persian title as governor of Jerusalem.

[24] Heb. *maneh*.

[25] See *Ezra* 3:1.

[26] Heb. *from the light*.

all the people were *attentive* unto the
4] book of the law. And Ezra the scribe
stood upon a [27] pulpit of wood, which
they had made for the purpose; and beside
him stood Mattithiah, and Shema,
and Anaiah, and Uriah, and Hilkiah, and
Maaseiah, on his right hand; and on his
left hand, Pedaiah, and Mishael, and
Malchijah, and Hashum, and Hashbaddanah,
Zechariah, *and* Meshullam.
5] And Ezra opened the book in the sight
of all the people; (for he was above all
the people;) and when he opened it, all
6] the people stood up: and Ezra blessed
the Lord, the great God. And all the
people answered, Amen, Amen, with the
lifting up of their hands: and they bowed
their heads, and worshipped the Lord
7] with their faces to the ground. Also
Jeshua, and Bani, and Sherebiah, Jamin,
Akkub, Shabbethai, Hodiah, Maaseiah,
Kelita, Azariah, Jozabad, Hanan, Pelaiah,
and the Levites, caused the people
to understand the law: and the people
8] *stood* in their place. And they read
in the book, in the law of God, [28] distinctly;
and they gave the sense, [29] so that
9] they understood the reading. And
Nehemiah, which was the Tirshatha,
and Ezra the priest the scribe, and the
Levites that taught the people, said unto
all the people, This day is holy unto the
Lord your God; mourn not, nor weep.
For all the people wept, when they heard
10] the words of the law. Then he said
unto them, Go your way, eat the fat, and
drink the sweet, and send portions unto
him for whom nothing is prepared: for
this day is holy unto our Lord: neither
be ye grieved; for the joy of the Lord
11] is your [30] strength. So the Levites
stilled all the people, saying, Hold your
peace, for the day is holy: neither be ye
12] grieved. And all the people went their
way to eat, and to drink, and to send portions,
and to make great mirth, because
they had understood the words that were
declared unto them.

13] And on the second day were gathered
together the heads of fathers'
houses of all the people, the priests, and
the Levites, unto Ezra the scribe, even
to give attention to the words of the
14] law. And they found written in the
law, how that the Lord had commanded
by Moses, that the children of Israel
should dwell in booths in the feast of
15] the seventh month: and that they
should publish and proclaim in all their
cities, and in Jerusalem, saying, Go forth
unto the mount, and fetch olive branches,
and branches of wild olive, and myrtle
branches, and palm branches, and
branches of thick trees, to make booths,
16] as it is written. So the people went
forth, and brought them, and made themselves
booths, every one upon the roof
of his house, and in their courts, and in
the courts of the house of God, and in
the broad place of the water gate, and
in the broad place of the gate of
17] Ephraim. And all the congregation
of them that were come again out of the
captivity made booths, and dwelt in the
booths: for since the days of Jeshua the
son of Nun unto that day had not the
children of Israel done so. And there was
18] very great gladness. Also day by
day, from the first day unto the last
day, he read in the book of the law of
God. And they kept the feast seven days;
and on the eighth day was a [31] solemn
assembly, according unto the ordinance.

9. Now in the twenty and fourth day
of this month the children of Israel were
assembled with fasting, and with sackcloth,
2] and earth upon them. And the
seed of Israel separated themselves from
all strangers, and stood and confessed
their sins, and the iniquities of their
3] fathers. And they stood up in their
places, and read in the book of the law
of the Lord their God a fourth part of
the day; and *another* fourth part they
confessed, and worshipped the Lord their
4] God. Then stood up upon the stairs of
the Levites, Jeshua, and Bani, Kadmiel,
Shebaniah, Bunni, Sherebiah, Bani, *and*
Chenani, and cried with a loud voice unto
5] the Lord their God. Then the Levites,
Jeshua, and Kadmiel, Bani, Hashabneiah,
Sherebiah, Hodiah, Shebaniah, *and*

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[27] Heb. *tower.*
[28] Or, *with an interpretation.*
[29] Or, *and caused* them to *understand.*
[30] Or, *strong hold.*
[31] Or, *closing festival.*

Pethahiah, said, Stand up and bless the
Lord your God from everlasting to everlasting:
and [32] blessed be thy glorious
name, which is exalted above all blessing
6] and praise. Thou art the Lord, even
thou alone; thou hast made heaven, the
heaven of heavens, with all their host,
the earth and all things that are thereon,
the seas and all that is in them, and
thou preservest them all; and the host of
7] heaven worshippeth thee. Thou art
[33] the Lord the God, who didst choose
Abram, and broughtest him forth out of
Ur of the Chaldees, and gavest him the
8] name of Abraham; and foundest his
heart faithful before thee, and madest
a covenant with him to give the land of
the Canaanite, the Hittite, the Amorite,
and the Perizzite, and the Jebusite, and
the Girgashite, even to give it unto his
seed, and hast performed thy words;
9] for thou are righteous. And thou sawest
the affliction of our fathers in Egypt,
and heardest their cry by the Red Sea;
10] and shewedst signs and wonders
upon Pharaoh, and on all his servants,
and on all the people of his land; for
thou knewest that they dealt proudly
against them; and didst get thee a name,
11] as it is this day. And thou didst divide
the sea before them, so that they went
through the midst of the sea on the dry
land; and their pursuers thou didst cast
into the depths, as a stone into the mighty
12] waters. Moreover thou leddest them
in a pillar of cloud by day; and in a pillar
of fire by night, to give them light in
the way wherein they should go.
13] Thou camest down also upon mount
Sinai, and spakest with them from
heaven, and gavest them right judgements
and true laws, good statutes and
14] commandments: and madest known
unto them thy holy sabbath, and commandedst
them commandments, and statutes,
and a law, by the hand of Moses
15] thy servant: and gavest them bread
from heaven for their hunger, and
broughtest forth water for them out of
the rock for their thirst, and commandedst
them that they should go in to
possess the land which thou hadst lifted
16] up thine hand to give them. But they
and our fathers dealt proudly, and hardened
their neck, and hearkened not to
17] thy commandments, and refused to
obey, neither were mindful of thy wonders
that thou didst among them; but
hardened their neck, [34] and in their rebellion
appointed a captain to return to their
bondage: but thou art [35] a God ready to
pardon, gracious and full of compassion,
slow to anger, and plenteous in
18] mercy, and forsookest them not. Yea,
when they had made them a molten calf,
and said, This is thy God that brought
thee up out of Egypt, and had wrought
19] great provocations; yet thou in thy
manifold mercies forsookest them not in
the wilderness: the pillar of cloud departed
not from over them by day, to
lead them in the way; neither the pillar
of fire by night, to shew them light,
and the way wherein they should go.
20] Thou gavest also thy good spirit to
instruct them, and withheldest not thy
manna from their mouth, and gavest
21] them water for their thirst. Yea,
forty years didst thou sustain them in
the wilderness, *and* they lacked nothing;
their clothes waxed not old, and their
22] feet swelled not. Moreover thou gavest
them kingdoms and peoples, [36] which
thou didst allot after their portions: so
they possessed the land of Sihon, even
the land of the king of Heshbon, and
22] the land of Og king of Bashan. Their
children also multipliedst thou as the
stars of heaven, and broughtest them into
the land, concerning which thou didst
say to their fathers, that they should go
24] in to possess it. So the children went
in and possessed the land, and thou subduedst
before them the inhabitants of the
land, the Canaanites, and gavest them
into their hands, with their kings, and
the peoples of the land, that they might
25] do with them as they would. And
they took fenced cities, and a fat land,
and possessed houses full of all good

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[32] Or, *let them bless.*

[33] Or, *O LORD.*

[34] The Sept. has, *and appointed a captain to return to their bondage in Egypt.* See *Num.* 14: 4.

[35] Heb. *a God of forgiveness.*

[36] Or, *and didst distribute them into* every *corner.*

things, cisterns hewn out, vineyards, and
olive-yards, and fruit trees in abundance:
so they did eat, and were filled, and became
fat, and delighted themselves in
26] thy great goodness. Nevertheless they
were disobedient, and rebelled against
thee, and cast thy law behind their back,
and slew thy prophets which testified
against them to turn them again unto
thee, and they wrought great provocations.
27] tions. Therefore thou deliveredst
them into the hand of their adversaries,
who distressed them: and in the time of
their trouble, when they cried unto thee,
thou heardest from heaven; and according
to thy manifold mercies thou gavest
them saviours who saved them out of
28] the hand of their adversaries. But
after they had rest, they did evil again
before thee: therefore leftest thou them
in the hand of their enemies, so that they
had the dominion over them: yet when
they returned, and cried unto thee, thou
heardest from heaven; and many times
didst thou deliver them according to thy
29] mercies; and testifiedst against them,
that thou mightest bring them again unto
thy law: yet they dealt proudly, and
hearkened not unto thy commandments,
but sinned against thy judgements,
(which if a man do, he shall live in
them,) and [37] withdrew the shoulder, and
hardened their neck, and would not hear.
30] Yet many years didst thou bear with
them, and testifiedst against them by thy
spirit through thy prophets: yet would
they not give ear: therefore gavest thou
them into the hand of the peoples of the
31] lands. Nevertheless in thy manifold
mercies thou didst not make a full end
of them, nor forsake them; for thou art
32] a gracious and merciful God. Now
therefore, our God, the great, the mighty,
and the terrible God, who keepest covenant
and mercy, let not all the travail
seem little before thee, that hath come
upon us, on our kings, on our princes,
and on our priests, and on our prophets,
and on our fathers, and on all thy people,
since the time of the kings of Assyria
33] unto this day. Howbeit thou art just
in all that is come upon us; for thou hast
dealt truly, but we have done wickedly:
34] neither have our kings, our princes,
our priests, nor our fathers, kept thy
law, nor hearkened unto thy commandments
and thy testimonies, wherewith
35] thou didst testify against them. For
they have not served thee in their kingdom,
and in thy great goodness that thou
gavest them, and in the large and fat
land which thou gavest before them,
neither turned they from their wicked
36] works. Behold, we are servants this
day, and as for the land that thou gavest
unto our fathers to eat the fruit thereof
and the good thereof, behold, we are
37] servants in it. And it yieldeth much
increase unto the kings whom thou hast
set over us because of our sins: also
they have power over our bodies, and
over our cattle, at their pleasure, and we
38] [38] are in great distress [38] And [39] yet
for all this we make a [40] sure covenant,
and write it; and our princes, our Levites,
and our priests, [41] seal unto it.

It is clear from the references to the Levites and the law commanding them to dwell in booths during the feast of the seventh month (ch. 8: 14) that in the law that Ezra read at this solemn convocation the priestly law was present. If we were to look up the references in this passage to the various parts of the Pentateuch, we should find abundant evidence that Ezra read from the completed Pentateuch of five books or rolls. At the end the people accepted these as the law of Yahweh and covenanted to keep its regulations (ch. 9: 38). This act on the part of this convocation of Jews was as important as Josiah's reform. By it the five books of Moses and the book of *Joshua* were canonized. The

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[37] Heb. *they gave a stubborn shoulder.*
[38] Ch. 10: 1 in Heb.
[39] Or, *because of.*
[40] Or, *faithful.*
[41] Heb. *are at the sealing.*

Jewish Bible, which had been begun in 621 B.C. by the acceptance of the kernel of *Deuteronomy* as God's Law, was now enlarged to five books. From Nehemiah's convocation to this day they have for the Jew stood as the Law of God.

FURTHER DETAILS OF THE COVENANT, *Neh.* 10:28–31

Neh. 10. 28] And the rest of the people,
the priests, the Levites, the porters,
the singers, the Nethinim, and all they
that had separated themselves from the
peoples of the lands unto the law of
God, their wives, their sons, and their
daughters, every one that had knowledge
29] and understanding; they clave to
their brethren, their nobles, and entered
into a curse, and into an oath, to walk in
God's law, which was given by Moses
the servant of God, and to observe and
do all the commandments of the LORD
our Lord, and his judgements and his
30] statutes; and that we would not give
our daughters unto the peoples of the
land, nor take their daughters for our
31] sons: and if the peoples of the land
bring ware or any victuals on the sabbath
day to sell, that we would not buy
of them on the sabbath, or on a holy day:
and that we would forgo the [42] seventh
year, and the [43] exaction of every debt.

THE DEDICATION OF THE WALLS, *Neh.* 12:27–43

Neh. 12. 27] And at the dedication of
the wall of Jerusalem they sought the
Levites out of all their places, to bring
them to Jerusalem, to keep the dedication
with gladness, both with thanksgivings,
and with singing, with cymbals,
28] psalteries, and with harps. And the
sons of the singers gathered themselves
together, both out of the [44] plain round
about Jerusalem, and from the villages
29] of the Netophathites; also from
Beth-gilgal, and out of the fields of
Geba and Azmaveth: for the singers had
builded them villages round about Jerusalem.
30] And the priests and the
Levites purified themselves; and they
purified the people, and the gates, and
31] the wall. Then I brought up the
princes of Judah upon the wall, and appointed
two great companies that gave
thanks and went in procession; *whereof
one went* on the right hand upon the wall
32] toward the dung gate: and after
them went Hoshaiah, and half of the
33] princes of Judah, and Azariah, Ezra,
34] and Meshullam, Judah, and Benjamin,
35] and Shemaiah, and Jeremiah,
and certain of the priests' sons with
trumpets: Zechariah the son of Jonathan,
the son of Shemaiah, the son of
Mattaniah, the son of Micaiah, the son
36] of Zaccur, the son of Asaph; and
his brethren, Shemaiah, and Azarel,
Milalai, Gilalai, Maai, Nethanel, and
Judah, Hanani, with the musical instruments
of David the man of God; and
37] Ezra the scribe was before them: and
by the fountain gate, and straight before
them, they went up by the stairs of the
city of David, at the going up of the
wall, above the house of David, even
38] unto the water gate eastward. And
the other company of them that gave
thanks went to meet them, and I after
them, with the half of the people, upon
the wall, above the tower of the furnaces,
39] even unto the broad wall; and
above the gate of Ephraim, and by the
old gate, and by the fish gate, and the
tower of Hananel, and the tower of
[45] Hammeah, even unto the sheep gate:
and they stood still in the gate of the
40] guard. So stood the two companies
of them that gave thanks in the house of

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[42] See *Ex.* 23:10, 11.

[43] See *Deut.* 15:1, 2.

[44] Or, *Circuit.*

[45] Or, *The hundred.*

God, and I, and the half of the [46] rulers
41] with me: and the priests, Eliakim,
Maaseiah, Miniamin, Micaiah, Elioenai,
Zechariah, and Hananiah, with trumpets;
42] and Maaseiah, and Shemaiah,
and Eleazar, and Uzzi, and Jehohanan,
and Malchijah, and Elam, and Ezer. And
the singers sang loud, with Jezrahiah
43] their overseer. And they offered
great sacrifices that day, and rejoiced;
for God had made them rejoice with
great joy; and the women also and the
children rejoiced: so that the joy of
Jerusalem was heard even afar off.

The two processions separated at the southwest corner of the city and, each following the line of the wall in a different direction, met at the temple which was at the northeast corner. The position of each of the landmarks mentioned has been identified in the topography of modern Jerusalem.

REGULATIONS FOR THE SUPPORT OF THE TEMPLE, *Neh.* 10:32–39

Neh. 10. 32] Also we made ordinances
for us, to charge ourselves yearly with
the third part of a shekel for the service
33] of the house of our God; for the
shewbread, and for the continual meal
offering, and for the continual burnt offering,
of the sabbaths, of the new
moons, for the set feasts, and for the
holy things, and for the sin offerings to
make atonement for Israel, and for all
the work of the house of our God.
34] And we cast lots, the priests, the
Levites, and the people, for the wood
offering, to bring it into the house of our
God, according to our fathers' houses,
at times appointed, year by year, to burn
upon the altar of the Lord our God, as
35] it is written in the law: and to bring
the firstfruits of our ground, and the
firstfruits of all fruit of all manner of
trees, year by year, unto the house of
36] the Lord: also the firstborn of our
sons, and of our cattle, as it is written
in the law, and the firstlings of our herds
and of our flocks, to bring to the house of
our God, unto the priests that minister in
37] the house of our God: and that we
should bring the firstfruits of our
[47] dough, and our heave offerings, and
the fruit of all manner of trees, [47] the
wine and the oil, unto the priests, to the
chambers of the house of our God; and
the tithes of our ground unto the Levites;
for they, the Levites, take the
tithes in all the cities of our tillage.
38] And the priest the son of Aaron shall
be with the Levites, when the Levites
take tithes: and the Levites shall bring
up the tithe of the tithes unto the house
of our God, to the chambers, into the
39] treasure house. For the children of
Israel and the children of Levi shall
bring the heave offering of the corn, of
[48] the wine, and of the oil, unto the
chambers, where are the vessels of the
sanctuary, and the priests that minister,
and the porters, and the singers: and we
will not forsake the house of our God.

This records the origin of that temple-tax which, as long as the temple stood, loyal Jews were expected to pay. It was later increased to a half-shekel (see *Matthew* 17:24).

A DEVICE FOR PEOPLING JERUSALEM, *Neh.* 11:1–2

Neh. 11. And the princes of the people dwelt in Jerusalem: the rest of the people also cast lots, to bring one of ten to dwell in Jerusalem the holy city, and

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[46] Or, *deputies.*
[47] Or, *coarse meal.*
[48] Or, *the vintage.*

2] nine parts in the *other* cities. And the people blessed all the men that willingly offered themselves to dwell in Jerusalem.

It appears from *Nehemiah* 7:4 that "the people were few and the houses not builded." In other words, now that the walls were rebuilt on the old lines, they enclosed much unoccupied space. The device described in *Nehemiah* 11:1, 2 not only would help to remedy this, but would give each group in the land a representative in the city made holy by Yahweh's presence.

PURGING THE POPULATION, *Neh.* 13:1–3; *Ezra* 10:1–17

Neh. 13. On that day they read in the book of Moses in the audience of the people; and therein was found written, that an Ammonite and a Moabite should not enter into the assembly of God for
2] ever; because they met not the children of Israel with bread and with water, but hired Balaam against them, to curse them: howbeit our God turned the curse
3] into a blessing. And it came to pass, when they had heard the law, that they separated from Israel all the mixed multitude.

(As this regulation is found only in *Deuteronomy* (ch. 23:3) this reference to it is one of the proofs that Ezra and Nehemiah possessed the whole Pentateuch.)

Ezra 10. Now while Ezra prayed, and made confession, weeping and casting himself down before the house of God, there was gathered together unto him out of Israel a very great congregation of men and women and children: for the
2] people wept very sore. And Shecaniah the son of Jehiel, one of the sons of Elam, answered and said unto Ezra, We have trespassed against our God, and have married strange women of the peoples of the land: yet now there is hope
3] for Israel concerning this thing. Now therefore let us make a covenant with our God to put away all the wives, and such as are born of them, according to the counsel of [49] my lord, and of those that tremble at the commandment of our God; and let it be done according to the
4] law. Arise; for the matter belongeth unto thee, and we are with thee: be
5] of good courage, and do it. Then arose Ezra, and made the chiefs of the priests, the Levites, and all Israel, to swear that they would do according to this word.
6] So they sware. Then Ezra rose up from before the house of God, and went into the chamber of Jehohanan the son of Eliashib: [50] and *when* he came thither, he did eat no bread, nor drink water: for he mourned because of the trespass
7] of them of the captivity. And they made proclamation throughout Judah and Jerusalem unto all the children of the captivity, that they should gather them-
8] selves together unto Jerusalem; and that whosoever came not within three days, according to the counsel of the princes and the elders, all his substance should be [51] forfeited, and himself separated from the congregation of the cap-
9] tivity. Then all the men of Judah and Benjamin gathered themselves together unto Jerusalem within the three days; it was the ninth month, on the twentieth *day* of the month: and all the people sat in the broad place before the house of God, trembling because of this matter,
10] and for [52] the great rain. And Ezra the priest stood up, and said unto them,

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[49] Or, *the Lord.*

[50] According to some ancient versions, *and he lodged there.*

[51] Heb, *devoted.*

[52] Heb. *the rains.*

Ye have trespassed, and have married
strange women, to increase the guilt of
11] Israel. Now therefore [53] make confession
unto the LORD, the God of your
fathers, and do his pleasure: and separate
yourselves from the peoples of the
land, and from the strange women.
12] Then all the congregation answered
and said with a loud voice, [54] As thou
hast said concerning us, so must we do.
13] But the people are many, and it is a
time of much rain, and we are not able
to stand without, neither is this a work
of one day or two: for we have greatly
14] transgressed in this matter. Let now
our princes [55] be appointed for all the
congregation, and let all them that are
in our cities which have married strange
women come at appointed times, and
with them the elders of every city, and
the judges thereof, until the fierce wrath
of our God be turned from us, [56] until
15] this matter be despatched. Only
Jonathan the son of Asahel and Jahzeiah
the son of Tikvah [57] stood up against
this *matter:* and Meshullam and Shabbethai
16] the Levite helped them. And
the children of the captivity did so. And
Ezra the priest, *with* certain heads of
fathers' *houses,* after their fathers'
houses, and all of them by their names,
were separated; and they sat down in
the first day of the tenth month to examine
17] the matter. And they made an
end with all the men that had married
strange women by the first day of the
first month.

These zealous but ruthless reformers did not hesitate to break up families in order to keep Jewish blood pure. They compelled these men to divorce their wives, regardless of the feelings or fate of the women and the rights of their innocent children. Many resented the suffering thus caused, and it is believed that the book of *Ruth* was composed at this time as a protest. It shows how fine and devoted Ruth, the Moabitess, was, and how she became the ancestress of David, Israel's greatest king.

THE BEGINNING OF THE BOOK OF PSALMS

Nehemiah in his book refers to the "singers" twelve times, and scholars are agreed that the book of *Psalms* began to be compiled at this time. All readers of the Revised Version know that the Psalter consists of five "books." It was the first of these, consisting of *Psalms* 3–41, which was now compiled as a hymn-book for the temple service. (*Psalms* 1 and 2, originally one psalm, were prefixed later.) Hymn-books in all ages are made by collecting and adapting poems or parts of poems already in existence so that they will express the religious sentiments of those who use them in worship, and so that they can be sung to some tune known by the singers and agreeable to them. This first Psalter came to be called "The Psalms of David." Possibly the third *Psalm,* which stood at the beginning of the collection and gave the whole its name, may have been adapted by the editor of the book from a poem of David. Whoever wrote the rest of the *Psalms,* they were edited to express the religious sentiments of the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, and not the very different sentiments of David's time. The word for "firmament" in the nineteenth *Psalm,* for instance, is not known in Hebrew until the P Document about 450 B.C. The eighth *Psalm* was written by a man who knew the first chapter of Genesis, which was composed by the author of the P Document. Similar proof could be adduced for many of the others. In many cases superscriptions were supplied by the editor, indicating the tunes to which psalms were to be sung and points where the instruments were to play accompaniments or interludes.

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[53] Or, *give thanks.*

[54] Or, *As thou hast said, so it behoveth us to do.*

[55] Heb. *stand.*

[56] Or, *as touching this matter.*

[57] Or, *were appointed over this.*

NEHEMIAH'S SECOND GOVERNORSHIP

Nehemiah's first term of office lasted twelve years. In 374 B.C. he went for a time to the court of Artaxerxes. How long he was absent from Jerusalem, we are not told; then he came back for another term of office. Some important events of his administration date from his second term as governor.

THE EXPULSION OF ELIASHIB, A FRIEND OF SANBALLAT, *Neh.* 13:4–9, 28–29

Neh. 13. 4] Now before this, Eliashib
the priest, who was appointed over the
[58] chambers of the house of our God,
5] being allied unto Tobiah, had prepared
for him a great chamber, where aforetime they laid the meal offerings, the
frankincense, and the vessels, and the
tithes of the corn, the wine, and the oil,
which were given by commandment to the
Levites, and the singers, and the porters; and the heave offerings for the
6] priests. But in all this *time* I was not
at Jerusalem: for in the two and thirtieth year of Artaxerxes king of Babylon I went unto the king, and after certain days asked I leave of the king:
7] and I came to Jerusalem, and understood the evil that Eliashib had done for
Tobiah, in preparing him a chamber in
8] the courts of the house of God. And
it grieved me sore: therefore I cast forth
all the household stuff of Tobiah out of
9] the chamber. Then I commanded, and
they cleansed the chambers: and thither
brought I again the vessels of the house
of God, with the meal offerings and the
frankincense.

. . . . . .

28] And one of the sons of Joiada, the
son of Eliashib the high priest, was son
in law to Sanballat the Horonite: there-
29] fore I chased him from me. Remember them, O my God, [59] because they
have defiled the priesthood, and the covenant of the priesthood, and of the Levites.

These acts of Nehemiah seem to have precipitated the final split between the Jews and the Samaritans. Although there had been growing friction between the Jews and their northern neighbors, down to this time the Samaritans had considered Jerusalem as their religious capital and had worshiped there. In its completed form the book of *Deuteronomy* had recognized the sacredness of the Samaritan mountains, Ebal and Gerizim (see *Deut.* 27); Samaritans had come to Jerusalem to worship

[58] Heb. *chamber.*

[59] Heb. *for the defilings of &c.*

in the days of Gedaliah, (see *Jer.* 41 : 5) ; and the Samaritans still accept as their Bible the Pentateuch which in Nehemiah's first administration had been adopted as the Law of God. Nehemiah and Ezra, in addition to the friction caused by the political opposition of Sanballat, regarded the Samaritans as a mixed race and not of pure Hebrew descent, because of the foreigners whom Sargon of Assyria had settled in Samaria; hence, in his zeal to purge the Jewish people of foreign blood, Nehemiah pushed the matter to this final break—an act which, as we shall see, resulted in permanent schism.

COMPULSORY SABBATH OBSERVANCE, *Neh.* 13: 15–22

Neh. 13. 15] In those days saw I in
Judah some treading winepresses on the
sabbath, and bringing in [60] sheaves, and
lading asses *therewith;* as also wine,
grapes, and figs, and all manner of burdens,
which they brought into Jerusalem
on the sabbath day: and I testified
against them in the day wherein they
16] sold victuals. There dwelt men of
Tyre also therein, which brought in fish,
and all manner of ware, and sold on the
sabbath unto the children of Judah, and
17] in Jerusalem. Then I contended with
the nobles of Judah, and said unto them,
What evil thing is this that ye do, and
18] profane the sabbath day? Did not
your fathers thus, and did not our God
bring all this evil upon us, and upon this
city? yet ye bring more wrath upon
19] Israel by profaning the sabbath. And
it came to pass, that, when the gates of
Jerusalem began to be dark before the
sabbath, I commanded that the doors
should be shut, and commanded that they
should not be opened till after the sabbath:
and some of my servants set I
over the gates, that there should no burden
be brought in on the sabbath day.
20] So the merchants and sellers of all
kind of ware lodged without Jerusalem
21] once or twice. Then I testified against
them, and said unto them, Why lodge ye
[61] about the wall? if ye do so again, I
will lay hands on you. From that time
forth came they no more on the Sab-
22] bath. And I commanded the Levites
that they should purify themselves, and
that they should come and keep the gates,
to sanctify the sabbath day. Remember
unto me, O my God, this also, and spare
me according to the greatness of thy
mercy.

THE LEVITES AND THE TITHES, *Neh.* 13: 10–14

Neh. 13. 10] And I perceived that the
portions of the Levites had not been
given them; so that the Levites and the
singers, that did the work, were fled
11] every one to his field. Then contended
I with the [62] rulers, and said,
Why is the house of God forsaken? And
I gathered them together, and set them
12] in their place. Then brought all
Judah the tithe of the corn and the wine
13] and the oil unto the treasuries. And
I made treasurers over the treasuries,
Shelemiah the priest, and Zadok the
scribe, and of the Levites, Pedaiah: next
to them was Hanan the son of Zaccur,
the son of Mattaniah: for they were
counted faithful, and their business was
14] to distribute unto their brethren. Remember
me, O my God, concerning this,
and wipe not out my [63] good deeds that
I have done for the house of my God,
and for the observances thereof.

The priestly law (see *Num.* 18: 24) had given the tithes (a tenth of all that was raised) to the Levites. During his first administration Nehemiah had arranged that these should be paid (*Neh.* 10:37). It was, however, a degree of religious taxation to which the Jews were not accustomed, and they had in Nehemiah's absence refused to pay them. The result was that the Levites had to abandon their duties at the temple and go to their estates in the country and work for a living. This Nehemiah sought to correct. In his effort he was aided by the prophet Malachi.

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[60] Or, *heaps of corn.*
[61] Heb. *before.*
[62] Or, *deputies.*
[63] Heb. *kindnesses.*

THE PROPHET MALACHI

Scholars have long recognized that the prophet Malachi lived and wrote somewhere about 400 B.C. The following passage (*Mal.* 3:7–12) makes it probable that Malachi's prophetic activity was contemporaneous with Nehemiah's second administration after the year 374 B.C., and that the prophet came to the help of the governor in his effort to collect the tithes.

Mal. 3. 7] From the days of your fathers ye have turned aside from mine ordinances, and have not kept them. Return unto me, and I will return unto you, saith the LORD of hosts. But ye say, 8] Wherein shall we return? Will a man rob God? yet ye rob me. But ye say, Wherein have we robbed thee? In tithes 9] and [64] offerings. Ye are cursed with the curse; for ye rob me, even this whole 10] nation. Bring ye the whole tithe into the storehouse, that there may be meat in mine house, and prove me now herewith, saith the LORD of hosts, if I will not open you the windows of heaven, and pour you out a blessing, that there shall 11] not be room enough *to receive it.* And I will rebuke the devourer for your sakes, and he shall not destroy the fruits of your ground; neither shall your vine cast her fruit before the time in the field, 12] saith the LORD of hosts. And all nations shall call you happy: for ye shall be a delightsome land, saith the LORD of hosts.

For a prophet to write thus about tithes and the ritual is evidence that both the ritual and the center of prophetic interest had changed since the days of the great prophets of the eighth century. Then the zeal of the prophets was directed toward ethics and the ritual was denounced as an instrument of heathenism and immorality. By the time of Malachi the ritual had been purged of immorality and so transformed as to embody many of the prophetic ideals, so a prophet devoted the weight of his prophetic office to enjoining the fulfilment of ritual obligations, and denounced the withholding of tithes as robbery of God.

ANOTHER ATTACK ON MIXED MARRIAGES, *Neh.* 13:23–27

Neh. 13. 23] In those days also saw I the Jews that [65] had married women of Ashdod, of Ammon, *and* of Moab: 24] and their children spake half in the speech of Ashdod, and could not speak in the Jews' language, but according to 25] the language of each people. And I contended with them, and [66] cursed them, and smote certain of them, and plucked off their hair, and made them

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[64] Heb. *heave offerings.*

[65] Heb. *had made to dwell* with them.

[66] Or, *reviled.*

swear by God, *saying,* Ye shall not give
your daughters unto their sons, nor take
their daughters for your sons, or for
26] yourselves. Did not Solomon king
of Israel sin by these things? yet among
many nations was there no king like him,
and he was beloved of his God, and God
made him king over all Israel: nevertheless
even him did strange women
27] cause to sin. Shall we then hearken
unto you to do all this great evil, to
trespass against our God in marrying
strange women?

That such a purging was necessary in 374 after the stringent measures that had been taken in 386–385 B.C., is evidence that there were many Jews who did not take kindly to the social regulations of the reforming governor.

NEHEMIAH'S ECONOMIC REGULATIONS, *Neh.* 5: 1–19

Neh. 5. Then there arose a great cry
of the people and of their wives against
2] their brethren the Jews. For there
were that said, We, our sons and our
daughters, are many: let us get corn,
3] that we may eat and live. Some also
there were that said, We are mortgaging
our fields, and our vineyards, and our
houses: let us get corn, because of the
4] dearth. There were also that said, We
have borrowed money for the king's tribute
upon our fields and our vineyards.
5] Yet now our flesh is as the flesh of
our brethren, our children as their children;
and, lo, we bring into bondage
our sons and our daughters to be servants,
and some of our daughters are
brought into bondage *already:* neither is
it in our power to help it; for other men
6] have our fields and our vineyards. And
I was very angry when I heard their cry
7] and these words. Then I consulted
with myself, and contended with the
nobles and the [67] rulers, and said unto
them, Ye exact usury, every one of his
brother. And I held a great assembly
8] against them. And I said unto them,
We after our ability have [68] redeemed
our brethren the Jews, which were sold
unto the heathen; and would ye even sell
your brethren, and should they be sold
unto us? Then held they their peace, and
9] found never a word. Also I said, The
thing that ye do is not good: ought ye not
to walk in the fear of our God, because
of the reproach of the heathen our
10] enemies? And I likewise, my brethren
and my servants, do lend them money and
corn on usury. I pray you, let us leave
11] off this usury. Restore, I pray you,
to them, even this day, their fields, their
vineyards, their oliveyards, and their
houses, also the hundredth part of the
money, and of the corn, the wine, and the
12] oil, that ye exact of them. Then said
they, We will restore them, and will require
nothing of them; so will we do,
even as thou sayest. Then I called the
priests, and took an oath of them, that
they should do according to this promise.
13] Also I shook out my lap, and said,
So God shake out every man from his
house, and from his labour, that performeth
not this promise; even thus be
he shaken out, and emptied. And all the
congregation said, Amen, and praised the
LORD. And the people did according to
14] this promise. Moreover from the
time that I was appointed to be their
governor in the land of Judah, from the
twentieth year even unto the two and
thirtieth year of Artaxerxes the king,
that is, twelve years, I and my brethren
have not eaten the bread of the governor.
15] But the former governors
that were before me [69] were chargeable
unto the people, and took of them bread
and wine, [70] beside forty shekels of
silver; yea, even their servants [71] bare
rule over the people: but so did not I,

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[67] Or, *deputies.*
[68] Heb. *bought.*
[69] Or, *laid burdens upon.*
[70] Or, *at the rate of.* Or, *afterward.*
[71] Or, *lorded over.*

16] because of the fear of God. Yea, also I [72] continued in this work of this wall, neither bought we any land: and all my servants were gathered thither unto the
17] work. Moreover there were at my table of the Jews and the [67] rulers an hundred and fifty men, beside those that came unto us from among the heathen
18] that were round about us. Now that which was prepared for one day was one ox and six choice sheep; also fowls were prepared for me, and once in ten days store of all sorts of wine: yet for all this I demanded not the bread of the governor, because the bondage was heavy
19] upon this people. Remember unto me, O my God, for good, all that I have done for this people.

Nehemiah's prohibition of taking interest for money loaned to a fellow Jew was simply an enforcement of a provision found in the oldest Hebrew code of laws (*Ex.* 22:25) and repeated in the law of *Deuteronomy* (*ch.* 25:36). Centuries later the regulations was set aside by an ingenious interpretation.

THE CURTAIN FALLS

From this point on, our sources tell us nothing of Nehemiah. How long his second term as governor continued or how long he lived, we do not know. When next we get a glimpse of Jerusalem through the pages of Josephus, Nehemiah has vanished, and a Bagoses is governor.

THE JEWISH CHURCH

The four centuries from the beginning of the work of Amos to the conclusion of that of Nehemiah transformed the old Hebrew religion into the Jewish Church, and forever differentiated the Jewish religion from the heathen Semitic religions with which the older Hebrew religion had been so closely akin. The transformation had been brought about partly by prophetic activity and priestly coöperation, but partly, too, by the national misfortunes, which chastened the Jewish spirit and made it amenable to the prophetic teaching.

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[72] Heb. *held fast to.*

CHAPTER XXI

FROM NEHEMIAH TO THE MACCABEES

FOR the two hundred years from Nehemiah to the Maccabees we have no connected sources of information; it is impossible, therefore, to write a continuous history of the Jewish people during this period. For surrounding peoples we possess connected chronicles, but for the Jews we have only a few specific statements. It is possible nevertheless to form a fairly accurate estimate of the progress of events.

A REVOLT UNDER ARTAXERXES III

Artaxerxes II died in 359 B.C., and, after two of his brothers had briefly held the throne, Artaxerxes III (Ochus), a cruel prince, possessed himself of it, and reigned until 338 B.C. During the early years of his reign he tried to reconquer Egypt, which had revolted from Persia in the year 406 B.C., and had maintained its independence. In this effort Artaxerxes was unsuccessful, and as a consequence there were revolutions in other portions of his dominions, including Syria. It is probable that the Jews participated in these revolts and attempted to throw off the Persian yoke, for Josephus states: "When Eliashib the high priest was dead, his son Judas succeeded to the high priesthood: and when he was dead his son John took that dignity, on whose account it was that Bagoses, the general of another Artaxerxes' army, polluted the temple, and imposed tribute on the Jews, that out of the public stock, before they offered the daily sacrifices, they should pay for every lamb fifty shekels."[1] Josephus accounts for Bagoses' action by saying that it was because John had brought about the death of his brother Jesus (Joshua), who was a friend of Bagoses, but such violent measures would hardly have been taken except in punishment for an attempted revolt. Doubtless the struggle stirred deeply the national consciousness of the Jews and intensified their devotion to their religion. Probably these events occurred about 350 B.C.

THE COMING OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

In 342 B.C. Artaxerxes III had reconquered Egypt. In 338 B.C. his general Bagoses conspired against him and murdered him, putting his son

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[1] *Antiquities*, XI, 5, 1.

Arses on the Persian throne. After two years Arses was replaced by Darius III (Codamanus). In the same year Philip of Macedonia died and was succeeded by his young son Alexander, a boy of twenty, who became in the next few years the greatest conqueror the world had seen. In the autumn of 334 B.C. Alexander crossed into Asia and defeated the army of the Persian satraps at the battle of the Granicus. In November of 333 B.C. he defeated Darius himself at Issus, at the northeastern corner of the Mediterranean Sea. The year 332 B.C. was spent in besieging Tyre and Gaza and conquering Egypt. During this year all Syria and Palestine passed from Persian to Macedonian (Greek) rule. In October of the year 331 B.C. Alexander finally overthrew Darius at the battle of Arbela, in the territory that was once Assyria, and brought the Persian empire to an end.

Josephus tells an interesting tale of how Alexander visited Jerusalem,[2] and, though the story is not credited by scholars generally, we believe it probably true. Jerusalem was not a place of sufficient political importance to merit much attention from Alexander, and it is thought that the story which Josephus tells grew up to satisfy Jewish national feeling.

THE BUILDING OF THE SAMARITAN TEMPLE

Of this Josephus gives the following account.[3] "But Sanballat thought he had now found a proper opportunity to make his attempt, so he renounced Darius, and taking with him seven thousand of his subjects, he came to Alexander; and finding him besieging the city of Tyre, he said to him that he delivered up to him these men, who came out of places under his dominion, and did gladly accept of him for their lord, instead of Darius. So when Alexander had received him kindly, Sanballat thereupon took courage, and spake to him about this present affair. He told him that 'he had a son-in-law, Manasseh, who was brother to the high priest Jaddua; and that there were many others of his own nation now with him, that were desirous to have a temple in the places subject to him; that it would be for the king's advantage to have the strength of the Jews divided into two parts, lest, when the nation is of one mind and united, upon any attempt for innovation, it proved troublesome to kings, as it had formery proved to kings of Assyria.' Whereupon Alexander gave Sanballat leave to do so, who used the utmost diligence and built the temple, and made Manasseh the priest, and deemed it a great reward that his daughter's children should have the dignity: but when the seven months of the siege of Tyre were over, and the two months of the siege of Gaza, Sanballat died."

Thus it came about that the schism between the Jews and Samaritans was completed and the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim built in the year 332 B.C. The temple stood until after the time of Christ (see *John* 4:20–24), and the Samaritans, the oldest Jewish sect, exist, though as a mere remnant, until the present time.[4] The Sanballat mentioned here, who, as an old man, died in 332 B.C., is the same Sanballat who fifty years earlier had opposed Nehemiah.

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[2] *Antiquities,* XI, 8, 4–6. The important parts of it are quoted below p. 361 f.
[3] *Antiquities,* XI, 8, 4.

ALEXANDER AT JERUSALEM

Josephus's account of Alexander's dealings with the Jews is as follows. He says that when Alexander was besieging Tyre "he sent an epistle to the Jewish high priest 'to send him some auxiliaries, and to supply his army with provisions; and that what presents he formerly sent to Darius, he would now send to him, and choose the friendship of the Macedonians, and that he should never repent of so doing.' But the high priest answered the messenger, that 'he had given his oath to Darius not to bear arms against him; and he said that he would not transgress this while Darius was in the land of the living.' Upon hearing this answer Alexander was very angry; and though he determined not to leave Tyre, which was just ready to be taken, yet as soon as he had taken it, he threatened that he would make an expedition against the Jewish high priest, and through him teach all men to whom they must keep their oaths. . . . Now Alexander, when he had taken Gaza, made haste to go up to Jerusalem; and Jaddua, the high priest, when he heard that, was in an agony, and under terror, as not knowing how he should meet the Macedonians, since the king was displeased at his foregoing disobedience. He therefore ordained that the people should make a supplication, and should join with him in making a sacrifice to God, whom he besought to protect the nation, and to deliver them from the perils that were coming upon them: whereupon God warned him in a dream. . . . According to which dream he acted entirely, and so waited the coming of the king. And when he understood that he was not far from the city, he went out in procession with the priests and the multitude of the citizens. The procession was venerable and the manner of it different from other nations. It reached to a place called Sapha, which name translated into Greek signifies a *prospect,* for you have thence a prospect both of Jerusalem and the temple; and when the Phœnicians and Chaldæans who followed him thought they should have liberty to plunder the city, and torment the high priest to death, which the king's displeasure fairly promised them, the very reverse of it happened; for Alexander, when he saw the multitude at a distance in white garments, while the priests stood clothed in fine linen, and the high priest in purple and scarlet clothing, with his mitre on his head, having the golden crown whereon the name of God was engraved, he approached by himself, and adored that Name, and first saluted the high priest. The Jews also did altogether with one voice salute Alexander, and encompass him about: whereupon the king of Syria and the rest were surprised at what Alexander had done, and supposed him disordered in his mind. . . . So when Alexander had thus settled matters at Jerusalem, he came to neighboring cities." [5]

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[4] For a fuller account of this sect see J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans,* Philadelphia, 1907.

There can be no doubt that, in parts of this narrative which we have not quoted, Josephus permits his Jewish imagination to represent Alexander as worshiping Jehovah too much as a Jew would do, but that seems to be no good reason for not accepting the passage quoted as substantial history. With the memory of what had been suffered at the hands of Bagoses twenty years before, it is not improbable that at first the high priest refused to desert the Persian king for Alexander. If such a refusal were made it is altogether improbable that Alexander would march against Egypt and leave Jerusalem as a hostile fortress in his rear, and it is quite in keeping with Alexander's impulsive and half-superstitious character, when he saw not an army but a peaceful religious procession before him, and found himself saluted as king, to forgive the past, and to worship Yahweh as he would worship Zeus.

ALEXANDER AND HIS SUCCESSORS

This is not the place to repeat the oft-told story of Alexander's career. After the battle of Arbela in 331 B.C. he gradually conquered the whole of the great table-land of what is now Persia, Afghanistan, and Baluchistan; and, to the northeast, he conquered Bactria. He also led his armies into India, conquering as far as the Punjab. When his army refused to go farther, he sailed down the Indus to its mouth, making his way back to Babylon, where he arrived in 325 B.C. Here he planned a great empire, of which Babylon should be the capital. The empire was to extend from India to the Atlantic, including both shores of the Mediterranean, which were yet to be conquered. In June, 323 B.C., after a supper at which he had drunk too heavily, he sickened, and in a few days died.

At the death of Alexander at the age of thirty-three, his generals were dazed. They deliberated long on what to do. He had left no legitimate heir, though one was expected soon to be born. Finally each general, except Perdiccas and Seleucus, was made satrap of a province. Perdiccas was made regent and Seleucus commander of the army. In the distribution of provinces Ptolemy took Egypt, Antigonus, Phrygia; and Lysimachus, Thrace. With the others we are not especially concerned. The one thing on which the generals were united was jealousy of one another. After two years the regent was assassinated, and Seleucus, recognizing that two years before he had made a mistake in not securing a province, managed to get Babylonia. Soon the generals were at war with one another. At one time Antigonus seemed destined to gain the upper hand, having conquered so many of the others. In 316 B.C. he drove Seleucus from Babylonia, to take refuge with Ptolemy in Egypt. Afterward Antigonus conquered Media and beyond. Finally he sent his son Demetrius to conquer Egypt, but at Gaza in 312 B.C. Ptolemy and Seleucus defeated him. At this battle Demetrius had a contingent of Nabathæan soldiers in his army. These nomadic conquerers of ancient Edom had now become a settled people and had grown to such power that kings courted their help.

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[5] Abridged from *Antiquities*, XI, 7, 3–6.

When Demetrius was defeated at Gaza, Seleucus begged a thousand horsemen from Ptolemy and with these started back across the desert to Babylonia to retake his kingdom. He had been popular there and the people welcomed him again. This event was so important that Seleucus counted it as the beginning of his reign, and he and his successors reckoned time from it. It was the beginning of what is known as "The Seleucid Era." From this time onward Seleucus was uniformly successful, and by the year 301 B.C. he had overthrown Antigonus and all the other satraps east of Phrygia and controlled an empire extending from Phrygia and the Mediterranean to the borders of India. As he did not trust his fellow generals, who still held Egypt, Thrace, Macedonia, and Epirus, he dared not live so far east as Babylon, and built on the Orontes in Syria the city of Antioch as his capital, naming it for his father Antiochus.

Of Alexander's heirs, those with whom the Jews had particularly to do were Ptolemy and Seleucus and their successors. Ptolemy induced many Jews to settle in Alexandria, a city that Alexander had founded while he was in Egypt, and that Ptolemy made his capital. As time went on and the Seleucidæ founded cities, they too induced Jews to settle in them. Thus the Jews became more widely scattered and came under Greek influence.

Ptolemy Lagi (son of Lagus) controlled Egypt from 323 until his death in 283 B.C. His son Ptolemy Philadelphus reigned from 283 to 247 B.C., and his grandson, Ptolemy Euergetes I, from 247 to 222 B.C. Seleucus ruled at Antioch until 282 B.C.; his son, Antiochus I, from 282 to 261 B.C.; Antiochus II, from 261 to 245 B.C.; Seleucus II, from 245 to 227 B.C.; and Seleucus III, from 227 to 224 B.C.

While geographically Palestine belonged to Syria, Ptolemy I had taken possession of it as an appanage to his province of Egypt, at least after the battle of Gaza. Seleucus I, because of his indebtedness to Ptolemy for the thousand men with whom in 312 B.C. he recovered his province and laid the foundation of his kingdom, never disputed Ptolemy's possession of Palestine. Thus it happened that from 312 to 199 B.C. the Jews of Palestine were under the Ptolemies of Egypt.

JEWISH GOVERNMENT

It appears that when Alexander the Great took Jerusalem the high priest was the head of the state. So far as we know, Bagoses had been the last Persian governor. Under the first three Ptolemies the high priest was left in sole charge, though he was compelled to pay an annual tax to the Egyptians. From the early days of Hebrew history the government of tribes and towns had been in the hands of "elders," and, in accordance with this, a group of selected elders came to be associated with the high priest. We hear of this group first in this so-called "Greek" period of the history to which we have now come, so it is called the "Gerousia" or "Sanhedrin"—both words of Greek origin.

THE SYNAGOGUE

Having now formed some idea of the political conditions and changes of the late Persian and early Greek periods, we turn to the religious and literary developments of this time. First among these is the institution of the synagogue, or Beth-din, "house of the law." The date of the beginning of the synagogue is unknown, but it is the present writer's opinion that it originated in the late Persian period, soon after the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. With the acceptance of the Pentateuch as the fundamental law of their life it became necessary for all Jews to acquaint themselves with the law. Houses were accordingly set apart in all the towns, even in Judea, where people could gather and have the law read to them. The law seems to have been compiled largely by Jews in Babylonia and to have been intensely studied there; probably synagogues existed there as soon as in Palestine. In time they became numerous even in Jerusalem itself, as the population increased and it became inconvenient for the temple courts to accommodate all. To the synagogues, intended at first for the instruction of adults, schools for Jewish children were soon attached, that they too might learn to read the law. Then it was natural to gather for the reading of the law on the Sabbath, and equally natural to offer public prayers in connection with the reading; and so in time there grew up an extensive synagogue liturgy, which was employed in synagogues all over the world, wherever Jews were scattered. This synagogue service was the only worship in which most Jews could participate, except on those rare occasions (perhaps only once or twice in a lifetime), when they could visit the temple in Jerusalem. Thus there began in this period an institu-

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tion which developed a spiritual form of worship without animal sacrifice centuries before the destruction of the temple.

ADDITIONS TO THE PSALTER

It was probably before the end of the Persian period that the second and third "books" of psalms were added to the Psalter (*Psalms* 42–89). These "books" were made (or at least the part of them from *Psalm* 42 to *Psalm* 83 were compiled) by an editor who preferred the word "God" (*Elōhîm*) to Yahweh as the divine name. He took three previously existing hymn-books and combined them and went through the psalms and substituted the word "God" for "Yahweh" wherever "Yahweh" occurred. Sometimes the result created an ambiguity, as in *Psalm* 82 : 1. Once in a wedding poem (*Psalm* 45 : 6) he substituted "God" for the verb "shall be," which in Hebrew looks much like "Yahweh," but the substitution introduced a religious element into what was before hardly a religious poem. The three hymn-books which he had combined had been entitled "The Psalms of Korah," "The Psalms of Asaph," and "The Prayers of David the Son of Jesse." He placed first the psalms from the hymn-book of "The Sons of Korah," *Psalms* 42–49. These he followed by one from "The Psalms of Asaph," *Psalm* 50, so as to have this come next to *Psalm* 51. Then he put in all the psalms from "The Prayers of David," *Psalms* 51–72, even keeping the colophon which stood at the end of that book: "The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended" (*Psalm* 72 : 20), which was written to close that book as we sometimes put "The End" at the end of a book. Then he followed this with the remaining psalms from the hymn-book of "Asaph," *Psalms* 73–83. A little later another editor, who did not take the trouble to edit the name "Yahweh" out of his hymns, added *Psalm* 84–89. We think that all this was done before the end of the Persian period, for in these books we have the same musical notations and names of tunes as in "Book" I of the Psalter, and when the next additions to the Psalter were made in the Maccabean period, these musical notations were no longer employed, and were, apparently, misunderstood. At least one other editor worked over some of these psalms later, for in *Psalms* 44, 74, and 79 references to events of the Maccabean period are now found. *Psalm* 44 affords an interesting illustration of the growth of some of these hymns. Verses 1–8 are a bit of a pre-exilic hymn, at the end of which the term "selah," "strike-up," is a sign to the musicians to play an interlude. Verses 9–16 were added at a time of national defeat, perhaps when Bagoses put down a Jewish rebellion. Verses 17–26 were written at a time of religious persecution, the Maccabean period; the whole strophe was added then, but it is not separated from the preceding strophe by "selah," for by the Maccabean time this term was no longer employed.

THE BOOK OF PROVERBS

As David was the ideal musician to Hebrews, so Solomon was the ideal wise man. Just as they named their Psalter after David, so they named their earliest collections of proverbs after Solomon. Perhaps he did originate some of them, but, if so, we cannot now distinguish them. Probably collections of proverbs were made before the Babylonian exile. A collection beginning in the book of *Proverbs* at ch. 25: 1 is said to be "proverbs, which the men of Hezekiah king of Judah copied out." Scholars are, however, pretty generally agreed that the book of *Proverbs* as we have it was largely compiled after the Babylonian exile, and there is some reason to think that it was not composed before the Greek period. We may think, then, of the collection and perfection of this book as one of the literary activities of this period. Like the book of *Job,* it belongs to the work of sages, rather than of priests or prophets. The Hebrews called it "Wisdom." It does not, like *Job,* however, discuss a great religious question; it contains maxims of practical expediency.

CHRONICLES, EZRA, AND NEHEMIAH

Just at the end of the Persian and the beginning of the Greek period, perhaps about 330 B.C., the first and second books of *Chronicles, Ezra,* and *Nehemiah* were composed, in order to furnish a version of the history of Israel that would encourage the people to keep the Levitical law. About 620–600 B.C. the books of *Judges, Samuel,* and *Kings* (at least up to *2 Kings* 24: 7) had been written to persuade Jews by lessons drawn from the national history to obey the law of *Deuteronomy*. The Levitical law was, however, different from the law of *Deuteronomy*. Moreover those earlier books contained many things, such as some stories of David's sins, which had a bad influence on Jewish morals. Some admirer of the priestly law set himself, therefore, the task of providing an expurgated edition of the national history that could, in the changed conditions, be read to edification. He did more than this; he carried back to David's time all institutions, such as the organization of the Levites, which he could not carry back to Moses. *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* are a part of his work; they reveal his style and point of view. He employed the older canonical books as sources; he embodied memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah; he professes to have used also other sources, but scholars are convinced that sometimes he drew upon his imagination. His work is not considered as good and trustworthy an authority as the earlier works, where it differs from them. When he quotes Nehemiah's own writings, it is different. The latest high priest whom he mentions is Jaddua (*Neh.* 12: 10), who, as we have seen, was a contemporary of Alexander the Great. Probably, therefore, the writer composed his work about 330 B.C.

ISAIAH 24–27

It has already been noted that elements of different dates found their way into the book of *Isaiah*. The latest of these—the half-apocalyptic visions in *Isaiah* 24–27—are thought by scholars to have been composed at about the same time as the books of *Chronicles*.

SECOND ZECHARIAH

The latest of all the prophetic works in the Old Testament are the prophecies which now comprise chapters 9–14 of the book of *Zechariah*. It is evident that these prophecies are not from the Zechariah who lived in the time of Zerubbabel. They differ in style, and afford unmistakable evidence that when they were written Judah was in danger from Greek armies. When, in *Zechariah* 9: 13, the prophet says, "I will stir up thy sons, O Zion, against thy sons, O Greece," it is evident that the words come from one who lived when Greek or Macedonian armies threatened Judah. It may have been in 332 B.C., when Alexander summoned Jaddua to help him reduce Tyre, or it may have been in 312 B.C., when Demetrius was leading his army down the Philistine plain to attack Ptolemy, or possibly on some other occasion of which we do not know; but it was not earlier than the year 332 B.C.

This prophet was also conscious that he was the last of the prophets, for he prophesied (see ch. 13: 3–6) that there should be no more prophets, and that if, in future, any should presume to prophesy, his father and mother would help to put him to death as a blasphemer. He was, indeed, the last of the prophets. When next a seer came, he wrote an apocalypse.

THE BOOK OF JONAH

During this period also, perhaps about 250 B.C. the book of *Jonah* was written—a litle missionary tract, which has been misunderstood. If we found the book anywhere but in the Bible, it would make us smile; probably its author meant it to make men smile. It is an ironical allegory. Its author shared the vision of the Second Isaiah, that it was Israel's duty to carry the knowledge of the true God to the world, but she was not doing it. He thought to shame her into doing it. He took the idea of his story from *Jeremiah* 51: 34, which reads, "Nebuchadrezzar the king of Babylon hath devoured me, he hath crushed me, he hath made me an empty vessel, he hath like a monster, swallowed me up, he hath filled his maw with my delicacies; he hath cast me out." This gave him the motif for his story. *Jonah,* which means "dove," was a designation of Israel. God had sent her to carry his message to the nations, but she tried to run away from the task, so he permitted her to be swallowed up by the Babylonian exile. After she had been "cast out" by the "monster" and had partly delivered her message, she sulked because God forgave their sins and received them. This was, undoubtedly, the lesson that the author of *Jonah* intended to teach by his amusing and ironical story, but he greatly overrated the sense of humor of mankind. Because, centuries before, there had been an actual prophet in Israel named Jonah (see *2 Kings* 14:25), a prosaically minded editor, within a generation or two, put the story in the prophetic canon, as though it were a prophecy instead of a story, and in modern times men have expended vast ingenuity and research to prove that the throat of a whale would permit him to swallow a man!

THE TRANSLATION OF THE LAW INTO GREEK

About 250 B.C. the Penetateuch was translated into Greek at Alexandria. By that time the Jews there formed a large community. They spoke Greek and most of them knew no Hebrew. They were zealous for their religion and law and desired to have the sacred text in a language which they could understand. Tradition assigns this translation to the reign of Ptolemy II (Philadelphus). Indeed, the tradition represents the whole Old Testament as having been translated then by seventy-two men; hence it is called the "Septuagint." [6] It seems certain, however, that this tradition grew up to make the Greek translation seem as inspired and authoritative as the Hebrew original. The facts are as already stated. Only the law was translated at this time; the translation of the other books followed in the course of the next one hundred and twenty years.

ANTIOCHUS III

Antiochus III, called the Great, came to the throne of Syria at the age of twenty-four, when his brother Seleucus III died from the effects of the kick of a horse. Antiochus, the greatest of the successors of Seleucus I, reigned until 187 B.C., thirty-seven eventful years. During the first years of his reign he was warring in the east, trying to reduce to submission Parthia and Bactria, which had revolted in the reign of Antiochus II, the one in 256 B.C. and the other in 253 B.C., and had maintained their independence. Antiochus III overran their territories, but without stamping out the rebellions. The Parthian and Bactrian leaders withdrew to inaccessible mountains and allowed Antiochus to ravage their lands, but when he had gone, they returned and occupied them as unsubdued as ever.

After his return to the west Antiochus determined to conquer Palestine. In 218 B.C. he subdued the country east of the Jordan and in the next year most of that of western Palestine. Of course these expeditions caused much suffering throughout the country. Then Ptolemy IV (Philopator), who had succeeded to the throne of Egypt in 222 B.C., rallied to the defense of his Palestinian dominions, defeated the army of Antiochus, and again gained control of the whole of Palestine.

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[6] For the whole tradition see H. St. J. Thackeray, *The Letter of Aristeas*, London, 1918.

JOSEPH, SON OF TOBIAS, TAX-COLLECTOR

In the reign of Ptolemy IV (Philopator) Onias II, an old man, became high priest, and was negligent about paying the taxes to Egypt. Philopator was very angry and sent an ambassador to Jerusalem, saying that, if he did not receive the taxes, he would send soldiers to seize Jewish land and live upon it. A certain Joseph, son of Tobias, gained the consent of Onias to go to Egypt with full power to arrange the matter, and managed to get himself appointed tax-collector for Judea, Samaria, Phenicia, and the land east of the Sea of Galilee, called by Josephus Cælo-Syria. The taxes were collected by the method known as tax-farming, whereby the collector had to pay a certain sum to the king, and could keep all above that which he was able to collect.[7] It gave an opportunity to Joseph to become wealthy, which he was not slow to improve. The incident sheds light on the governmental methods in Judea of the time.

PALESTINE PASSES TO SYRIA

Ptolemy IV (Philopator) died in 205 B.C., and was succeeded by Ptolemy V (Epiphanes), a boy of six years. This, of course, placed the real government of Egypt in the hands of ministers. Antiochus thought it a favorable opportunity to carry out his thwarted designs to secure Palestine and about 201 B.C. began once more to invade that land. The final battle in the war was fought near Panias (the ancient Dan, at the source of the Jordan) in January, 199 B.C. The Egyptian forces were beaten and Palestine became definitely a part of the Syrian empire. Some years later Antiochus determined to ally the young king of Egypt with his family and in 193 B.C. gave his daughter Cleopatra in marriage to Ptolemy Epiphanes. As her dowry he arranged that the taxes of the countries of which Joseph, son of Tobias, was tax-farmer (Judea, Samaria, Phenicia, and Cælo-Syria), should be paid to Egypt.

THE ROMANS COME TO ASIA

After this Antiochus turned his attention to the northwestern part of his dominions. On the death of Lysimachus of Thrace, in 283 B.C.,

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[7] Josephus, who gives the account of the incident (*Antiquities*, XII, 4: 1–7), is clearly mistaken in connecting this incident with Euergetes I. His later statements show that that is chronologically impossible.

Philatæus, his governor of the city of Pergamos in northwestern Asia Minor, had made that an independent kingdom, Philatæus and his successors had contested with the Seleucidæ of Antioch the possession of the central part of western Asia Minor. By this time Antiochus III was in control of all the southern part of it, and began to cast his eyes across the Ægean Sea to Greece. That country had put itself under the protection of the Roman republic, the power of which had been greatly enhanced by its successful conclusion of the second Punic War and the conquest of Hannibal in 205 B.C. Rome warned Antiochus to let her ally alone, but in spite of the warning he crossed the Ægean in 191 B.C. and overran Greece. As a result in the next year, 190 B.C., Rome landed an army in western Asia Minor and at the battle of Magnesia disastrously defeated Antiochus, imposed on him a heavy tax as a war indemnity, bound him to keep the peace, and took hostages to Rome to insure that he did so. Among the hostages so taken was Antiochus's son Antiochus, who afterward became Antiochus IV. Seleucus IV, who succeeded his father in 187 B.C. was able to do little but collect taxes with which to pay the Roman indemnity, which made him unpopular. Meantime at Rome his brother Antiochus associated for several years with Roman patricians on terms of equality and came to know the Romans. Then his brother Seleucus negotiated the release of Antiochus by sending his own son Demetrius in his place, and Antiochus, thus set at liberty, went to Athens to reside, became a naturalized Athenian citizen, ran for office, and was elected archon. Thus time passed on until the year 176 B.C., when Seleucus IV was assassinated by a cabal, who made his young son king. At this juncture Eumenes, king of Pergamos, took a hand in affairs. Apparently he thought it would be better for Pergamos and Syria to be allies than to be enemies, so he sent to Athens and offered Antiochus a Pergamese army with which to seize the throne of his fathers, if he cared to return to Asia. Antiochus accepted, and thus in 176 B.C. became king as Antiochus IV, or Antiochus Theos Epiphanes.

GREEK INFLUENCE ON JEWS

During the century and a half since Alexander the Great, Jews had been subjected to Hellenic influences, and many of them, not only outside of Palestine but in Jerusalem itself, had been attracted by Hellenic culture. They learned Greek, they adopted Greek names in addition to their Hebrew names, they engaged in Greek athletics, they established an open-air gymnasium even in Jerusalem, and even endeavored to conceal the evidences of their circumcision. The same influences found a welcome among the Samaritans, perhaps even to a greater degree.[8]

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[8] See Josephus, *Antiquities*, XII, 5: 5.

LITERARY ACTIVITY

During the period between about 210 B.C. and 170 B.C., three Jewish works of importance were composed. The first of these was the book of *Ecclesiastes,* the author of which wrote as a sage or thinker, who, while he had not lost faith in God, was skeptical of immortality and of the value of many things which his fellow Jews considered important. To him the round of natural occurrences, the rising and setting of the sun, the changes of the winds, the recurring seasons, and all the round of human duties and experiences seemed but vanity and a striving after wind. To illustrate this vanity, he represented himself as in a figure experiencing all that King Solomon had enjoyed and as finding it vanity. This figure was misunderstood by later Jews and his work was supposed to be Solomon's.[9]

About 180 B.C. another Jewish sage, who went by the name of Ben Sira, collected, arranged, and expanded a book patterned on the book of *Proverbs*. Two generations later it was translated into Greek by his grandson and namesake, and now it forms a part of our Apocrypha under the name of "Ecclesiasticus."

Probably at some time between 200 and 170 B.C. there lived also the first of the apocalyptists, the man who composed chapters 1–36 of the book of *Enoch*. From the time of Ezekiel prophets had been prone to cast their prophecies in the form of visions, which had in some cases (see *Zech.* 1–8 and *Joel*), seemed overdrawn and unnatural. Now, however, the time had passed when a prophet dared to speak in his own name; the terrible fate pronounced upon such a one by the Second Zechariah faced any one who dared to give out that he was sufficiently familiar with the Lord to do that. Still there were national religious needs, and there were men who felt that God had given them messages suited to those needs. The first of these was the author of *Enoch* 1–36, and he inaugurated a new type of religious literature. He cast his instruction in the form of visions, which he represented Enoch, who in *Genesis* 5 : 24 was said to have walked with God, as having seen. That ensured his work a reading. The author might be ever so obscure an individual, to whom no one would listen, but every one would be most anxious to read what Enoch had seen and heard. Thus a new type of literature, apocalyptic, came into being to take the place of prophecy.

During the two centuries since Nehemiah and the adoption of the Pentateuch as their religious book, additions had been made to the books venerated as useful for religious instruction. This seems to have come about by silent processes and by general consent. The son of Sira (Ben Sira) sets himself in *Ecclesiasticus* 44 : 1—50 : 26 to praise famous men. Those whom he praises are just those celebrated in our canonical books:

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[9] For a fuller account see G. A. Barton, "Ecclesiastes," in the *International Critical Commentary.*

Joshua, Samuel, David, Solomon, Elijah, Hezekiah, Josiah, Zerubbabel, and Nehemiah. He also mentions by name the prophet Ezekiel (*Ecclus.* 49:8), and the "Twelve Prophets" (*Ecclus.* 49:10), the Jewish name for what we call "The Minor Prophets." This is proof that when Ben Sira wrote (about 180 B.C.), the second part of the Jewish canon of Scripture (what they call the "Prophetic Books") had already been accepted as authoritative. There were eight of them: *Joshua, Judges, Samuel* (counted as one book), and *Kings* (counted as one book), which they called "Earlier Prophets"; then, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and "The Twelve Prophets," which they called "Later Prophets."

CHAPTER XXII

THE MACCABEAN REVOLT

ANTIOCHUS IV (Epiphanes) was one of the strangest creatures who ever occupied a throne. He came from a long line of royal ancestors, had lived in republican Rome, held office in republican Athens, but as a sovereign regarded himself as a god manifest. It is probable that there was in his make-up an element of insanity, which developed as the years went on.

Before he obtained the throne of Syria, Ptolemy V had died, the ephemeral Ptolemy VI had been set aside, and Antiochus' nephew, Ptolemy VII (Philometer), a mere boy, was on the throne of Egypt, and Antiochus' sister, Cleopatra, was regent of that land. As long as Cleopatra lived Antiochus respected Egyptian territory, but after her death in 173 B.C., he invaded Egypt. This is not the place to follow his Egyptian campaigns, but Ptolemy appealed to the Romans for aid, and in 168 B.C., after they had finished their war with Macedonia, they sent an embassy to Antiochus, who was with his army in Egypt, commanding him to withdraw. Antiochus knew Roman power too well to disobey.

Thus prevented by the Romans from enlarging his territory, Antiochus conceived it to be his mission to spread Hellenic culture throughout his dominions. The one people which had steadily refused to be Hellenized was the Jews, but many of them were exhibiting a hospitality to Grecian customs and ways which led the king to think that, with a little firmness, the whole nation would give way, and Zeus and the Greek pantheon might be worshiped by all the peoples in his dominions. The measures which he took and the consequences which followed are graphically recorded in the first book of *Maccabees,* which was written within a generation or two of the events.

ANTIOCHUS PLUNDERS JERUSALEM IN 170 B.C., *1 Macc.* 1:20–28

1 Macc. 1. 20] And Antiochus, after
that he had smitten Egypt, returned in
[1] the hundred and forty and third year,
and went up against Israel and Jerusalem
21] with a [2] great multitude, and
entered presumptuously into the sanctuary,
and took the golden altar, and the
candlestick of the light, and all that pertained
22] thereto, and the table of the
shewbread, and the cups to pour withal,
and the bowls, and the golden censers,
and the veil, and the crowns, and the
adorning of gold which was on the face
of the temple, and he scaled it all off.

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[1] Circa B.C. 170. See *2 Macc.* 5: 11–16.

[2] Gr. *heavy*.

23] And he took the silver and the gold
and the precious vessels; and he took the
hidden treasures which he found.
24] And when he had taken all, he went
away into his own land, and he made a
great slaughter, and spake very presumptuously.
25] And there came great
mourning upon Israel, in every place
26] where they were; and the rulers and
elders groaned, the virgins and young
men were made feeble, and the beauty
27] of the women was changed. Every
bridegroom took up lamentation, she that
sat in the marriage chamber was in
28] heaviness. And the land was moved
for the inhabitants thereof, and all the
house of Jacob was clothed with shame.

THE REFORM MEASURES OF ANTIOCHUS, DECEMBER, 168 B.C., *1 Macc.* 1:29–64

1 Macc. 1. 29] And [3] after [4] two full
years the king sent a chief collector of
tribute unto the cities of Judah, and he
came unto Jerusalem with a [2] great
30] multitude. And he spake words of
peace unto them in subtilty, and they
gave him credence: and he fell upon the
city suddenly, and smote it very sore,
and destroyed much people out of Israel.
31] And he took the spoils of the
city, and set it on fire, and pulled down
the houses thereof and the walls thereof
32] on every side. And they led captive
the women and children, and the cattle
33] they took in possession. And they
builded the city of David with a great
and strong wall, with strong towers, and
34] it became unto them a citadel. And
they put there a sinful nation, transgressors
of the law, and they strengthened
35] themselves therein. And they
stored up arms and victuals, and gathering
together the spoils of Jerusalem, they
laid them up there, and they became a
36] sore snare: and it became a place to
lie in wait in against the sanctuary, and
an evil adversary to Israel continually.
37] And they shed innocent blood on
every side of the sanctuary, and defiled
38] the sanctuary. And the inhabitants of
Jerusalem fled because of them; and she
became a habitation of strangers, and
she became strange to them that were
born in her, and her children forsook
39] her. Her sanctuary was laid waste
like a wilderness, [5] her feasts were
turned into mourning, her sabbaths into
reproach, her honour into contempt.
40] According to her glory, so was her
dishonour multiplied, and her high estate
was turned into mourning.

41] And king Antiochus wrote to his
whole kingdom, that all should be one
42] people, and that each should forsake
his own laws. And all the nations agreed
according to the word of the king;
43] and many of Israel consented to his
worship, and sacrificed to the idols, and
44] profaned the sabbath. And the king
sent letters by the hand of messengers
unto Jerusalem and the cities of Judah,
that they should follow laws strange to
45] the land, and should forbid whole
burnt offerings and sacrifice and drink
offerings in the sanctuary; and should
46] profane the sabbaths and feasts, and
pollute the sanctuary and them that were
47] holy; that they should build altars,
and temples, and shrines for idols, and
should sacrifice swine's flesh and unclean
48] beasts: and that they should
leave their sons uncircumcised, that they
should make their souls abominable with
all manner of uncleanness and profanation;
49] so that they might forget the
law, and change all the ordinances.
50] And whosoever shall not do according
to the word of the king, he shall die.
51] According to all these words wrote
he to his whole kingdom; and he appointed
overseers over all the people, and
he commanded the cities of Judah to
52] sacrifice, city by city. And from the
people were gathered together unto them
many, every one that had forsaken the
law; and they did evil things in the land;

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[3] See *2 Macc.* 5: 24.
[4] Gr. *two years of days.*
[5] See *2 Macc.* 6: 6.

53] and they made Israel to hide themselves
in every place of refuge which
they had.
54] And on the fifteenth day of Chislev,
in [6] the hundred and forty and fifth
year, they builded an abomination of
desolation upon the [7] altar, and in the
cities of Judah on every side they builded
55] *idol* [7] altars. And at the doors of the
houses and in the streets they burnt incense.
56] And they rent in pieces the
books of the law which they found, and
57] set them on fire. And wheresoever
was found with any a book of the covenant,
and if any consented to the law, the
king's sentence delivered him to death.
58] Thus did they in their might unto
Israel, to those that were found month
59] by month in the cities. And on the
five and twentieth day of the month they
sacrificed upon the *idol* [7] altar, which
60] was upon the [7] altar *of God*. And
[8] the women that had circumcised their
children they put to death according to
61] the commandment. And they hanged
their babes about their necks, and *destroyed*
their houses, and them that had
62] circumcised them. And many in Israel
were fully resolved and confirmed
in themselves not to eat unclean things.
63] And [9] they chose to die, that they
might not be defiled with the meats, and
that they might not profane the holy
64] covenant: and they died. And there
came exceeding great wrath upon Israel.

The erection of a statue of Zeus in the temple and the offering of swine on the altar was to the mind of an orthodox Jew a most horrible offense to God.

THE BEGINNING OF REVOLT, *1 Macc.* 2: 1–48

1 Macc. 2. In those days rose up
Mattathias the son of John, the son of
Simeon, a priest of the sons of Joarib,
from Jerusalem; and he dwelt at Modin.
2] And he had five sons, [10] John, who
3] was surnamed Gaddis; Simon, who
4] was called Thassi; Judas, who was
5] called Maccabæus; Eleazar, who was
called Avaran; Jonathan, who was called
Apphus.
6] And he saw the blasphemies that
were committed in Judah and in Jerusalem,
7] and he said,
Woe is me! wherefore was I born
to see the destruction of my people, and
the destruction of the holy city, and to
dwell there, when it was given into the
hand of the enemy, the sanctuary into
8] the hand of aliens? Her temple is become
as a man [11] that was glorious:
9] her vessels of glory are carried away
into captivity, her infants are slain in
her streets, her young men with the
10] sword of the enemy. What nation
hath not inherited her palaces, and gotten
possession of her spoils? her adorning
11] is all taken away; instead of a
free woman she is become a bond
12] woman: and, behold, our holy things
and our beauty and our glory are laid
waste, and the Gentiles have profaned
13] them. Wherefore should we live any
longer?
14] And Mattathias and his sons rent
their clothes, and put on sackcloth, and
mourned exceedingly.
15] And the king's officers, that were
enforcing the apostasy, came into the city
16] Modin to sacrifice. And many of
Israel came unto them, and Mattathias
and his sons were gathered together.
17] And the king's officers answered and
spake to Mattathias, saying, Thou art
a ruler and an honourable and great man
in this city, and strengthened with sons
18] and brethren: now therefore come
thou first and do the commandment of
the king, as all the nations have done,

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[6] Circa B. C. 168. See *2 Macc.* 5: 11.

[7] The two words rendered *altar* are different in the Greek: and so in ver. 59.

[8] See *2 Macc.* 6: 10.

[9] See *2 Macc.* 6: 19 and 7: 1, &c.

[10] Gr. *Joannes.*

[11] Some authorities read *inglorious.*

and the men of Judah, and they that remain
in Jerusalem: and thou and thy
house shall be in the number of the
king's [12] Friends, and thou and thy sons
shall be honoured with silver and gold
19] and many gifts. And Mattathias answered
and said with a loud voice, If
all the nations that are in the house of
the king's dominion hearken unto him, to
fall away each one from the worship of
his fathers, and have made choice to follow
20] his commandments, yet will I
and my sons and my brethren walk in
21] the covenant of our fathers. [13] Heaven
forbid that we should forsake the
22] law and the ordinances. We will not
hearken to the king's words, to go aside
from our worship, on the right hand, or
on the left.

23] And when he had left speaking
these words, there came a Jew in the
sight of all to sacrifice on the altar which
was at [14] Modin, according to the king's
24] commandment. And Mattathias saw
it, and his zeal was kindled, and his
reins trembled, and he shewed forth his
wrath according to judgement, and ran,
25] and slew him upon the altar. And
the king's officer, who compelled men
to sacrifice, he killed at that time, and
26] pulled down the altar. And he was
zealous for the law, even as Phinehas
27] did unto Zimri the son of Salu. And
Mattathias cried out in the city with
a loud voice, saying, Whosoever is
zealous for the law, and maintaineth the
covenant, let him come forth after me.
28] And he and his sons fled into the
mountains, and forsook all that they had
in the city.

29] Then many that sought after justice
and judgement went down into the
30] wilderness, to dwell there, they, and
their sons, and their wives, and their
cattle; because evils were multiplied upon
31] them. And it was told the king's
officers, and the forces that were in
Jerusalem, the city of David, that certain
men, who had broken the king's commandment,
were gone down into the
32] secret places in the wilderness; and
many pursued after them, and having
overtaken them, they encamped against
them, and set the battle in array against
33] them on the sabbath day. And they
said unto them, Thus far. Come forth,
and do according to the word of the king,
34] and ye shall live. And they said, We
will not come forth, neither will we do
the word of the king, to profane the sabbath
35] day. And they hasted to give
36] them battle. And they answered them
not, neither cast they a stone at them,
37] nor stopped up the secret places, saying,
Let us die all in our innocency:
heaven and earth witness over us, that
38] ye put us to death without trial. And
they rose up against them in battle on
the sabbath, and they died, they and their
wives and their children, and their cattle,
to the number of a thousand [15] souls.

39] And Mattathias and his friends
knew it, and they mourned over them
40] exceedingly. And one said to another,
If we all do as our brethren have
done, and fight not against the Gentiles
for our lives and our ordinances, they
will now quickly destroy us from off the
41] earth. And they took counsel on that
day, saying, Whosoever shall come
against us to battle on the sabbath day,
let us fight against him, and we shall in
no wise all die, as our brethren died in
42] the secret places. Then were gathered
unto them a company of [16] Hasidæans,
mighty men of Israel, every one that offered
himself willingly for the law.
43] And all they that fled from the evils
were added to them, and became a stay
44] unto them. And they mustered a host,
and smote sinners in their anger, and
lawless men in their wrath: and the rest
45] fled to the Gentiles for safety. And
Mattathias and his friends went round
about, and pulled down the altars;
46] and they circumcised by force the
children that were uncircumcised, as
many as they found in the coasts of Israel.
47] And they pursued after the
sons of pride, and the work prospered

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[12] See ch. 3: 38; 6: 10, &c. Compare ch. 10: 65; 11: 27; *2 Macc.* 8: 9.

[13] Gr. *May he be propitious.* Compare *2 Sam.* 23: 17 (Sept.).

[14] Modin was a town in the Shephelah several miles northwest of Jerusalem.

[15] Gr. *souls of men.*

[16] That is, *Chasidim.*

48] in their hand. And they rescued the
law out of the hand of the Gentiles, and
out of the hand of the kings, neither
[17] suffered they the sinner to triumph.

THE PARTING CHARGE OF MATTATHIAS, *1 Macc.* 2:49, 64–70

1 Macc. 2. 49] And the days of Mattathias
drew near that he should die, and
he said unto his sons,

. . . . . .

64] And ye, my children, be strong,
and shew yourselves men in behalf of
the law; for therein shall ye obtain
65] glory. And, behold, Simon your
brother, I know that he is a man of
counsel; and give ear unto him always:
66] he shall be a father unto you. And
Judas Maccabæus, he hath been strong
and mighty from his youth: he shall be
your captain, and [18] shall fight the battle
67] of the people. And take ye unto you
all the doers of the law, and avenge the
68] wrong of your people. Render a recompense
to the Gentiles, and take heed
to the commandments of the law.

69] And he blessed them, and was
70] gathered to his fathers. And he died
in [19] the hundred and forty and sixth
year, and his sons buried him in the
sepulchres of his fathers at Modin, and
all Israel made great lamentation for
him.

JUDAS MACCABÆUS BECOMES COMMANDER, *1 Macc.* 3:1–9

1 Macc. 3. And his son Judas, who
was called Maccabæus, rose up in his
2] stead. And all his brethren helped him,
and so did all they that clave unto his
father, and they fought with gladness the
3] battle of Israel. And he gat his people
great glory, and put on a breastplate
as a giant, and girt his warlike
harness about him, and set battles in
array, protecting the army with his
4] sword. And he was like a lion in his
deeds, and as a lion's whelp roaring for
5] prey. And he pursued the lawless,
seeking them out, and he burnt up those
6] that troubled his people. And the lawless
shrunk for fear of him, and all the
workers of lawlessness were sore troubled,
and salvation prospered in his hand.
7] And he angered many kings, and
made Jacob glad with his acts, and his
8] memorial is blessed for ever. And
he went about among the cities of Judah,
and destroyed the ungodly [20] out of the
land, and turned away wrath from Is-
9] rael: and he was renowned unto the
utmost part of the earth, and he gathered
together such as were ready to
perish.

Maccabæus (Hebrew *maqqab,* "hammer") was a nickname given to Judas because of the victories which he won. Charles Martel, centuries later, won his "Martel" in the same way; so did Cromwell his "Ironsides."

APOLLONIUS DEFEATED AND KILLED, *1 Macc.* 3:10–12

1 Macc. 3. 10] And Appollonius gathered
the Gentiles together, and a great
host from Samaria, to fight against Is-
11] rael. And Judas perceived it, and he
went forth to meet him, and smote him,
and slew him: and many fell wounded
12] to death, and the rest fled. And they
took their spoils, and Judas took the
sword of Apollonius, and therewith he
fought all his days.

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[17] Gr. *gave they a horn to the sinner.*

[18] Some ancient authorities read *ye shall fight.*

[19] Circa B. C. 167.

[20] Gr. *out of it.*

THE BATTLE OF BETHHORON, *1 Macc.* 3:13–26

1 Macc. 3. 13] And Seron, the commander
of the host of Syria, heard say
that Judas had gathered a gathering and
a congregation of faithful men with him,
14] and of such as went out to war; and
he said, I will make myself a name and
get me glory in the kingdom; and I will
fight against Judas and them that are
with him, that set at nought the word
15] of the king. And there went up with
him also a mighty army of the ungodly
to help him, to take vengeance on the
children of Israel.

16] And he came near unto the going
up of Bethhoron, and Judas went forth
to meet him with a small company.
17] But when they saw the army coming
to meet them, they said unto Judas,
What? shall we be able, being a small
company, to fight against so great and
strong a multitude? and we for our
part are faint, having tasted no food
18] this day. And Judas said, It is an
easy thing for many to be shut up in
the hands of a few; and with [21] heaven
it is all one, to save by many or by few:
19] for victory in battle standeth not in
the multitude of a host; but strength is
20] from heaven. They come unto us in
fulness of insolence and lawlessness, to
destroy us and our wives and our children,
21] for to spoil us: but we fight
22] for our lives and our laws. And he
himself will discomfit them before our
face: but as for you, be ye not afraid of
them.

23] Now when he had left off speaking,
he leapt suddenly upon them, and
Seron and his army were discomfited
24] before him. And they pursued them
in the going down of Bethhoron unto
the plain, and there fell of them about
eight hundred men; but the residue fled
into the land of the Philistines.

25] And the fear of Judas and his
brethren, and the dread of them, began
to fall upon the nations round about
26] them: and his name came near even
unto the king, and every nation told of
the battles of Judas.

Bethhoron was the very region where centuries before Joshua had defeated the Canaanites (see *Josh.* 10:10).

ANTIOCHUS MAKES LYSIAS REGENT AND GOES TO THE EAST, *1 Macc.* 3:27–37

1 Macc. 3. 27] But when king Antiochus
heard these words, he was full of
indignation: and he sent and gathered
together all the forces of his realm, an
28] exceeding strong army. And he
opened his treasury, and gave his forces
pay for a year, and commanded them
29] to be ready for every need. And he
saw that the money failed from his
treasures, and that the tributes of the
country were small, because of the dissension
and plague which he had brought
upon the land, to the end that he might
take away the laws which had been from
30] the first days; and he feared that he
should not have enough as at other
times for the charges and the gifts which
he gave aforetime with a liberal hand,
and he abounded above the kings that
31] were before him. And he was exceedingly
perplexed in his mind, and he
determined to go into Persia, and to take
the tributes of the countries, and to
32] gather much money. And he left
Lysias, an honourable man, and one of
the seed royal, to be over the affairs of
the king from the river Euphrates unto
33] the borders of Egypt, and to bring
up his son Antiochus, until he came
34] again. And he delivered unto him the
half of his forces, and the elephants,
and gave him charge of all the things
that he would have done, and concerning
them that dwelt in Judæa and in
35] Jerusalem, that he should send a
host against them, to root out and de-

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[21] Some ancient authorities read *the God of heaven*.

stroy the strength of Israel, and the
remnant of Jerusalem, and to take away
36] their memorial from the place; and
that he should make strangers to dwell
in all their coasts, and should divide
37] their land to them by lot. And the
king took the half that remained of the
forces, and removed from Antioch, from
his royal city, [22] the hundred and forty
and seventh year; and he passed over the
river Euphrates, and went through the
upper countries.

THE BATTLE OF EMMAUS, *I Macc.* 3:38—4:27

I Macc. 3. 38] And Lysias chose Ptolemy
the son of Dorymenes, and Nicanor,
and Gorgias, mighty men of the king's
39] [23] Friends; and with them he sent
forty thousand footmen, and seven
thousand horse, to go into the land of
Judah, and to destroy it, according to
40] the word of the king. And they removed
with all their host, and came and
pitched near unto Emmaus in the plain
41] country. And the merchants of the
country heard the fame of them, and
took silver and gold exceeding much,
with [24] fetters, and came into the camp
to take the children of Israel for servants:
and there were added unto them
the forces of Syria and of the land of
the [25] Philistines.

42] And Judas and his brethren saw
that evils were multiplied, and that the
forces were encamping in their borders;
and they took knowledge of the king's
words which he had commanded, to destroy
the people and make an end of
43] them; and they said each man to his
neighbour, Let us raise up the ruin of
our people, and let us fight for our people
44] and the holy place. And the congregation
was gathered together, that
they might be ready for battle, and that
they might pray, and ask for mercy and
45] compassion. And Jerusalem was
without inhabitant as a wilderness, there
was none of her offspring that went in
or went out; and the sanctuary was trodden
down, and the sons of strangers were
in the citadel, the Gentiles lodged therein;
and joy was taken away from Jacob,
and the pipe and the harp ceased.
46] And they gathered themselves together,
and came to Mizpeh, over against
Jerusalem; for in Mizpeh was there a
place of prayer aforetime for Israel.
47] And they fasted that day, and put
on sackcloth, and *put* ashes upon their
48] heads, and rent their clothes, and laid
open the book of the law, concerning
which the Gentiles were wont to inquire,
seeking the likenesses of their idols.
49] And they brought the priests' garments,
and the firstfruits, and the tithes:
and they stirred up the Nazirites, who
50] had accomplished their days. And
they cried aloud toward heaven, saying,
What shall we do with these men, and
whither shall we carry them away?
51] And thy holy place is trodden down
and profaned, and thy priests are in
52] heaviness and brought low. And, behold,
the Gentiles are assembled together
against us to destroy us: thou knowest
what things they imagine against us.
53] How shall we be able to stand before
54] them, except thou be our help? And
they sounded with the trumpets, and
cried with a loud voice.

55] And after this Judas appointed
leaders of the people, captains of thousands,
and captains of hundreds, and
captains of fifties, and captains of tens.
56] And he said to them that were building
houses, and were betrothing wives,
and were planting vineyards, and were
fearful, that they should return, each
man to his own house, according to the
57] law. And the army removed, and encamped
upon the south side of Emmaus.
58] And Judas said, Gird yourselves,
and be valiant men, and be in readiness
against the morning, that ye may fight
with these Gentiles, that are assembled
together against us to destroy us, and
59] our holy place: for it is better for
us to die in battle, than to look upon the

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[22] Circa B.C. 166.

[23] See ch. 2: 18.

[24] Most of the authorities read *servants*.

[25] Gr. *strangers*.

evils of our nation and the holy place.
60] Nevertheless, as may be the will in
heaven, so shall he do.

4. And Gorgias took five thousand
footmen, and a thousand chosen horse,
2] and the army removed by night, that
it might fall upon the army of the Jews
and smite them suddenly: and the men
3] of the citadel were his guides. And
Judas heard thereof, and removed, he
and the valiant men, that he might smite
the king's host which was at Emmaus,
4] while as yet the forces were dispersed
5] from the camp. And Gorgias
came into the camp of Judas by night,
and found no man; and he sought them
in the mountains; for he said, These
6] men flee from us. And as soon as it
was day, Judas appeared in the plain
with three thousand men: howbeit they
had not armour nor swords to their
7] minds. And they saw the camp of
the Gentiles strong *and* fortified, and
horsemen compassing it round about;
8] and these were expert in war. And
Judas said to the men that were with
him, Fear ye not their multitude, neither
9] be ye afraid of their onset. Remember
how our fathers were saved in the
Red sea, when Pharaoh pursued them
10] with a host. And now let us cry
unto heaven, if he will have us, and will
remember the covenant of our fathers,
and destroy this army before our face
11] to-day: and all the Gentiles shall
know that there is one who redeemeth
12] and saveth Israel. And the strangers
lifted up their eyes, and saw them coming
13] over against them: and they
went out of the camp to battle. And they
that were with Judas sounded their trumpets,
14] and joined battle, and the Gentiles
were discomfited, and fled into the
15] plain. But all the hindmost fell by
the sword: and they pursued them unto
[26] Gazara, and unto the plains of Idumæa
and Azotus and Jamnia, and there
fell of them about three thousand men.
16] And Judas and his host returned
from pursuing after them, and he said
17] unto the people, Be not greedy of the
spoils, inasmuch as there is a battle before
18] us; and Gorgias and his host
are nigh unto us in the mountain. But
stand ye now against our enemies, and
fight against them, and afterwards take
19] the spoils with boldness. While Judas
was yet making an end of these
words, there appeared a part of them
20] looking out from the mountain: and
they saw that their host had been put to
flight, and that the Jews were burning
the camp; for the smoke that was seen
21] declared what was done. But when
they perceived these things, they were
sore afraid; and perceiving also the
army of Judas in the plain ready for battle,
22] they fled all of them into the land
23] of the [27] Philistines. And Judas returned
to spoil the camp, and they got
much gold, and silver, and blue, and sea
24] purple, and great riches. And they
returned home, and sang a song of
thanksgiving, and gave praise [28] unto
heaven; because *his mercy* is good, because
his mercy endureth for ever.
25] And Israel had a great deliverance
that day.

26] But the strangers, as many as had
escaped, came and told Lysias all the
27] things that had happened: but when
he heard thereof, he was confounded
and discouraged, because neither had
such things as he would been done unto
Israel, nor had such things as the king
commanded him come to pass.

Emmaus, where this victory was won, is the same Emmaus to which two disciples of Jesus went nearly two hundred years later (see *Luke* 24:13).

THE BATTLE OF BETHSURA, *1 Macc.* 4:28-35

1 Macc. 4. 28] And in the next year he
gathered together threescore thousand
chosen footmen, and five thousand horse,
29] that he might subdue them. And they

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[26] Gr. *Gazera.*
[27] Gr. *strangers.*
[28] Or, looking up *unto heaven.*

came into Idumæa, and encamped at
Bethsura; and Judas met them with ten
30] thousand men. And he saw that the
army was strong, and he prayed and said,
Blessed art thou, O Saviour of Israel,
who didst quell the onset of the mighty
man by the hand of thy servant David,
and didst deliver the army of the [27] Philistines
into the hands of Jonathan the
son of Saul, and of his armourbearer:
31] shut up this army in the hand of thy
people Israel, and let them be ashamed
for their host and their horsemen:
32] give them faintness of heart, and
cause the boldness of their strength to
melt away, and let them quake at their
33] destruction: cast them down with
the sword of them that love thee, and
let all that know thy name praise thee
with thanksgiving.
34] And they joined battle; and there
fell of the army of Lysias about five
thousand men, and they fell down over
35] against them. But when Lysias saw
that his array was put to flight, and the
boldness that had come upon them that
were with Judas, and how they were
ready either to live or to die nobly, he
removed to Antioch, and gathered together
hired soldiers, that he might come
again into Judæa with even a greater
company.

Bethsura, where this battle was fought, is a little to the north of the city of Hebron. Idumæa, as was pointed out in a previous chapter, was now in southern Judea; Hebron was included in it. Lysias had sent his army along the Philistine plain that they might reach the highland of central Palestine through peaceful territory and have the advantage of meeting the soldiers of Judas on level ground; but nevertheless Judas was victorious.

THE REDEDICATION OF THE TEMPLE, *1 Macc.* 4:36–61

1 Macc. 4. 36] But Judas and his
brethren said, Behold, our enemies are
discomfited: let us go up to cleanse the
holy place, and to dedicate it afresh.
37] And all the army was gathered together,
and they went up unto mount
38] Sion. And they saw the sanctuary
laid desolate, and the altar profaned,
and the gates burned up, and shrubs
growing in the courts as in a forest or as
on one of the mountains, and the priests'
39] chambers pulled down; and they rent
their clothes, and made great lamentation,
40] and put ashes upon their heads,
and fell on their faces to the ground,
and [29] blew with the [30] solemn trumpets,
41] and cried toward heaven. Then Judas
appointed certain men to fight
against those that were in the citadel,
until he should have cleansed the holy
42] place. And he chose blameless
priests, such as had pleasure in the law:
43] and they cleansed the holy place,
and bare out the stones of defilement
44] into an unclean place. And they took
counsel concerning the altar of burnt
offerings, which had been profaned, what
45] they should do with it: and there
came into their mind a good counsel, that
they should pull it down, lest it should be
a reproach to them, because the Gentiles
had defiled it: and they pulled down
46] the altar, and laid up the stones in
the mountain of the house in a convenient
place, until there should come a
prophet to give an answer concerning
47] them. And they took whole stones
according to the law, and built a new
altar after the fashion of the former;
48] and they built the holy place, and the
inner parts of the house; and they hallowed
49] the courts. And they made the
holy vessels new, and they brought the
candlestick, and the altar of burnt offerings
and of incense, and the table, into
50] the temple. And they burned incense

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[29] Compare *Num.* 31:6.

[30] Gr. *trumpets of signals.*

upon the altar, and they lighted the
lamps that were upon the candlestick,
and they gave light in the temple.
51] And they set loaves upon the table,
and spread out the veils, and finished all
the works which they made.

52] And they rose up early in the
morning, on the five and twentieth day
of the ninth month, which is the month
Chislev, in [31] the hundred and forty and
53] eighth year, and offered sacrifice
according to the law upon the new altar
of burnt offerings which they had made.
54] At what time and on what day the
Gentiles had profaned it, even on that
day was it dedicated afresh, with songs
and harps and lutes, and with cymbals.
55] And all the people fell upon their
faces, and worshipped, and [32] gave
praise unto heaven, which had given
56] them good success. And they kept
the dedication of the altar eight days,
and offered burnt offerings with gladness,
and sacrificed a sacrifice of
57] deliverance and praise. And they
decked the forefront of the temple with
crowns of gold and small shields, and
dedicated afresh the gates and the priests'
chambers, and made doors for them.
58] And there was exceeding great gladness
among the people, and the reproach
of the Gentiles was turned away.
59] And Judas and his brethren and
the whole congregation of Israel ordained,
that the days of the dedication
of the altar should be kept in their seasons
from year to year by the space of
eight days, from the five and twentieth
day of the month Chislev, with gladness
60] and joy. And at that season they
builded up the mount Sion with high
walls and strong towers round about,
lest haply the Gentiles should come and
tread them down, as they had done aforetime.
61] time. And he set there a force to
keep it, and they fortified Bethsura to
keep it; that the people might have a
stronghold over against Idumæa.

Thus the temple was rededicated almost three years to a day after it had been desecrated. The desecration occurred in 168 B.C. and the reconsecration, in the same month of the year 165 B.C. The Jews not only made the rededication a great festival, but kept it up in after years, calling it "The Feast of the Dedication" (see *John* 10:22). Jews still keep up the feast, but now call it "Hanukah," or "The Feast of Lights."

THE BOOK OF DANIEL

During the three years while this struggle had been going on, another apocalypse, the book of *Daniel,* had come into existence. It consists of a series of visions attributed to Daniel, an old patriarch who had lived long ago and was honored for his wisdom (see *Ezek.* 14:14). The author or authors (there were probably more than one [33]) were not well versed in history. They represent Daniel as living in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, Cyrus, and Darius the Mede (a monarch unknown to history), but the persecution which Daniel and his fellow Jews suffered was so clearly parallel to that which Antiochus was inflicting on those then in Jerusalem, that no one could misunderstand the lesson to be drawn.

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[31] Circa B.C. 165.

[32] Or, *gave praise,* looking up *unto heaven, to him which.*

[33] See the writer's article, "The Composition of the Book of Daniel" in the *Journal of Biblical Literature,* vol. XVII, pp. 62–86, and for the latest discussion, J. A. Montgomery, "Daniel" in the *International Critical Commentary.*

THE MACCABEAN BROTHERS REPEL PETTY PERSECUTIONS, *1 Macc.* 5: 1–68

1 **Macc. 5.** And it came to pass, when
the Gentiles round about heard that the
altar was built, and the sanctuary dedicated
as aforetime, they were exceeding
2] wroth. And they took counsel to destroy
the race of Jacob that was in the
midst of them, and they began to slay
3] and destroy among the people. And
Judas fought against the children of
Esau in Idumæa at Akrabattine, because
they besieged Israel: and he smote them
with a great slaughter, and brought
down their pride, and took their spoils.
4] And he remembered the wickedness
of the children of [34] Bæan, who were
unto the people a snare and a stumbling-block,
lying in wait for them in the ways.
5] And they were shut up by him in the
towers; and he encamped against them,
and destroyed them utterly, and burned
with fire the towers of the place, with
6] all that were therein. And he passed
over to the children of Ammon, and
found a mighty band, and much people,
7] with Timotheus for their leader. And
he fought many battles with them, and
they were discomfited before his face;
8] and he smote them, and gat possession
of Jazer, and the [35] villages thereof, and
returned again into Judæa.

9] And the Gentiles that were in Gilead
gathered themselves together against
the Israelites that were on their borders,
to destroy them. And they fled to the
10] stronghold of Dathema, and sent
letters unto Judas and his brethren, saying,
The Gentiles that are round about
us are gathered together against us to
11] destroy us: and they are preparing
to come and get possession of the stronghold
whereunto we are fled for refuge,
and Timotheus is the leader of their
12] host. Now therefore come and deliver
us from their hand, for many of us
13] are fallen. And all our brethren that
were in the land of [36] Tubias have been
put to death; and they have carried into
captivity their wives and their children
and their stuff; and they destroyed there
14] about a thousand men. While the
letters were yet reading, behold, there
came other messengers from Galilee with
their clothes rent, bringing a report after
15] this wise, saying, That there were
gathered together against them those of
Ptolemais, and of Tyre, and of Sidon,
and all Galilee of the [37] Gentiles, to consume
them.

16] Now when Judas and the people
heard these words, there assembled together
a great congregation, to consult
what they should do for their brethren,
that were in tribulation, and were assaulted
17] of them. And Judas said unto
Simon his brother, Choose thee out men,
and go and deliver thy brethren that are
in Galilee, but I and Jonathan my brother
will go into the land of Gilead.
18] And he left Joseph the son of Zacharias,
and Azarias, as leaders of the people,
with the remnant of the host, in Judæa,
19] for to keep it. And he gave
commandment unto them, saying, Take
ye the charge of this people, and fight
no battle with the Gentiles until that we
20] come again. And unto Simon were
divided three thousand men to go into
Galilee, but unto Judas eight thousand
men *to go* into the land of Gilead.

21] And Simon went into Galilee, and
fought many battles with the Gentiles,
and the Gentiles were discomfited before
22] him. And he pursued them unto
the gate of Ptolemais; and there fell of
the Gentiles about three thousand men,
23] and he took their spoils. And they
took to them those that were in Galilee,
and in Arbatta, with their wives and
their children, and all that they had, and
brought them into Judæa with great
gladness.

24] And Judas Maccabæus and his
brother Jonathan passed over Jordan,
and went three days' journey in the wilderness;
25] and they met with the Nabathæans,
and these met them in a peaceable
manner, and told them all things
that had befallen their brethren in the

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[34] Compare *2 Macc.* 10: 18–23.
[35] Gr. *daughters.* Compare *Num.* 21: 25.
[36] Compare *2 Macc.* 12: 17.
[37] Gr. *strangers.*

26] land of Gilead: and how that many
of them were shut up in Bosora, and
Bosor, and Alema, [38] Casphor, Maked,
and [39] Carnaim; all these cities are
27] strong and great: and how that they
were shut up in the rest of the cities of
the land of Gilead, and that to-morrow
they have appointed to encamp against
the strongholds, and to take them, and
to destroy all these men in one day.
28] And Judas and his army turned suddenly
by the way of the wilderness unto
Bosora; and he took the city, and slew
all the males with the edge of the sword,
and took all their spoils, and burned
29] the city with fire. And he removed
from thence by night, and went till he
30] came to the stronghold. And the
morning came, and they lifted up their
eyes, and, behold, much people which
could not be numbered, bearing ladders
and engines of war, to take the stronghold;
and they were fighting against
31] them. And Judas saw that the battle
was begun, and that the cry of the city
went up to heaven, with trumpets and a
32] great sound, and he said unto the
men of his host, Fight this day for your
33] brethren. And he went forth behind
them in three companies, and they
sounded with their trumpets, and cried
34] out in prayer. And the army of Timotheus
perceived that it was Maccabæus,
and they fled from before him: and he
smote them with a great slaughter; and
there fell of them on that day about
35] eight thousand men. And he turned
aside to Mizpeh and fought against it,
and took it, and slew all the males thereof,
and took the spoils thereof, and
36] burned it with fire. From thence he
removed, and took [40] Casphor, Maked,
Bosor, and the other cities of the land
of Gilead.

37] Now after these things Timotheus
gathered another army, and encamped
over against Raphon beyond the brook.
38] And Judas sent men to espy the
army; and they brought him word, saying,
All the Gentiles that be round about
us are gathered together unto them, an
39] exceeding great host. And they have
hired Arabians to help them, and are
encamping beyond the brook, ready to
come against thee to battle. And Judas
40] went to meet them. And Timotheus
said unto the captains of his host, when
Judas and his army drew nigh unto the
brook of water, If he pass over first unto
us, we shall not be able to withstand
him; for he will mightily prevail against
41] us: but if he be afraid, and encamp
beyond the river, we will cross over unto
42] him, and prevail against him. Now
when Judas came nigh unto the brook of
water, he caused the scribes of the people
to remain by the brook, and gave
commandment unto them, saying, Suffer
no man to encamp, but let all come to
43] the battle. And he crossed over the
first against them, and all the people
after him: and all the Gentiles were
discomfited before his face, and cast
away their arms, and fled unto the temple
44] at [40] Carnaim. And they took the
city, and burned the temple with fire,
together with all that were therein. And
Carnaim was subdued, neither could they
stand any longer before the face of
Judas.

45] And Judas gathered together all
Israel, them that were in the land of
Gilead, from the least unto the greatest,
and their wives, and their children, and
their stuff, an exceeding great army,
that they might come into the land of
46] Judah. And they came as far as
Ephron, and this same city was great,
and it was in the way as they should go,
exceeding strong: they could not turn
aside from it on the right hand or on the
left, but must needs pass through the
47] midst of it. And they of the city
shut them out, and stopped up the gates
48] with stones. And Judas sent unto
them with words of peace, saying, We
will pass through thy land to go into our
own land, and none shall do you any
hurt, we will only pass by on our feet.
And they would not open unto him.
49] And Judas commanded proclamation
to be made in the army, that each

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[38] Compare *2 Macc.* 12: 13.
[39] Compare *2 Macc.* 12: 21.
[40] See ver. 26.

man should encamp in the place where
50] he was. And the men of the host encamped,
and fought against the city all
that day and all that night, and the city
51] was delivered into his hands; and he
destroyed all the males with the edge
of the sword, and rased the city, and
took the spoils thereof, and passed
through the city over them that were
52] slain. And they went over Jordan
into the great plain over against Bethshan.
53] And Judas gathered together
those that lagged behind, and encouraged
the people all the way through,
until he came into the land of Judah.
54] And they went up to mount Sion
with gladness and joy, and offered whole
burnt offerings, because not so much as
one of them was slain until they returned
in peace.

55] And in the days when Judas and
Jonathan were in the land of Gilead,
and Simon his brother in Galilee before
56] Ptolemais, Joseph the son of Zacharias,
and Azarias, rulers of the host,
heard of their exploits and of the war,
57] what things they had done; and they
said, Let us also get us a name, and
let us go fight against the Gentiles that
58] are round about us. And they gave
charge unto the men of the host that was
with them, and went toward Jamnia.
59] And Gorgias and his men came out
of the city to meet them in battle.
60] And Joseph and Azarias were put to
flight, and were pursued unto the borders
of Judæa; and there fell on that
day of the people of Israel about two
61] thousand men. And there was a great
overthrow among the people, because
they hearkened not unto Judas and his
brethren, thinking to do some exploit.
62] But they were not of the seed of
those men, by whose hand deliverance
was given unto Israel.

63] And the man Judas and his brethren
were glorified exceedingly in the
sight of all Israel, and of all the Gentiles,
wheresoever their name was heard of;
64] and men gathered together unto
them, acclaiming them.

65] And Judas and his brethren went
forth, and fought against the children
of Esau in the land toward the south;
and he smote Hebron and the [41] villages
thereof, and pulled down the strongholds
thereof, and burned the towers thereof
66] round about. And he removed to go
into the land of the [42] Philistines, and
he went through [43] Samaria. In that day
certain priests, desiring to do exploits
there, were slain in battle, when as [44] he
68] went out to battle unadvisedly. And
Judas turned aside to Azotus, to the land
of the [42] Philistines, and pulled down
their altars, and burned the carved images
of their gods with fire, and took the
spoil of their cities, and returned into the
land of Judah.

THE DEATH OF ANTIOCHUS IV, 164 B.C., *1 Macc.* 6:1–17

1 Macc. 6. And king Antiochus was
journeying through the upper countries;
and he heard say, that in Elymais in
Persia there was a city renowned for
2] riches, for silver and gold; and that
the temple which was in it was rich exceedingly,
and that therein were golden
shields, and breastplates, and arms,
which Alexander, son of Philip, the
Macedonian king, who reigned first
among the Greeks, left behind there.
3] And he came and sought to take the
city, and to pillage it; and he was not
able, because the thing was known to
4] them of the city, and they rose up
against him to battle: and he fled, and
removed thence with great heaviness, to
return unto Babylon.

5] And there came one bringing him
tidings into Persia, that the armies,
which went against the land of Judah,
6] had been put to flight; and that Lysias
went first with a strong host, and
was put to shame before them; and that
they had waxed strong by reason of
arms and power, and with store of spoils,

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[41] Gr. *daughters.* Compare *Num.* 21:25.
[42] Gr. *strangers.*
[43] Or, *Marisa.* See Josephus, *Antiq.* XII, 8:6, and *2 Macc.* 12:35.
[44] Some ancient authorities read *they.*

which they took from the armies that
7] they had cut off; and that they had
pulled down the abomination which he
had built upon the altar that was in Jeru-
salem; and that they had compassed
about the sanctuary with high walls, as
8] before, and Bethsura, his city. And it
came to pass, when the king heard these
words, he was astonished and moved ex-
ceedingly: and he laid him down upon
his bed, and fell sick for grief, because
it had not befallen him as he looked for.
9] And he was there many days, because
great grief was renewed upon him, and
he made account that he should die.
10] And he called for all his [45] Friends,
and said unto them, Sleep departeth
from mine eyes, and my heart faileth for
11] care. And I said in my heart, Unto
what tribulation am I come, and how
great a flood is it, wherein I now am!
for I was gracious and beloved in my
12] power. But now I remember the
evils which I did at Jerusalem, and that
I took all the vessels of silver and gold
that were therein, and sent forth to de-
stroy the inhabitants of Judah without
13] a cause. I perceive that on this ac-
count these evils are come upon me, and,
behold, I perish through great grief in
14] a strange land. And he called for
Philip, one of his [45] Friends, and set him
15] over all his kingdom, and gave him
his diadem, and his robe, and his signet-
ring, to the end he should bring Anti-
ochus his son, and nourish him up that
16] he might be king. And king Anti-
ochus died there in [46] the hundred and
17] forty and ninth year. And Lysias
knew that the king was dead, and he set
up Antiochus his son to reign, whom he
had nourished up being young, and he
called his name Eupator.

JUDAS'S ATTACK ON THE CITADEL, *1 Macc.* 6: 18–27

When Judas had taken possession of the temple in 165 B.C., he had shut up in the citadel, which was probably the "Millo" of King David's time, on the highest point of the hill south of the temple area, a Syrian army which had been stationed there as a garrison. He now tried to capture the city. The story is as follows:

1 Macc. 6. 18] And they that were in
the citadel shut up Israel round about
the sanctuary, and sought always their
hurt, and the strengthening of the Gen-
19] tiles. And Judas thought to destroy
them, and called all the people together
20] to besiege them. And they were gath-
ered together, and besieged them in
[47] the hundred and fiftieth year, and he
made mounds to shoot from, and engines
21] of war. And there came forth some
of them that were shut up, and there
were joined unto them certain ungodly
22] men of Israel. And they went unto
the king, and said, How long wilt thou
not execute judgement, and avenge our
23] brethren? We were willing to serve
thy father, and to walk after his words,
and to follow his commandments;
24] and for this cause the children of our
people besieged [48] the citadel, and were
alienated from us; but as many of us as
they could light on they slew, and
25] spoiled our inheritances. And not
against us only did they stretch out their
hand, but also against all their borders.
26] And, behold, they are encamped this
day against the citadel at Jerusalem, to
take it: and the sanctuary and Bethsura
27] have they fortified. And if ye are
not beforehand with them quickly, they
will do greater things than these, and
thou shalt not be able to control them.

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[45] See ch. 2: 18.
[46] Circa B.C. 164.
[47] Circa B.C. 163.
[48] Gr. *it*.

THE BATTLE OF BETHZACHARIAS, *1 Macc.* 6:28–47

1 Macc. 6. 28] And when the king
heard this, he was angry, and gathered
together all his [49] Friends, *even the* rulers
of his host, and them that were over
29] the horse. And there came unto him
from other kingdoms, and from isles
of the sea, bands of hired soldiers.
30] And the number of his forces was
a hundred thousand footmen, and twenty
thousand horsemen, and two and thirty
31] elephants trained for war. And they
went through Idumæa, and encamped
against Bethsura, and fought against it
many days, and made engines of war;
and they *of Bethsura* came out, and
burned them with fire, and fought valiantly.
32] And Judas removed from the
citadel, and encamped at Bethzacharias,
33] over against the king's camp. And
the king rose early in the morning, and
removed his army [50] at full speed along
the road to Bethzacharias, and his forces
made them ready to battle, and sounded
34] with the trumpets. And they shewed
the elephants the blood of grapes and
mulberries, that they might prepare
35] them for the battle. And they divided
the beasts among the phalanxes,
and they set by each elephant a thousand
men armed with coats of mail, and helmets
of brass on their heads; and for
each beast were appointed five hundred
36] chosen horsemen. These were ready
beforehand, wheresoever the beast was;
and whithersoever the beast went, they
went with him; they departed not from
37] him. And towers of wood were upon
them, strong *and* covered, one upon each
beast, girt fast upon him with cunning
contrivances; and upon each *beast* were
two and thirty valiant men that fought
38] upon them, beside his Indian (and
the residue of the horsemen he set on
this side and that side at the two parts of
the army), striking terror *into the enemy,*
and protected by the phalanxes.
39] Now when the sun shone upon the
shields of gold and brass, the mountains
shone therewith, and blazed like torches
40] of fire. And a part of the king's
army was spread upon the high mountains,
and some on the low ground, and
they went on firmly and in order.
41] And all that heard the noise of their
multitude, and the marching of the multitude,
and the rattling of the arms, did
quake: for the army was exceeding
42] great and strong. And Judas and his
army drew near for battle, and there
fell of the king's army six hundred men.
43] And Eleazar, who was *called* Avaran,
saw one of the beasts armed with
royal breastplates, and he was higher
than all the beasts, and the king seemed
44] to be upon him; and he gave himself
to deliver his people, and to get him an
45] everlasting name; and he ran upon
him courageously into the midst of the
phalanx, and slew on the right hand and
on the left, and they parted asunder from
46] him on this side and on that. And he
crept under the elephant, and thrust him
from beneath, and slew him; and *the
elephant* fell to the earth upon him, and
47] he died there. And they saw the
strength of the kingdom, and the fierce
onset of the hosts, and turned away from
them.

LYSIAS PROCLAIMS RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN THE NAME OF ANTIOCHUS V, *1 Macc.* 6:48–63

1 Macc. 6. 48] But they of the king's
army went up to Jerusalem to meet them,
and the king encamped toward Judæa,
49] and toward mount Sion. And he
made peace with them of Bethsura; and
he came out of the city, because they
had no food there to endure the siege,
because it was a sabbath to the land.
50] And the king took Bethsura, and
appointed a garrison there to keep it.
51] And he encamped against the sanctuary
many days; and set there mounds

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[49] See ch. 2: 18.

[50] Or, *itself eager for the fight.*

to shoot from, and engines of war, and instruments for casting fire and stones, and pieces to cast darts, and slings.
52] And they also made engines against their engines, and fought for many days.
53] But there were no victuals in the sanctuary, because it was the seventh year, and they that fled for safety into Judæa from among the Gentiles had
54] eaten up the residue of the store; and there were but a few left in the sanctuary, because the famine prevailed against them, and they were scattered, each man to his own place.

55] And Lysias heard say, that Philip, whom Antiochus the king, whiles he was yet alive, appointed to nourish up his son
56] Antiochus, that he might be king, was returned from Persia and Media, and with him the forces that went with the king, and that he was seeking to take
57] unto him the government. And he made haste, and gave consent to depart; and he said to the king and the leaders of the host and to the men, We decay daily, and our food is scant, and the place where we encamp is strong, and the affairs of the kingdom lie upon us:
58] now therefore let us give the right hand to these men, and make peace with
59] them and with all their nations, and covenant with them, that they shall walk after their own laws, as aforetime: for because of their laws which we abolished they were angered, and did all
60] these things. And the saying pleased the king and the princes, and he sent unto them to make peace; and they ac-
61] cepted thereof. And the king and the princes sware unto them: thereupon they came forth from the stronghold.
62] And the king entered into mount Sion; and he saw the strength of the place, and set at nought the oath which he had sworn, and gave commandment to pull down the wall round about.
63] And he removed in haste, and returned unto Antioch, and found Philip master of the city; and he fought against him, and took the city by force.

THE ACCESSION OF DEMETRIUS I, 162 B.C.

All this time Demetrius, the son of Seleucus IV, who had been substituted for Antiochus IV as a hostage at Rome, had been living in that city. When he heard that his young cousin, Antiochus V, was king in Syria, he besought the Roman senate for permission to return to Syria and seize the kingdom. The senate refused, but in spite of its refusal he ran away and made his way to the Syrian coast. The historian Polybius, who tells the story, went with him. The Jewish account of his accession is as follows:

1 Macc. 7. In [51] the hundred and one and fiftieth year Demetrius the son of Seleucus came forth from Rome, and went up with a few men unto a city by
2] the sea, and reigned there. And it came to pass, when he would go into the house of the kingdom of his fathers, that the army laid hands on Antiochus and Lysias, to bring them unto him.
3] And the thing was known to him, and he said, Shew me not their faces.
4] And the army slew them. And Demetrius sat upon the throne of his king-
5] dom. And there came unto him all the lawless and ungodly men of Israel; and Alcimus was their leader, desiring
6] to be high priest; and they accused the people to the king, saying, Judas and his brethren have destroyed all thy friends, and have scattered us from our
7] own land. Now therefore send a man whom thou trustest, and let him go and

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[51] Circa B.C. 162.

see all the havock which he hath made of us, and of the king's country, and *how* he hath punished them and all that 8] helped them. And the king chose Bacchides, one of the king's [52] Friends, who was ruler in the country beyond the river, and was a great man in the kingdom, 9] and faithful to the king. And he sent him, and that ungodly Alcimus, and made sure to him the high priesthood, and he commanded him to take vengeance upon the children of Israel.

THE HASIDÆANS DESERT JUDAS, *1 Macc.* 7: 10–20

1 **Macc. 7.** 10] And they removed, and came with a great host into the land of Judah, and he sent messengers to Judas and his brethren with words of peace 11] deceitfully. And they gave no heed to their words; for they saw that they 12] were come with a great host. And there were gathered together unto Alcimus and Bacchides a company of 13] scribes, to seek for justice. And the [53] Hasidæans were the first among the children of Israel that sought peace of 14] them; for they said, One that is a priest of the seed of Aaron is come with the forces, and he will do us no wrong. 15] And he spake with them words of peace, and sware unto them, saying, We will seek the hurt neither of you nor 16] your friends. And they gave him credence: and he laid hands on threescore men of them, and slew them in one day, according to the word which *the psalmist* wrote,

17] [54] The flesh of thy saints *did they*
cast out,
And their blood did they shed round
about Jerusalem;
And there was no man to bury them.

18] And the fear and the dread of them fell upon all the people, for they said, There is neither truth nor judgement in them; for they have broken the covenant and the oath which they sware. 19] And Bacchides removed from Jerusalem, and encamped in Bezeth; and he sent and took many of the deserters that were with him, and certain of the people, and he slew them, *and cast them* 20] into the great pit. And he made sure the country to Alcimus, and left with him a force to aid him; and Bacchides went away unto the king.

The "Hasidæans" constituted the body of Jews who were zealous for their religion. Now that the Syrians had granted religious liberty, they were satisfied. During the first four years of his struggles Judas had had their support. He wished political independence, but now he did not have the support of a unified people.

JUDAS'S GUERRILLA WARFARE, *1 Macc.* 7: 21–25

1 **Macc. 7.** 21] And Alcimus strove 22] for his high priesthood. And there were gathered unto him all they that troubled their people, and they got the mastery of the land of Judah, and did 23] great hurt in Israel. And Judas saw all the mischief that Alcimus and his company had done among the children 24] of Israel, *even* above the Gentiles, and he went out into all the coasts of Judæa round about, and took vengeance on the men that had deserted from him, and they were restrained from going 25] forth into the country. But when Alcimus saw that Judas and his company waxed strong, and knew that he was not able to withstand them, he returned to the king, and brought evil accusations against them.

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[52] See ch. 2: 18.
[53] That is, *Chasidim.*
[54] *Ps.* 79: 2, 3.

THE BATTLE OF CAPHARSALAMA, *1 Macc. 7*: 26–32

1 Macc. 7. 26] [55] And the king sent
Nicanor, one of his honourable princes,
a man that hated Israel and was their
enemy, and commanded him to destroy
27] the people. And Nicanor came to
Jerusalem with a great host; and he sent
unto Judas and his brethren deceitfully
28] with words of peace, saying, Let
there be no battle between me and you;
I will come with a few men, that I may
29] see your faces in peace. And he came
to Judas, and they saluted one another
peaceably. And the enemies were ready
30] to take away Judas by violence. And
the thing was known to Judas, *to wit*,
that he came unto him with deceit, and he
was sore afraid of him, and would see
31] his face no more. And Nicanor knew
that his counsel was discovered; and he
went out to meet Judas in battle beside
32] Capharsalama; and there fell of Nicanor's
side about [56] five hundred men,
and they fled into the city of David.

NICANOR THREATENS THE TEMPLE, *1 Macc. 7*: 33–38

1 Macc. 7. 33] And after these things
Nicanor went up to mount Sion: and
there came some of the priests out of the
sanctuary, and some of the elders of the
people, to salute him peaceably, and to
shew him the whole burnt sacrifice that
34] was being offered for the king. And
he mocked them, and laughed at them,
and [57] entreated them shamefully, and
35] spake haughtily, and sware in a rage,
saying, Unless Judas and his army be
now delivered into my hands, it shall be
that, if I come again in peace, I will burn
up this house: and he went out in a great
36] rage. And the priests entered in, and
stood before the altar and the temple;
37] and they wept, and said, Thou didst
choose this house to be called by thy
name, to be a house of prayer and supplication
38] for thy people: take vengeance
on this man and his army, and let
them fall by the sword: remember their
blasphemies, and suffer them not to live
any longer.

NICANOR IS SLAIN, *1 Macc. 7*: 39–50

1 Macc. 7. 39] And Nicanor went
forth from Jerusalem, and encamped in
Bethhoron, and there met him the host
40] of Syria. And Judas encamped in
Adasa with three thousand men: and
41] Judas prayed and said, When they
that came from the king blasphemed,
thine angel went out, and smote among
them a hundred and fourscore and five
42] thousand. Even so discomfit thou
this army before us to-day, and let all
the rest know that he hath spoken wickedly
against thy sanctuary, and judge
thou him according to his wickedness.
43] And on the thirteenth day of the
month Adar the armies joined battle:
and Nicanor's army was discomfited, and
he himself was the first to fall in the
44] battle. Now when his army saw that
Nicanor was fallen, they cast away their
45] arms, and fled. And they pursued
after them a day's journey from Adasa
until thou comest to [58] Gazara, and they
sounded an alarm after them with the
46] [59] solemn trumpets. And they came
forth out of all the villages of Judæa
round about, and [60] closed them in; and
these turned them back on those, and they
all fell by the sword, and there was not
47] one of them left. And they took the
spoils, and the booty, and they smote off
Nicanor's head, and his right hand,
which he stretched out so haughtily, and
brought them, and [61] hanged them up
48] beside Jerusalem. And the people
was exceeding glad, and they kept that

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[55] See *2 Macc.* 14: 12.

[56] Some ancient authorities read *five thousand*.

[57] Gr. *polluted them*.

[58] Gr. *Gazera*.

[59] Gr. *trumpets of signals*.

[60] Gr. *outflanked them*.

[61] Gr. *Stretched them out*.

49] day as a day of great gladness. And
[62] they ordained to keep this day year
by year, *to wit,* the thirteenth day of
50] Adar. And the land of Judah had
rest [63] a little while.

The victory in which Nicanor lost his life, coming so soon after the threat he had made against the temple, seemed to the Jews as much an interposition of God on their behalf as the destruction of Sennacherib's army had done to their fathers five hundred and forty years before; hence they celebrated the event in a yearly festival called "Nicanor's Day." The festival is now merged with the Feast of Purim.

JUDAS GAINS THE FRIENDSHIP OF ROME, *1 Macc.* 8:17–32

1 Macc. 8. 17] And Judas chose Eupolemus
the son of John, the son of
Accos, and Jason the son of Eleazar, and
sent them to Rome, to make a league of
amity and confederacy with them,
18] and that they should take the yoke
from them; for they saw that the kingdom
of the Greeks did keep Israel in
19] bondage. And they went to Rome
(and the way was exceeding long), and
they entered into the senate house, and
20] answered and said, Judas, who is
also *called* Maccabæus, and his brethren,
and the people of the Jews, have sent
us unto you, to make a confederacy and
peace with you, and that we might be
registered your confederates and friends.
21] And the thing was well-pleasing
22] in their sight. And this is the copy
of the writing which they wrote back
again on tables of brass, and sent to
Jerusalem, that it might be with them
there for a memorial of peace and confederacy:
23] Good success be to the Romans,
and to the nation of the Jews, by sea
and by land for ever: the sword also and
24] the enemy be far from them. But if
war arise for Rome first, or any of their
confederates in all their dominion,
25] the nation of the Jews shall help
them as confederates, as the occasion
shall prescribe to them, with all their
26] heart: and unto them that make war
upon them they shall not give, neither
supply, food, arms, money, or ships, as
it hath seemed good unto Rome, and
they shall keep their ordinances without
27] taking anything therefore. In the
same manner, moreover, if war come
first upon the nation of the Jews, the
Romans shall help them as confederates
with all their soul, as the occasion shall
28] prescribe to them: and to them that
are confederates *with their foes* there
shall not be given food, arms, money, or
ships, as it hath seemed good unto
Rome; and they shall keep these ordinances,
29] and that without deceit.
According to these words have the
Romans made a covenant thus with the
30] people of the Jews. But if hereafter
the one party and the other shall take
counsel to add or diminish anything,
they shall do it at their pleasure, and
whatsoever they shall add or take away
31] shall be established. And as touching
the evils which king Demetrius
doeth unto them, we have written to
him, saying, Wherefore hast thou made
thy yoke heavy upon our friends and
32] confederates the Jews? If therefore
they plead any more against thee, we
will do them justice, and fight with
thee by sea and by land.

The Roman Senate entered into this alliance with Judas, not because they cared anything for him or for the Jews, but because they saw in it an opportunity to harass Demetrius, who had presumed to take his kingdom without their august permission.

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[62] See *2 Macc.* 15:36.

[63] Gr. *a few days.*

THE DEATH OF JUDAS, *1 Macc.* 9:1–22

1 Macc. 9. And Demetrius heard that
Nicanor was fallen with his forces in
battle, and he sent Bacchides and Alcimus
again into the land of Judah a second
time, and the right wing *of his army*
2] with them: and they went by the way
that leadeth to Gilgal, and encamped
against Mesaloth, which is in Arbela,
and gat possession of it, and destroyed
3] much people. And the first month of
[64] the hundred and fifty and second year
they encamped against Jerusalem:
4] and they removed, and went to Berea,
with twenty thousand footmen and two
5] thousand horse. And Judas was encamped
at Elasa, and three thousand
6] chosen men with him: and they saw
the multitude of the forces, that they
were many, and they feared exceedingly:
and many slipped away out of the
army; there were not left of them more
7] than eight hundred men. And Judas
saw that his army slipped away, and
that the battle pressed upon him, and he
was sore troubled in heart, for that he
had no time to gather them together, and
8] he waxed faint. And he said to them
that were left, Let us arise and go up
against our adversaries, if peradventure
we may be able to fight with them.
9] And they would have dissuaded him,
saying, We shall in no wise be able: but
let us rather save our lives now: let us
return again, *we* and our brethren, and
fight against them: but we are few.
10] And Judas said, Let it not be so that
I should do this thing, to flee from them:
and if our time is come, let us die manfully
for our brethren's sake, and not
leave a cause of reproach against our
11] glory. And the host removed from
the camp, and stood to encounter them,
and the horse was parted into two companies,
and the slingers and the archers
went before the host, and all the mighty
men that fought in the front of the battle.
12] But Bacchides was in the right
wing; and the phalanx drew near on the
two parts, and they blew with their trumpets.
13] And the men of Judas' side,
even they sounded with their trumpets,
and the earth shook with the shout of
the armies, and the battle was joined,
and continued from morning until evening.
14] And Judas saw that Bacchides
and the strength of his army were on
the right side, and there went with him
15] all that were brave in heart, and the
right wing was discomfited by them,
and he pursued after them unto the
16] mount Azotus. And they that were
on the left wing saw that the right wing
was discomfited, and they turned and
followed upon the footsteps of Judas
17] and of those that were with him: and
the battle waxed sore, and many on both
18] parts fell wounded to death. And
19] Judas fell, and the rest fled. And
Jonathan and Simon took Judas their
brother, and buried him in the sepulchre
20] of his fathers at Modin. And
they bewailed him, and all Israel made
great lamentation for him, and mourned
21] many days, and said, How is the
mighty fallen, the saviour of Israel!
22] And the rest of the acts of Judas,
and his wars, and the valiant deeds
which he did, and his greatness, they are
not written; for they were exceeding
many.

JONATHAN CHOSEN LEADER, *1 Macc.* 9:23–31

1 Macc. 9. 23] And it came to pass
after the death of Judas, that the lawless
put forth their heads in all the
coasts of Israel, and all they that
24] wrought iniquity rose up (in those
days was there an exceeding great fam-

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[64] Circa B.C. 161.

ine), and the country went over with
25] them. And Bacchides chose out the
ungodly men, and made them lords of
26] the country. And they sought out
and searched for the friends of Judas,
and brought them unto Bacchides, and
he took vengeance on them, and used
27] them despitefully. And there was
great tribulation in Israel, such as was
not since the time that no prophet appeared
28] unto them. And all the friends
of Judas were gathered together, and
29] they said unto Jonathan, Since thy
brother Judas hath died, we have no
man like him to go forth against our enemies
and Bacchides, and among them
30] of our nation that hate us. Now
therefore we have chosen thee this day
to be our prince and leader in his stead,
that thou mayest fight our battles.
31] And Jonathan took the governance
upon him at that time, and rose up in the
stead of his brother Judas.

THE MACCABEES FLEE TO THE NABATHÆANS, *1 Macc.* 9:32–36

1 Macc. 9. 32] And Bacchides knew
33] it, and he sought to slay him. And
Jonathan, and Simon his brother, and
all that were with him, knew it; and they
fled into the wilderness of Tekoah, and
encamped by the water of the pool Asphar.
34] And Bacchides knew it on the
sabbath day, and came, he and all his
35] army, over Jordan. And *Jonathan*
sent his brother, a leader of the multitude,
and besought his friends the Nabathæans,
that they might leave with
them their baggage, which was much.
36] And the children of Jambri came
out of Medaba, and took John, and all
that he had, and went their way with it.

GUERRILLA WARFARE, *1 Macc.* 9:37–69

1 Macc. 9. 37] But after these things
they brought word to Jonathan and Simon
his brother, that the children of
Jambri were making a great marriage,
and were bringing the bride from Nadabath
with a great train, a daughter of
one of the great nobles of Canaan.
38] And they remembered John their
brother, and went up, and hid themselves
under the covert of the mountain:
39] and they lifted up their eyes, and
saw, and, behold, a great ado and much
baggage: and the bridegroom came
forth, and his friends and his brethren,
to meet them with timbrels, and minstrels,
40] and many weapons. And they
rose up against them from their ambush,
and slew them, and many fell
wounded to death, and the remnant fled
into the mountain, and they took all their
41] their spoils. And the marriage was
turned into mourning, and the voice of
42] their minstrels into lamentation. And
they avenged fully the blood of their
brother, and turned back to the marsh of
Jordan.

43] And Bacchides heard it, and he
came on the sabbath day unto the banks
44] of Jordan with a great host. And
Jonathan said to his company, Let us
stand up now and fight for our lives, for
it is not *with us* to-day, as yesterday and
45] the day before. For, behold, the
battle is before us and behind us; moreover
the water of the Jordan is on this
side and on that side, and marsh and
wood; and there is no place to turn
46] aside. Now therefore cry unto heaven,
that ye may be delivered out of the
47] hand of your enemies. And the battle
was joined, and Jonathan stretched
forth his hand to smite Bacchides, and he
48] turned away back from him. And
Jonathan and they that were with him
leapt into the Jordan, and swam over
to the other side: and they did not pass
49] over Jordan against them. And there
fell of Bacchides' company that day
50] about a thousand men; and he returned
to Jerusalem. And they builded
strong cities in Judæa, the stronghold
that was in Jericho, and Emmaus, and
Bethhoron, and Bethel, and Timnath,
Pharathon, and Tephon, with high walls

51] and gates and bars. And in them he
52] set a garrison, to vex Israel. And
he fortified the city Bethsura, and Gazara,
and the citadel, and put forces in
53] them, and store of victuals. And
he took the sons of the chief men of
the country for hostages, and put them
in ward in the citadel at Jerusalem.

54] And in [65] the hundred and fifty
and third year, in the second month, Alcimus
commanded to pull down the wall
of the inner court of the sanctuary; he
pulled down also the works of the prophets;
55] and he began to pull down. At
that time was Alcimus stricken, and his
works were hindered; and his mouth
was stopped, and he was taken with a
palsy, and he could no more speak anything
and give order concerning his
56] house. And Alcimus died at that time
57] with great torment. And Bacchides
saw that Alcimus was dead, and he returned
to the king: and the land of Judah
had rest two years.

58] And all the lawless men took counsel,
saying, Behold, Jonathan and they
of his part are dwelling at ease, and in
security: now therefore we will bring
Bacchides, and he shall lay hands on
59] them all in one night. And they went
60] and consulted with him. And he removed,
and came with a great host, and
sent letters privily to all his confederates
that were in Judæa, that they should lay
hands on Jonathan and those that were
with him: and they could not, because
their counsel was known unto them.
61] And *they that were of Jonathan's part*
laid hands on about fifty of the men
of the country, that were authors of the
62] wickedness, and he slew them. And
Jonathan, and Simon, and they that were
with him, gat them away to Bethbasi,
which is in the wilderness, and he built
up that which had been pulled down
thereof, and they made it strong.
63] And Bacchides knew it, and he gathered
together all his multitude, and sent
word to them that were of Judæa.
64] And he went and encamped against
Bethbasi, and fought against it many
65] days, and made engines of war. And
Jonathan left his brother Simon in the
city, and went forth into the country,
66] and he went with a few men. And he
smote Odomera and his brethren, and
the children of Phasiron in their tent.
67] And they began to smite them, and
to go up with their forces. And Simon
and they that were with him went out
of the city, and set on fire the engines
68] of war, and fought against Bacchides,
and he was discomfited by them,
and they afflicted him sore; for his counsel
69] was in vain, and his inroad. And
they were very wroth with the lawless
men that gave him counsel to come into
the country, and they slew many of them.
And he took counsel to depart into his
own land.

JONATHAN GAINS RECOGNITION, *1 Macc.* 9:70–73

1 Macc. 9. 70] And Jonathan had
knowledge thereof, and sent ambassadors
unto him, to the end that they
should make peace with him, and that he
should restore unto them the captives.
71] And he accepted the thing, and did
according to his words, and sware unto
him that he would not seek his hurt all
72] the days of his life. And he restored
unto him the captives which he
had taken aforetime out of the land of
Judah, and he returned and departed into
his own land, and came not any more
73] into their borders. And the sword
ceased from Israel. And Jonathan dwelt
at Michmash; and Jonathan began to
judge the people; and he destroyed the
ungodly out of Israel.

THE REBELLION OF ALEXANDER BALAS, *1 Macc.* 10:1–2

1 Macc. 10. And in [66] the hundred and sixtieth year Alexander Epiphanes, the son of Antiochus, went up and took possession of Ptolemais: and they received

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[65] Circa B.C. 160.

[66] Circa B.C. 153.

2] him, and he reigned there. And king Demetrius heard thereof, and he gathered together exceeding great forces, and went forth to meet him in battle.

This Alexander was not really a son of Antiochus, but a pretender. He and his beautiful sister, aided by people who disliked the rule of Demetrius, made their way to Rome and gained the consent of the senate to return and endeavor to gain the throne of Syria on the ground that they were children of Antiochus IV. Whether the senate was really deceived, or whether it took another opportunity to harass Demetrius, is uncertain. One suspects that the second of the two alternatives is the true one. At all events Alexander gained a part of the territory, and Demetrius sought Jonathan's support.

JONATHAN GIVEN JERUSALEM AND MADE HIGH PRIEST, *1 Macc.* 10:3–21

1 Macc. 10. 3] And Demetrius sent letters unto Jonathan with words of 4] peace, so as to magnify him. For he said, Let us be beforehand to make peace with them, ere he make peace with Alex- 5] ander against us: for he will remember all the evils that we have done against him, and unto his brethren and 6] unto his nation. And he gave him authority to gather together forces, and to provide arms, and that he should be his confederate: and he commanded that they should deliver up to him the hostages that were in the citadel.

7] And Jonathan came to Jerusalem, and read the letters in the audience of all the people, and of them that were in 8] the citadel: and they were sore afraid, when they heard that the king had given him authority to gather together a host. 9] And they of the citadel delivered up the hostages unto Jonathan, and he re- 10] stored them unto their parents. And Jonathan dwelt in Jerusalem, and began 11] to build and renew the city. And he commanded them that did the work to build the walls and the mount Sion round about with [67] square stones for de- 12] fence; and they did so. And the strangers, that were in the strongholds which Bacchides had built, fled away; 13] and each man left his place, and de- 14] parted into his own land. Only at Bethsura were there left certain of those that had forsaken the law and the commandments; for it was a place of refuge unto them.

15] And king Alexander heard all the promises which Demetrius had sent unto Jonathan: and they told him of the battles and the valiant deeds which he and his brethren had done, and of the 16] toils which they had endured; and he said, Shall we find such another man? and now we will make him our [68] Friend 17] and confederate. And he wrote letters, and sent them unto him, according to these words, saying,

18] King Alexander to his brother 19] Jonathan, greeting: We have heard of thee, that thou art a mighty man of valour, and meet to be our [68] Friend. 20] And now we have appointed thee this day to be high priest of thy nation, and to be called the king's [68] Friend (and he sent unto him a purple robe and a crown of gold), and to take our part, and to keep friendship with us.

21] And Jonathan put on the holy garments in the seventh month of [69] the hundred and sixtieth year, at the feast of tabernacles, and he gathered together forces, and provided arms in abundance.

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[67] So the versions and Josephus. Gr. *Four foot stones.*

[68] See ch. 2: 18. Compare ver. 65.

[69] Circa B.C. 153.

A JEWISH TEMPLE BUILT IN EGYPT

One result of the inauguration of Jonathan as high priest was that Onias (Annas), son of the high priest who had been deposed, fled to Egypt and persuaded Ptolemy VII, who was still reigning, to permit him to build a Jewish temple at a place called Leontopolis, about twenty miles north of the modern Cairo. In building it he imitated in a general way the contour of the temple-hill at Jerusalem and the form of the temple itself.[70] The site of this temple was excavated by Petrie in 1905–6.

DEMETRIUS'S COUNTER PROPOSALS REJECTED, *1 Macc.* 10:22–50

1 Macc. 10. 22] And Demetrius heard
these things, and he was grieved, and
23] said, What is this that we have done,
that Alexander hath been beforehand
with us in establishing friendship with
24] the Jews, to strengthen himself? I
also will write unto them words of encouragement
and of honour and of gifts,
that they may be with me to aid me.
25] And he sent unto them according to
these words:

King Demetrius unto the nation of
26] the Jews, greeting: Forasmuch as ye
have kept your covenants with us, and
continued in our friendship, and have
not joined yourselves to our enemies, we
27] have heard hereof, and are glad. And
now continue ye still to keep faith with
us, and we will recompense unto you
good things in return for your dealings
28] with us, and will grant you many
29] immunities, and give you gifts. And
now do I free you, and release all the
Jews, from the tributes, and from the
customs of salt, and from the crowns.
30] And instead of the third part of the
seed, and instead of the half of the fruit
of the trees, which falleth to me to receive,
I release it from this day and
henceforth, so that I will not take it
from the land of Judah, and from the
three governments which are added
thereunto from the country of Samaria
and Galilee, from this day forth and for
31] all time. And let Jerusalem be holy
and free, and her borders; the tenths and
32] the tolls *also*. I yield up also my
authority over the citadel which is at
Jerusalem, and give it to the high priest,
that he may appoint in it such men as
33] he shall choose to keep it. And every
soul of the Jews, that hath been carried
captive from the land of Judah into any
part of my kingdom, I set at liberty without
price; and let all remit the tributes
34] of their cattle also. And all the feasts,
and the sabbaths, and new moons, and
appointed days, and three days before a
feast, and three days after a feast, let
them all be days of immunity and release
for all the Jews that are in my kingdom.
35] And no man shall have authority to
exact from any of them, or to trouble
36] them concerning any matter. And let
there be enrolled among the king's forces
about thirty thousand men of the Jews,
and pay shall be given unto them, as
belongeth to all the king's forces.
37] And of them some shall be placed in
the king's great strongholds, and some
of them shall be placed over the affairs
of the kingdom, which are of trust: and
let those that are over them, and their
rulers, be of themselves, and let them
walk after their own laws, even as the
king hath commanded in the land of
38] Judah. And the three governments
that have been added to Judæa from the
country of Samaria, let them be added to
Judæa, that they may be reckoned to be
under one, that they may not obey other
39] authority than the high priest's. As
for Ptolemais, and the land pertaining
thereto, I have given it as a gift to the

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[70] See G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., pp. 39, 40, and Figs. 12, 13.

sanctuary that is at Jerusalem, for the
expenses that befit the sanctuary.
40] And I give every year fifteen thou-
sand shekels of silver from the king's
revenues from the places that are con-
41] venient. And all the overplus, which
they that manage the king's affairs paid
not in as in the first years, they shall
give from henceforth toward the works
42] of the house. And beside this, the
five thousand shekels of silver, which
they received from the uses of the sanc-
tuary from one revenue year by year,
this also is released, because it apper-
taineth to the priests that minister.
43] And whosoever shall flee unto the
temple that is at Jerusalem, and *be found*
within all the borders thereof, whether
one owe moneys to the king, or any other
matter, let them go free, and all that
44] they have in my kingdom. And for
the building and renewing of the works
of the sanctuary the expense shall be
given also out of the king's revenue.
45] And for the building of the walls of
Jerusalem, and the fortifying thereof
round about, shall the expense be given
also out of the king's revenue, and for
the building of the walls in Judæa.

46] Now when Jonathan and the peo-
ple heard these words, they gave no
credence unto them, nor received them,
because they remembered the great evil
which he had done in Israel, and that he
47] had afflicted them very sore. And
they were well pleased with Alexander,
because he was the first that spake words
of peace unto them, and they were con-
48] federate with him always. And king
Alexander gathered together great for-
ces, and encamped over against Deme-
49] trius. And the two kings joined bat-
tle, and the army of Alexander fled; and
Demetrius followed after him, and pre-
50] vailed against them. And he strength-
ened the battle exceedingly until the sun
went down: and Demetrius fell that day.

ALEXANDER MARRIES PTOLEMY'S DAUGHTER, *1 Macc.* 10:51–58

1 Macc. 10. 51] And Alexander sent
ambassadors to Ptolemy king of Egypt
according to these words, saying,
52] Forasmuch as I am returned to my
kingdom, and am set on the throne of my
fathers, and have gotten the dominion,
and have overthrown Demetrius, and
have gotten possession of our country;
53] yea, I joined battle with him, and he
and his army were discomfited by us,
and we sat upon the throne of his king-
54] dom: now also let us establish
amity one with the other, and give me
now thy daughter to wife: and I will
make affinity with thee, and will give
both thee and her gifts worthy of thee.
55] And Ptolemy the king answered,
saying, Happy is the day wherein thou
didst return into the land of thy fathers,
and didst sit on the throne of their king-
56] dom. And now will I do to thee, as
thou hast written: but meet me at Ptol-
emais, that we may see one another; and
I will make affinity with thee, even as
57] thou hast said. And Ptolemy went
out of Egypt, himself and Cleopatra his
daughter, and came unto Ptolemais in
[71] the hundred and threescore and sec-
58] ond year: and king Alexander met
him, and he bestowed on him his daugh-
ter Cleopatra, and celebrated her mar-
riage at Ptolemais with great pomp, as
the manner of kings is.

JONATHAN MEETS ALEXANDER AND PTOLEMY, *1 Macc.* 10:59–66

1 Macc. 10. 59] And king Alexander
wrote unto Jonathan, that he should come
60] to meet him. And he went with pomp
to Ptolemais, and met the two kings,
and gave them and their [72] Friends silver
and gold, and many gifts, and found
61] favour in their sight. And there
were gathered together against him cer-

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[71] Circa B.C. 151.

[72] See ch. 2: 18. Compare ver. 65.

tain pestilent fellows out of Israel, men
that were transgressors of the law, to
complain against him: and the king gave
62] no heed to them. And the king commanded,
and they took off Jonathan's
garments, and clothed him in purple:
63] and thus they did. And the king
made him sit with him, and said unto his
princes, Go forth with him into the midst
of the city, and make proclamation, that
no man complain against him of any matter,
and let no man trouble him for any
64] manner of cause. And it came to pass,
when they that complained against him
saw his glory according as *the herald*
made proclamation, and *saw* him clothed
65] in purple, they all fled away. And the
king gave him honour, and wrote him
among his [73] Chief Friends, and made
him a captain, and governor of a province.
66] And Jonathan returned to
Jerusalem with peace and gladness.

DEMETRIUS II REVOLTS, *I Macc.* 10:67–73

I Macc. 10. 67] And in [74] the hundred
and threescore and fifth year came
Demetrius, son of Demetrius, out of
Crete into the land of his fathers:
68] and king Alexander heard thereof,
and he was grieved exceedingly, and returned
69] unto Antioch. And Demetrius
appointed Apollonius, who was over
Cœlesyria, and he gathered together a
great host, and encamped in Jamnia, and
sent unto Jonathan the high priest, saying,

70] Thou alone liftest up thyself
against us, but I am had in derision and
in reproach because of thee. And why
dost thou vaunt thy power against us in
71] the mountains? Now therefore, if
thou trustest in thy forces, come down
to us into the plain, and there let us try
the matter together; for with me is the
72] power of the cities. Ask and learn
who I am, and the rest that help us;
and they say, Your foot cannot stand before
our face; for thy fathers have been
twice put to flight in their own land.
73] And now thou shalt not be able to
abide the horse and such a host as this in
the plain, where is neither stone nor
flint, nor place to flee unto.

JONATHAN FIGHTS THE FORCES OF DEMETRIUS, *I Macc.* 10:74–89

I Macc. 10. 74] Now when Jonathan
heard the words of Apollonius, he was
moved in his mind, and he chose out ten
thousand men, and went forth from Jerusalem,
and Simon his brother met him
75] for to help him. And he encamped
against Joppa: and they of the city shut
him out, because Apollonius had a garrison
76] in Joppa: and they fought
against it. And they of the city were
afraid, and opened unto him: and Jonathan
77] became master of Joppa. And
Apollonius heard, and he gathered an
army of three thousand horse, and a great
host, and went to Azotus as though he
were on a journey, and therewithal drew
onward into the plain, because he had a
multitude of horse, and trusted therein.
78] And he pursued after him to Azotus,
79] and the armies joined battle.[75] And
Apollonius had left a thousand horse behind
80] them privily. And Jonathan
knew that there was an ambushment behind
him. And they compassed round his
army, and cast their darts at the people,
81] from morning until evening: but the
people stood still, as Jonathan commanded
them: and their horses were
82] wearied. And Simon drew forth his
host, and joined battle with the phalanx
(for the horsemen were spent), and they
were discomfited by him, and fled.

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[73] See ch. 11:27; *2 Macc.* 8:9. Compare ch. 2:18; ver. 16, &c.

[74] Circa B.C. 148.

[75] Most of the authorities here repeat *after him.*

83] And the horsemen were scattered in
the plain, and they fled to Azotus, and
entered into Beth-dagon, their idol's
84] temple, to save themselves. And
Jonathan burned Azotus, and the cities
round about it, and took their spoils;
and the temple of Dagon, and them that
85] fled into it, he burned with fire. And
they that had fallen by the sword, with
them that were burned, were about eight
86] thousand men. And from thence
Jonathan removed, and encamped against
Ascalon, and they of the city came forth
87] to meet him with great pomp. And
Jonathan, with them that were on his
side, returned unto Jerusalem, having
88] many spoils. And it came to pass,
when king Alexander heard these things,
89] he honoured Jonathan yet more; and
he sent unto him a buckle of gold, as the
use is to give to such as are of the
kindred of the kings: and he gave him
Ekron and all the coasts thereof for a
possession.

DEMETRIUS SUPPLANTS ALEXANDER WITH THE AID OF PTOLEMY, *1 Macc.* 11: 1–19

1 Macc. 11. And the king of Egypt
gathered together great forces, as the
sand which is by the sea shore, and many
ships, and sought to make himself
master to Alexander's kingdom by deceit,
2] and to add it to his own kingdom. And
he went forth into Syria with words of
peace, and they of the cities opened unto
him, and met him; for king Alexander's
commandment was that they should meet
him, because he was his father in law.
3] Now as he entered into the cities of
Ptolemais, he set his forces for a
4] garrison in each city. But when he came
near to Azotus, they shewed him the
temple of Dagon burned with fire, and
Azotus and the suburbs thereof pulled
down, and the bodies cast abroad, and
them that had been burned, whom he
burned in the war, for they had made
5] heaps of them in his way. And they
told the king what things Jonathan had
done, that they might cast blame on him:
6] and the king held his peace. And
Jonathan met the king with pomp at
Joppa, and they saluted one another, and
7] they slept there. And Jonathan went
with the king as far as the river that is
called Eleutherus, and returned to
8] Jerusalem. But king Ptolemy became
master of the cities upon the sea coast, unto
Seleucia which is by the sea, and he
devised evil devices concerning Alexander.
9] And he sent ambassadors unto king
Demetrius, saying, Come, let us make a
covenant with one another, and I will
give thee my daughter whom Alexander
hath, and thou shalt reign over thy
10] father's kingdom; for I have
repented that I gave my daughter unto
11] him, for he sought to slay me. And
he cast blame on him, because he coveted
12] his kingdom. And taking his daughter
from him, he gave her to Demetrius, and
was estranged from Alexander, and their
13] enmity was openly seen. And Ptolemy
entered into Antioch, and put on himself
the diadem of Asia; and he put two
diadems upon his head, the diadem of
14] Egypt and that of Asia. But King
Alexander was in Cilicia at that season,
because they of those parts were in
15] revolt. And Alexander heard of it, and
he came against him in war: and Ptolemy
led forth *his host,* and met him with a
strong force, and put him to flight.
16] And Alexander fled into Arabia, that
he might be sheltered there; but king
17] Ptolemy was exalted. And Zabdiel
the Arabian took off Alexander's head,
18] and sent it to Ptolemy. And king
Ptolemy died the third day after, and
they that were in his strongholds were
slain by them that were in the
19] strongholds. And Demetrius reigned in
[76] the hundred and threescore and seventh
year.

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[76] Circa B.C. 146.

DEMETRIUS II OFFERS JONATHAN FRIENDSHIP, *1 Macc.* 11:20–37

1 Macc. 11. 20] In those days Jonathan
gathered together them of Judæa,
to take the citadel that was at Jerusalem:
and he made many engines of war against
21] it. And certain that hated their own
nation, men that transgressed the law,
went unto the king, and reported to him
that Jonathan was besieging the citadel.
22] And he heard, and was angered; but
when he heard it, he set forth immediately,
and came to Ptolemais, and wrote
unto Jonathan, that he should not besiege
it, and that he should meet him and
speak with him at Ptolemais with all
23] speed. But when Jonathan heard this,
he commanded to besiege it *still:* and he
chose certain of the elders of Israel and
of the priests, and put himself in peril,
24] and taking silver and gold and raiment
and divers presents besides, went
to Ptolemais unto the king. And he
25] found favour in his sight. And certain
lawless men of them that were of
the nation made complaints against him,
26] and the king did unto him even as his
predecessors had done unto him, and exalted
him in the sight of all his [77] Friends,
27] and confirmed to him the high priesthood,
and all the other honours that he
had before, and gave him preeminence
28] among his [78] Chief Friends. And
Jonathan requested of the king, that he
would make Judæa free from tribute, and
the three [79] provinces, and the country of
Samaria; and promised him three hundred
29] talents. And the king consented,
and wrote letters unto Jonathan
concerning all these things after this
manner:

30] King Demetrius unto his brother
Jonathan, and unto the nation of the
31] Jews, greeting: The copy of the letter
which we wrote unto Lasthenes our
kinsman concerning you, we have written
also unto you, that ye may see it.
32] King Demetrius unto Lasthenes his
33] father, greeting: We have determined
to do good to the nation of the
Jews, who are our friends, and observe
what is just toward us, because of their
34] good will toward us. We have confirmed
therefore unto them the borders
of Judæa, and also the three governments
of Aphærema and Lydda and Ramathaim
(*these* were added unto Judæa
from the country of Samaria), and all
things appertaining unto them, for all
such as do sacrifice in Jerusalem, instead
of the king's dues which the king received
of them yearly aforetime from
the produce of the earth and the fruits
35] of trees. And as for the other things
that pertain unto us from henceforth, of
the tenths and the tolls that pertain unto
us, and the saltpits, and the crowns that
pertain unto us, all these we will bestow
36] upon them. And not one of these
things shall be annulled from this time
37] forth and for ever. Now therefore be
careful to make a copy of these things,
and let it be given unto Jonathan, and let
it be set up on the holy mount in a meet
and conspicuous place.

TRYPHON REVOLTS, *1 Macc.* 11:38–40

1 Macc. 11. 38] And king Demetrius
saw that the land was quiet before him,
and that no resistance was made to him,
and he sent away all his forces, each man
to his own place, except the foreign
forces, which he had raised from the
isles of the Gentiles: and all the forces
39] of his fathers hated him. Now Tryphon
was of those who aforetime had
been of Alexander's part, and he saw
that all the forces murmured against
Demetrius, and he went to Imalcue the
Arabian, who was nourishing up Antiochus
the young child of Alexander,
40] and pressed sore upon him that he
should deliver him unto him, that he

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[77] See ch. 2:18.
[78] See ch. 10:65.
[79] Gr. *top archies.*

might reign in his father's stead: and he told him all that Demetrius had done, and the hatred wherewith his forces hated him; and he abode there many days.

JEWISH SOLDIERS SAVE DEMETRIUS IN ANTIOCH, *1 Macc.* 11:41–53

1 Macc. 11. 41] And Jonathan sent
unto king Demetrius, that he should cast
out of Jerusalem them of the citadel, and
them that were in the strongholds; for
they fought against Israel continually.
42] And Demetrius sent unto Jonathan,
saying, I will not only do this for thee
and thy nation, but I will greatly honour
thee and thy nation, if I find fair occasion.
43] Now therefore thou shalt do
well, if thou send me men who shall
fight for me; for all my forces are revolted.
44] And Jonathan sent him three
thousand valiant men unto Antioch: and
they came to the king, and the king was
45] glad at their coming. And they of the
city gathered themselves together into
the midst of the city, to the number of
a hundred and twenty thousand men, and
they were minded to slay the king.
46] And the king fled into the court of
the palace, and they of the city seized the
passages of the city, and began to fight.
47] And the king called the Jews to help
him, and they were gathered together
unto him all at once, and they dispersed
themselves in the city, and slew that day
to the number of a hundred thousand.
48] And they set the city on fire, and gat
many spoils that day, and saved the king.
49] And they of the city saw that the
Jews had made themselves masters of the
city as they would, and they waxed faint
in their hearts, and they cried out to
the king with supplication, saying,
50] Give us thy right hand, and let the
Jews cease from fighting against us and
51] the city. And they cast away their
arms, and made peace; and the Jews
were glorified in the sight of the king,
and before all that were in his kingdom;
and they returned to Jerusalem,
52] having many spoils. And king
Demetrius sat on the throne of his kingdom,
and the land was quiet before him.
53] And he lied in all that he spake, and
estranged himself from Jonathan, and
recompensed him not according to the
benefits with which he had recompensed
him, and afflicted him exceedingly.

FURTHER CONQUESTS OF JONATHAN IN PHILISTIA AND GALILEE, *1 Macc.* 11:54–74

1 Macc. 11. 54] Now after this Tryphon
returned, and with him the young
child Antiochus; and he reigned, and
55] put on a diadem. And there were
gathered unto him all the forces which
Demetrius had sent away with disgrace,
and they fought against him, and he fled
56] and was put to the rout. And Tryphon
took the elephants, and became master
57] of Antioch. And the young Antiochus
wrote unto Jonathan, saying, I
confirm unto thee the high priesthood,
and appoint thee over the four governments,
and to be one of the king's
58] [80] Friends. And he sent unto him
golden vessels and furniture for the
table, and gave him leave to drink in
golden vessels, and to be clothed in
purple, and to have a golden buckle.
59] And his brother Simon he made captain
from the Ladder of Tyre unto the
60] borders of Egypt. And Jonathan
went forth, and took his journey beyond
the river and through the cities;
and all the forces of Syria gathered
themselves unto him for to be his confederates.
And he came to Ascalon, and
they of the city met him honourably.
61] And he departed thence to Gaza, and
they of Gaza shut him out; and he laid

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[80] See ch. 2:18.

siege unto it, and burned the suburbs thereof with fire, and spoiled them. 62] And they of Gaza made request unto Jonathan, and he gave them his right hand, and took the sons of their princes for hostages, and sent them away to Jerusalem; and he passed through the country as far as Damascus.

63] And Jonathan heard that Demetrius' princes were come to Kedesh, which is in Galilee, with a great host, purposing to remove him from his office; 64] and he went to meet them, but Simon his brother he left in the country. 65] And Simon encamped against Bethsura, and fought against it many days, 66] and shut it up: and they made request to him that he would give them his right hand, and he gave it to them; and he put them out from thence, and took possession of the city, and set a garrison over it. 67] And Jonathan and his army encamped at the water of Gennesareth, and early in the morning they gat them to the plain of Hazor. 68] And, behold, an army of strangers met him in the plain, and they laid an ambush for him in the mountains, but themselves met him face to face. 69] But they that lay in ambush rose out of their places, and joined battle; and all they that were of Jonathan's side fled: 70] not one of them was left, except Mattathias the son of Absalom, and Judas the son of Chalphi, captains of the forces. 71] And Jonathan rent his clothes, and put earth upon his head, and prayed. 72] And he turned again unto them in battle, and put them to the rout and they fled. 73] And they of his side that fled saw it, and returned unto him, and pursued with him unto Kedesh unto their camp, and they encamped there. 74] And there fell of the strangers on that day about three thousand men: and Jonathan returned to Jerusalem.

JONATHAN SEEKS FRIENDSHIP OF ROME AND SPARTA, *1 Macc.* 12:1–4

1 Macc. 12. And Jonathan saw that the time served him, and he chose men, and sent them to Rome, to confirm and renew the friendship that they had with them. 2] And to the Spartans, and to other places, he sent letters after the same manner. 3] And they went unto Rome, and entered into the senate house, and said, Jonathan the high priest, and the nation of the Jews, have sent us, to renew for them the friendship and the confederacy, as in former times. 4] And they gave them letters unto the men in every place, that they should bring them on their way to the land of Judah in peace.

JONATHAN AGAIN RESCUES DEMETRIUS, *1 Macc.* 12:24–34

1 Macc. 12. 24] And Jonathan heard that Demetrius' princes were returned to fight against him with a greater host than afore, 25] and he removed from Jerusalem, and met them in the country of Hamath; for he gave them no respite to set foot in his country. 26] And he sent spies into his camp, and they came again, and reported to him that they were appointed in such and such a way to fall upon them in the night season. 27] But so soon as the sun was down, Jonathan commanded his men to watch, and to be in arms, that all the night long they might be ready for battle: and he put forth sentinels round about the camp. 28] And the adversaries heard that Jonathan and his men were ready for battle, and they feared, and trembled in their hearts, and they kindled fires in their camp.[81] 29] But Jonathan and his men knew it not till the morning; for they saw the lights burning. 30] And Jonathan pursued after them, and overtook them not; for they were gone over the river Eleutherus. 31] And Jonathan turned aside to the Arabians, who are called Zabadæans, and smote them, and 32] took their spoils. And he set out from thence, and came to Damascus, and took his journey through all the coun-33] try. And Simon went forth, and took his journey as far as Ascalon, and the strongholds that were near unto it. And he turned aside to Joppa, and took pos-34] session of it; for he had heard that they were minded to deliver the stronghold unto the men of Demetrius; and he set a garrison there to keep it.

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[81] Some authorities add *and departed.*

JONATHAN STRENGTHENS HIS FORTIFICATIONS,
1 Macc. 12:35–38

1 Macc. 12. 35] And Jonathan returned, and called the elders of the people together; and he took counsel with them to build strongholds in Judæa, 36] and to make the walls of Jerusalem higher, and to raise a great mound between the citadel and the city, for to separate it from the city, that so it might be all alone, that men might neither buy 37] nor sell. And they were gathered together to build the city, and there fell down part of the wall of the brook that is on the east side, and he repaired that 38] which is called Chaphenatha. And Simon also built Adida in the [82] plain country, and made it strong, and set up gates and bars.

JONATHAN CAPTURED BY TRYPHON'S TREACHERY,
1 Macc. 12:39–53

1 Macc. 12. 39] And Tryphon sought to reign over Asia and to put on himself the diadem, and to stretch forth his hand 40] against Antiochus the king. And he was afraid lest haply Jonathan should not suffer him, and lest he should fight against him; and he sought a way how to take him, that he might destroy him. And he removed, and came to Bethshan. 41] And Jonathan came forth to meet him with forty thousand men chosen 42] for battle, and came to Bethshan. And Tryphon saw that he came with a great host, and he was afraid to stretch forth 43] his hand against him: and he received him honourably, and commended him unto all his [83] Friends, and gave him gifts, and commanded his forces to be obedient unto him, as unto himself. 44] And he said unto Jonathan, Why hast thou put all this people to trouble, seeing there is no war betwixt us? 45] And now send them away to their homes, but choose for thyself a few men who shall be with thee, and come thou with me to Ptolemais, and I will give it up to thee and the rest of the strongholds and the rest of the forces, and all the king's officers: and I will return and depart; for this is the cause of 46] my coming. And he put trust in him, and did even as he said, and sent away his forces, and they departed into the 47] land of Judah. But he reserved to himself three thousand men, of whom he left two thousand in Galilee, but one 48] thousand went with him. Now as soon as Jonathan entered into Ptolemais, they of Ptolemais shut the gates, and laid hands on him; and all them that came in with him they slew with the sword. 49] And Tryphon sent forces and horsemen into Galilee, and into the great plain, 50] to destroy all Jonathan's men. And they perceived that he was taken and had perished, and they that were with him; and they encouraged one another, and went on their way close together, pre-51] pared to fight. And they that followed upon them saw that they were ready to fight for their lives, and turned 52] back again. And they all came in peace into the land of Judah, and they mourned for Jonathan, and them that

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[82] Gr. *Sephela.*

[83] See ch. 2: 18.

were with him, and they were sore
afraid; and all Israel mourned with a
53] great mourning. And all the Gentiles
that were round about them sought
to destroy them utterly: for they said,
They have no ruler, nor any to help
them: now therefore let us fight against
them, and take away their memorial from
among men.

SIMON CHOSEN LEADER AND JONATHAN SLAIN, *1 Macc.* 13:1-34

1 Macc. 13. And Simon heard that
Tryphon had gathered together a mighty
host to come into the land of Judah, and
2] destroy it utterly. And he saw that
the people trembled and was in great
fear; and he went up to Jerusalem, and
3] gathered the people together; and
he encouraged them, and said unto them,
Ye yourselves know all the things that
I, and my brethren, and my father's
house, have done for the laws and the
sanctuary, and the battles and the distresses
4] which we have seen: by reason
hereof all my brethren have perished
for Israel's sake, and I am left
5] alone. And now be it far from me,
that I should spare mine own life in any
time of affliction; for I am not better
6] than my brethren. Howbeit I will
take vengeance for my nation, and for
the sanctuary, and for our wives and
children; because all the Gentiles are
gathered to destroy us of very hatred.
7] And the spirit of the people revived,
as soon as they heard these words.
8] And they answered with a loud voice,
saying, Thou art our leader instead of
9] Judas and Jonathan thy brother. Fight
thou our battles, and all that thou shalt
10] say unto us, that will we do. And he
gathered together all the men of war,
and made haste to finish the walls of
Jerusalem, and he fortified it round
11] about. And he sent Jonathan the son
of Absalom, and with him a great host,
to Joppa: and he cast out them that were
therein, and abode there in it.

12] And Tryphon removed from Ptolemais
with a mighty host to enter into
the land of Judah, and Jonathan was
13] with him in ward. But Simon encamped
at Adida, over against the plain.
14] And Tryphon knew that Simon was
risen up instead of his brother Jonathan,
and meant to join battle with him,
and he sent ambassadors unto him, saying,
15] It is for money which Jonathan
thy brother owed unto the king's treasure,
by reason of the offices which he had,
16] that we hold him fast. And now send
a hundred talents of silver, and two of
his sons for hostages, that when he is
set at liberty he may not revolt from us,
17] and we will set him at liberty. And
Simon knew that they spake unto him
deceitfully; and he sendeth the money
and the children, lest peradventure he
should procure to himself great hatred
18] of the people, and they should say,
Because I sent him not the money and
19] the children, he perished. And he
sent the children and the hundred talents.
And he dealt falsely, and did not set
20] Jonathan at liberty. And after this
Tryphon came to invade the land, and
destroy it, and he went round about by
the way that leadeth unto Adora: and
Simon and his army marched over
against him to every place, wheresoever
21] he went. Now they of the citadel sent
unto Tryphon ambassadors, hastening
him to come unto them through the
wilderness, and to send them victuals.
22] And Tryphon made ready all his
horse to come: and on that night there
fell a very great snow, and he came not
by reason of the snow. And he removed,
and came into the country of Gilead.
23] But when he came near to Bascama,
he slew Jonathan, and he was buried
24] there. And Tryphon returned, and
went away into his own land.

25] And Simon sent, and took the
bones of Jonathan his brother, and buried
him at Modin, the city of his fathers.
26] And all Israel made great lamentation
over him, and mourned for him
27] many days. And Simon built *a
monument* upon the sepulchre of his
father and his brethren, and raised it

aloft to the sight, with polished stone
28] behind and before. And he set up
seven pyramids, one over against another, for his father, and his mother,
29] and his four brethren. And for these
he made cunning devices, setting about them great pillars, and upon the pillars he fashioned [84] all manner of arms for a perpetual memory, and beside the [84] arms ships carved, that they should be seen
30] of all that sail on the sea. This is the
sepulchre which he made at Modin, *and*
31] *it is there* unto this day. Now Tryphon dealt deceitfully with the young king Antiochus, and slew him, and
32] reigned in his stead, and put on himself the diadem of Asia, and brought a
33] great calamity upon the land. And
Simon built the strongholds of Judæa, and fenced them about with high towers, and great walls, and gates, and bars; and he laid up victuals in the strongholds.
34] And Simon chose men, and sent to king Demetrius, to the end he should give the country an immunity, because all that Tryphon did was to plunder.

JEWISH INDEPENDENCE RECOGNIZED, *1 Macc.* 13:35–42

1 Macc. 13. 35] And King Demetrius sent unto him according to these words, and answered him, and wrote a letter unto him, after this manner:

36] King Demetrius unto Simon the high priest and [85] Friend of kings, and unto the elders and nation of the
37] Jews, greeting: The golden crown,
and the palm branch, which ye sent, we have received: and we are ready to make a [86] stedfast peace with you, yea, and to write unto our officers, to grant
38] immunities unto you. And whatsoever
things we confirmed unto you, they are confirmed; and the strongholds, which ye have builded, let them be your
39] own. As for any oversights and faults
committed unto this day, we forgive them, and the crown which ye owed us: and if there were any other toll exacted in Jerusalem, let it be exacted no longer.
40] And if there be any among you meet
to be enrolled in our court, let them be enrolled, and let there be peace betwixt us.

41] In [87] the hundred and seventieth year was the yoke of the heathen taken
42] away from Israel. And the people
began to write in their instruments and contracts, In the first year of Simon the great high priest and captain and leader of the Jews.

Thus after twenty-five years of struggle (168–143 B.C.) the Jews were once more an independent people—independent for the first time since the days of King Ahaz five hundred and ninety years before. No wonder that the spirit of the nation was deeply stirred.

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[84] Gr. *panoplies.*
[85] See ch. 2: 18.
[86] Gr. *great.*
[87] Circa B.C. 143.

CHAPTER XXIII

SIMON AND THE ASMONEANS

SIMON TAKES GAZARA (GEZER), *1 Macc.* 13:43–48

1 Macc. 13. 43] In those days he
[Simon] encamped against [1] Gazara, and
compassed it round about with armies;
and he made an engine of siege, and
brought it up to the city, and smote a
44] tower, and took it. And they that
were in the engine leaped forth into the
city; and there was a great uproar in
45] the city: and they of the city rent
their clothes, and went up on the walls
with their wives and children, and cried
with a loud voice, making request to
Simon to give them [2] his right hand.
46] And they said, Deal not with us
according to our wickedness, but according
47] to thy mercy. And Simon
was reconciled unto them, and did not
fight against them: and he put them out
of the city, and cleansed the houses
wherein the idols were, and so entered
into it with singing and giving praise.
48] And he put all uncleanness out of it,
and placed in it such men as would keep
the law, and made it stronger than it
was before, and built therein a dwelling
place for himself.

THE SYRIAN GARRISON AT LAST LEAVES THE CITADEL OF JERUSALEM, *1 Macc.* 13:49–53

1 Macc. 13. 49] But they of the citadel
in Jerusalem were hindered from going
forth, and from going into the country,
and from buying and selling; and they
hungered exceedingly, and a great number
of them perished through famine.
50] And they cried out to Simon, that he
should give them his right hand; and he
gave it to them: and he put them out
from thence, and he cleansed the citadel
51] from its pollutions. And he entered
into it on the three and twentieth day of
the second month, in [3] the hundred and
seventy and first year, with praise and
palm branches, and with harps, and with
cymbals, and with viols, and with hymns,
and with songs: because a great enemy
52] was destroyed out of Israel. And he
ordained that they should keep that day
every year with gladness. And the hill of
the temple that was by the citadel he
made stronger than before, and there he
53] dwelt, himself and his men. And
Simon saw that John his son was a
valiant man, and he made him leader of
all his forces: and he dwelt in Gazara.

THE LAND ENJOYS PEACE, *1 Macc.* 14:4–15

1 Macc. 14. 4] And the land had rest
all the days of Simon: and he sought the
good of his nation; and his authority and
his glory was well-pleasing to them all
5] his days. And amid all his glory he
took Joppa for a haven, and made it an
6] entrance for the isles of the sea; and
he enlarged the borders of his nation,
7] and gat possession of the country; and
he gathered together a great number of

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[1] See ver. 53 (compare ver. 48); ch. 14:7, 34; 15:28; 16:1; also Josephus. All the authorities read *Gaza* in this verse.

[2] Gr. *right hands.*

[3] Circa B.C. 142.

captives, and gat the dominion of Gazara,
and Bethsura, and the citadel, and he
took away from it its uncleannesses; and
8] there was none that resisted him. And
they tilled their land in peace, and the
land gave her increase, and the trees of
9] the plains their fruit. The ancient men
sat in the streets, they communed all of
them together of good things, and the
young men put on glorious and warlike
10] apparel. He provided victuals for the
cities, and furnished them with [4] all manner
of munition, until the name of his
glory was named unto the end of the
11] earth. He made peace in the land,
and Israel rejoiced with great joy:
12] and they sat each man under his
vine and his fig tree, and there was none
13] to make them afraid: and there
ceased in the land any that fought
against them: and the kings were discomfited
14] in those days. And he
strengthened all those of his people that
were brought low: the law he searched
out, and every lawless and wicked person
15] he took away. He glorified the
sanctuary, and the vessels of the temple
he multiplied.

FRIENDSHIP RENEWED WITH ROME AND SPARTA, *1 Macc.* 14:16–24

1 Macc. 14. 16] And it was heard at
Rome that Jonathan was dead, and even
unto Sparta, and they were exceeding
17] sorry. But as soon as they heard that
his brother Simon was made high priest
in his stead, and ruled the country, and
18] the cities therein, they wrote unto
him on tables of brass, to renew with
him the friendship and the confederacy
which they had confirmed with Judas and
19] Jonathan his brethren; and they were
read before the congregation at Jerusalem.
20] And this is the copy of the
letters which the Spartans sent:

The rulers of the Spartans, and the
city, unto Simon the high priest, and
unto the elders, and the priests, and the
residue of the people of the Jews, our
21] brethren, greeting: The Ambassadors
that were sent unto our people made
report to us of your glory and honour:
and we were glad for their coming,
22] and we did register the things that
were spoken by them in the [5] public
records after this manner: Numenius of
Antiochus, and Antipater son of Jason,
the Jews' ambassadors, came unto us to
renew the friendship they had with us.
23] And it pleased the people to entertain
the men honourably, and to put the
copy of their words in the [6] public records,
to the end that the people of the
Spartans might have a memorial thereof:
moreover they wrote a copy of these
things unto Simon the high priest.

SIMON AND HIS SONS MADE PRINCES AND HIGH PRIESTS FOREVER, *1 Macc.* 14:25–49

1 Macc. 14. 25] But when the people
heard these things, they said, What
thanks shall we give to Simon and his
26] sons? for he and his brethren and
the house of his father have made themselves
strong, and have chased away in
fight the enemies of Israel from them,
27] and confirmed liberty to [7] Israel. And
they wrote on tables of brass, and set
them upon pillars in mount Sion: and this
is the copy of the writing:

On the eighteenth day of Elul, in [8] the
hundred and seventy and second year,
and this is the third year of Simon the
28] high priest, [9] in Asaramel, in a great
congregation of priests and people and

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[4] Gr. *implements of munition.*
[5] Gr. *counsels of the people.*
[6] Gr. *books that are appointed for the people.*
[7] Gr. *him.*
[8] Circa B.C. 141.
[9] Perhaps a Hebrew title of Simon underlies these words.

princes of the nation, and of the elders
of the country, [10] was it notified unto us:
29] Forasmuch as oftentimes there have
been wars in the country, but Simon the
son of Mattathias, the son of the sons
of Joarib, and his brethren, put themselves
in jeopardy, and withstood the
enemies of their nation, that their sanctuary
and the law might be established, and
glorified their nation with great glory:
30] and Jonathan assembled their nation
together, and became their high priest,
31] and was gathered to his people: and
their enemies purposed to invade their
country, that they might destroy their
country utterly, and stretch forth their
32] hands against their sanctuary: then
rose up Simon, and fought for his nation,
and spent much of his own substance,
and armed the valiant men of his
33] nation, and gave them wages: and he
fortified the cities of Judæa, and Bethsura
that lieth upon the borders of
Judæa, where the arms of the enemies
were aforetime, and set there a garrison
34] of Jews: and he fortified Joppa
which is upon the sea, and Gazara which
is upon the borders of Azotus, wherein
the enemies dwelt aforetime, and placed
Jews there, and set therein all things
convenient for the reparation thereof:
35] and the people saw the [11] faith of
Simon, and the glory which he thought
to bring unto his nation, and they made
him their leader and high priest, because
he had done all these things, and for the
justice and the faith which he kept to
his nation, and for that he sought by all
36] means to exalt his people: and in his
days things prospered in his hands, so
that the Gentiles were taken away out
of their country, and they also that were
in the city of David, they that were in
Jerusalem, who had made themselves a
citadel, out of which they issued, and
polluted all things round about the
sanctuary, and did great hurt unto its
37] purity; and he placed Jews therein,
and fortified it for the safety of the
country and the city, and made high the
38] walls of Jerusalem: and king Demetrius
confirmed to him the high priesthood
according to these things, and made
39] him one of his [12] Friends, and hon-
40] oured him with great honour; for he
had heard say, that the Jews had been
called by the Romans friends and confederates
and brethren, and that they
had met the ambassadors of Simon
41] honourably; and that the Jews and
the priests were well pleased that Simon
should be their leader and high priest
for ever, until there should arise a faith-
42] ful prophet; and that he should be
captain over them, and should take
charge of the sanctuary, to set them
over their works, and over the country,
and over the arms, and over the strongholds;
and that he should take charge of
43] the sanctuary, and that he should be
obeyed by all, and that all instruments
in the country should be written in his
name, and that he should be clothed in
44] purple, and wear gold; and that it
should not be lawful for any of the
people or of the priests to set at nought
any of these things, or to gainsay the
words that he should speak, or to gather
an assembly in the country without him,
or to be clothed in purple, or wear a
45] buckle of gold; but whosoever should
do otherwise, or set at nought any of
these things, he should be liable to pun-
46] ishment. All the people consented to
ordain for Simon that he should do ac-
47] cording to these words; and Simon
accepted hereof, and consented to be high
priest, and to be captain and [13] governor
of the Jews and of the priests, and to be
protector of all.

48] And they commanded to put this
writing on tables of brass, and to set
them up within the precinct of the sanctu-
49] ary in a conspicuous place; and moreover
to put the copies thereof in the
treasury, to the end that Simon and his
sons might have them.

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[10] Gr. *he made known.*
[11] Some authorities read *acts.*
[12] See ch. 2: 18.
[13] Gr. *ethnarch.*

THE COMPLETION OF THE PSALTER

The wave of national and religious feeling which led to the elevation of Simon and his descendants to the highest offices produced also a revival in other directions. One of these was the revision of the Psalter and the addition to it of "books" four and five of the *Psalms*. These were completed, at least up to *Psalm* 136, and probably *Psalms* 137–150 were added before 130 B.C. The earlier collections were also revised and allusions to events of the Maccabean time were introduced into some of them, as *Psalms* 44, 74, and 79. Perhaps this revision and expansion of the Psalter was a part of that "glorification of the sanctuary" by Simon mentioned above (*1 Macc.* 14: 15). On account of long exposure to Hellenic influences, and perhaps also on account of the interruption of the service between 168 and 165 B.C., the musical notations employed in earlier "books" of the Psalter were no longer employed, and their meaning had been forgotten.

DEMETRIUS II GOES TO FIGHT PARTHIA, *1 Macc.* 14: 1–3

1 Macc. 14. And in [14] the hundred and seventy and second year king Demetrius gathered his forces together, and went into Media, to get him help, that he 2] might fight against Tryphon. And Arsaces, the king of Persia and Media, heard that Demetrius was come into his borders, and he sent one of his princes 3] to take him alive: and he went and smote the army of Demetrius, and took him, and brought him to Arsaces; and he put him in ward.

Although not stated in the first book of *Maccabees*, Demetrius was defeated and taken prisoner by the king of Parthia, who held him captive for ten years. When the Syrians thus found themselves kingless, they placed his brother on the throne, Antiochus of Side, who is known as Antiochus VII. He was a much abler man than his brother Demetrius. He took Cleopatra, the wife of Demetrius, who had first been the wife of Alexander Balas.

ANTIOCHUS MAKES WAR ON SIMON, *1 Macc.* 15: 1—16: 10

1 Macc. 15. And Antiochus son of Demetrius the king sent letters from the isles of the sea unto Simon the priest and [15] governor of the Jews, and to all 2] the nation; and the contents thereof were after this manner:

King Antiochus to Simon the chief priest and [15] governor, and to the na- 3] tion of the Jews, greeting: Forasmuch as certain pestilent fellows have made themselves masters of the kingdom of our fathers, but my purpose is to claim the kingdom, that I may restore it as it was before; and moreover I have raised a multitude of foreign soldiers, 4] and have prepared ships of war; moreover I am minded to land in the country, that I may punish them that have destroyed our country, and them that have made many cities in the kingdom deso- 5] late: Now therefore I confirm unto thee all the exactions which the kings

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[14] Circa B.C. 141.

[15] Gr. *ethnarch.*

that were before me remitted unto thee,
and whatsoever gifts besides they remitted
6] unto thee: and I give thee leave
to coin money for thy country with thine
7] own stamp, but that Jerusalem and
the sanctuary should be free: and all the
arms that thou hast prepared, and the
strongholds that thou hast built, which
thou hast in thy possession, let them remain
8] unto thee: and everything owing
to the king, and the things that shall be
owing to the king from henceforth and
for evermore, let them be remitted unto
9] thee: moreover, when we shall have
established our kingdom, we will glorify
thee and thy nation and the temple with
great glory, so that your glory shall be
made manifest in all the earth.

10] In [16] the hundred and seventy and
fourth year went Antiochus forth into
the land of his fathers; and all the
forces came together unto him, so that
there were few men with Tryphon.
11] And king Antiochus pursued him,
and [17] he came, as he fled, unto Dor,
12] which is by the sea: for he knew
that troubles were come upon him all at
once, and that his forces had forsaken
13] him. And Antiochus encamped
against Dor, and with him a hundred
and twenty thousand men of war, and
14] eight thousand horse. And he compassed
the city round about, and the
ships joined in the attack from the sea;
and he vexed the city by land and sea,
and suffered no man to go out or in.

15] And Numenius and his company
came from Rome, having letters to the
kings and to the countries, wherein were
written these things:

16] Lucius, consul of the Romans, unto
17] king Ptolemy, greeting: The Jews'
ambassadors came unto us as our friends
and confederates, to renew the old friendship
and confederacy, being sent from
Simon the high priest, and from the
18] people of the Jews: moreover they
brought a shield of gold of a thousand
19] pound. It pleased us therefore to
write unto the kings and unto the countries,
that they should not seek their
hurt, nor fight against them, and their
cities, and their country, nor be confederates
with such as fight against them.
20] Moreover it seemed good to us to
21] receive the shield of them. If therefore
any pestilent fellows have fled from
their country unto you, deliver them unto
Simon the high priest, that he may take
vengeance on them according to their
law.

22] And the same things wrote he to
Demetrius the king, and to Attalus, and
23] to Arathes, and to Arsaces, and unto
all the countries, and to [18] Sampsames,
and to the Spartans, and unto Delos, and
unto Myndos, and unto Sicyon, and unto
Caria, and unto Samos, and unto Pamphylia,
and unto Lycia, and unto Halicarnassus,
and unto Rhodes, and unto
Phaselis, and unto Cos, and unto Side,
and unto Aradus, and Gortyna, and
24] Cnidus, and Cyprus, and Cyrene. But
the copy hereof they wrote to Simon the
high priest.

25] But Antiochus the king encamped
against Dor the second day, bringing his
forces up to it continually, and making
engines of war, and he shut up Tryphon
26] from going in or out. And Simon
sent him two thousand chosen men to
fight on his side; and silver, and gold,
and instruments of war in abundance.
27] And he would not receive them, but
set at nought all the covenants which he
hade made with him aforetime, and was
28] estranged from him. And he sent
unto him Athenobius, one of his
[19] Friends, to commune with him, saying.

Ye hold possession of Joppa and
Gazara, and the citadel that is in Jerusalem,
29] cities of my kingdom. The
borders thereof ye have wasted, and
done great hurt in the land, and got the
dominion of many places in my kingdom.
30] Now therefore deliver up the cities
which ye have taken, and the tributes of
the places whereof ye have gotten dominion
31] without the borders of Judæa: or
else give me for them five hundred
talents of silver; and for the harm that

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[16] Circa B.C. 139.

[17] Or, *he came unto Dor, fleeing by the way which is by the sea.*

[18] Some authorities read *Sampsaces;* the Latin versions have *Lampsacus.*

[19] See ch. 2: 18.

ye have done, and the tributes of the
cities, other five hundred talents: or else
we will come and subdue you.
32] And Athenobius the king's
[19] Friend came to Jerusalem; and he saw
the glory of Simon, and the cupboard of
gold and silver vessels, and his great
attendance, and he was amazed; and he
reported to him the king's words.
33] And Simon answered, and said unto
him.

We have neither taken other men's
land, nor have we possession of that
which appertaineth to others, but of the
inheritance of our fathers; howbeit, it
was had in possession of our enemies
34] wrongfully for a certain time. But
we, having opportunity, hold fast the
35] inheritance of our fathers. But as
touching Joppa and Gazara, which thou
demandest, they did great harm among
the people, throughout our country, we
will give a hundred talents for them.

And he answered him not a word,
26] but returned in a rage to the king,
and reported unto him these words, and
the glory of Simon, and all that he had
seen: and the king was exceeding wroth.
37] But Tryphon embarked on board a
ship, and fled to Orthosia.

38] And the king appointed Cendebæus chief captain of the sea coast, and
gave him forces of foot and horse:
39] and he commanded him to encamp
before Judæa, and he commanded him
to build up Kidron, and to fortify the
gates, and that he should fight against the
people: but the king pursued Tryphon.
40] And Cendebæus came to Jamnia, and
began to provoke the people, and to
invade Judæa, and to take the people
41] captive, and to slay them. And he built
Kidron, and set horsemen there, and
forces of foot, to the end that issuing
out they might make outroads upon the
ways of Judæa, according as the king
commanded him.

16. And John went up from Gazara,
and told Simon his father what
2] Cendebæus was doing. And Simon called
his two eldest sons, Judas and John, and
said unto them, I and my brethren and
my father's house have fought the battles of Israel from our youth, even unto
this day; and things have prospered in
our hands, that we should deliver Israel
3] oftentimes. But now I am old, and ye
moreover, by *his* mercy, are of a sufficient age: be ye instead of me and my
brother, and go forth and fight for our
nation; but let the help which is from
4] heaven be with you. And he chose
out of the country twenty thousand men
of war and horsemen, and they went
against Cendebæus, and slept at Modin.
5] And rising up in the morning, they
went into the plain, and, behold, a great
host came to meet them, of footmen and
horsemen: and there was a brook betwixt
6] them. And he encamped over against
them, he and his people: and he saw that
the people were afraid to pass over the
brook, and he passed over first, and the
men saw him, and passed over after him.
7] And he divided the people, and *set*
the horsemen in the midst of the footmen: but the enemies' horsemen were
8] exceeding many. And they sounded with
the trumpets; and Cendebæus and his
army were put to the rout, and there
fell of them many wounded to death,
but they that were left fled to the
9] stronghold: at that time was Judas John's
brother wounded: but John pursued after
them, till he came unto Kidron, which
10] *Cendebæus* had built; and they fled
unto the towers that are in the fields of
Azotus; and he burned it with fire; and
there fell of them about two thousand
men. And he returned into Judæa in
peace.

SIMON ASSASSINATED, *1 Macc.* 16:11–24

1 Macc. 16. 11] And Ptolemy the son
of Abubus had been appointed captain for
the plain of Jericho, and he had much
12] silver and gold; for he was the high
13] priest's son in law. And his heart was
lifted up, and he was minded to make

himself master of the country, and he
took counsel deceitfully against Simon
and his sons, to make away with them.
14] Now Simon was visiting the cities
that were in the country, and taking care
for the good ordering of them; and he
went down to Jericho, himself and Mattathias
and Judas his sons in [20] the hundred
and seventy and seventh year, in
the eleventh month, the same is the month
15] Sebat: and the son of Abubus received
them deceitfully into the little
stronghold that is called Dok, which he
had built, and made them a great banquet,
16] and hid men there. And when
Simon and his sons had drunk freely,
Ptolemy and his men rose up, and took
their arms, and came in upon Simon into
the banqueting place, and slew him, and
his two sons, and certain of his servants.
17] And he committed a great iniquity,
and recompensed evil for good.
18] And Ptolemy wrote these things,
and sent to the king, that he should send
him forces to aid him, and should deliver
him their country and the cities.
19] And he sent others to Gazara to
make away with John: and unto the captains
of thousands he sent letters to
come unto him, that he might give them
20] silver and gold and gifts. And others
he sent to take possession of Jerusalem,
21] and the mount of the temple. And
one ran before to Gazara, and told John
that his father and brethren were perished,
and he hath sent to slay thee also.
22] And when he heard, he was sore
amazed; and he laid hands on the men
that came to destroy him, and slew them;
for he perceived that they were seeking
to destroy him.

23] And the rest of the acts of John,
and of his wars, and of his valiant deeds
which he did, and of the building of
the walls which he built, and of his doings,
24] behold, they are written in the
[21] chronicles of his high priesthood, from
the time that he was made high priest
after his father.

Thus ended the life of Simon, the last of the sons of Mattathias. As here recorded his son John, known as John Hyrcanus I succeeded him. John and his successors were called "The Simonites" (in Hebrew, *hassamoniya*). This name, when taken over into Greek, became Hasmonean, or Asmonean. By this designation the dynasty of John and his successors is known.

JOHN HYRCANUS I, 135–105 B.C.

John, who thus succeeded his father in 135 B.C., ruled for twenty years. His first task was to punish Ptolemy, the murderer of his father, who took refuge in a fortress near Jericho. Ptolemy, who was John's brother-in-law, had John's mother and some of his brothers in his possession, and, when John pressed him too hard, would bring them on the wall and torture them. For this reason John did not press his siege as otherwise he would have done, and Ptolemy escaped to the city of Philadelphia,[22] the Rabbah Ammon of David's time (the modern Amman), and found asylum there.

During the next year Antiochus VII overran all Judea and laid siege to Jerusalem.[23] After the siege had lasted for some time, John concluded

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[20] Circa B.C. 136.

[21] Gr. *book of days.*

[22] The city had been rebuilt by Ptolemy II (Philadelphus) of Egypt in the preceding century, and named for himself, Philadelphia.

[23] The source of our information about John Hyrcanus I is the *Antiquities* of Josephus, XIII, 8–10.

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a treaty with him. By this treaty John was compelled to pay Antiochus a heavy tribute, and to aid him in his military enterprises. In order to obtain the gold for his tribute, Josephus says that he opened the tomb of David and appropriated its treasure.

In 129 B.C. Antiochus determined to make an expedition into Parthia, not only to avenge the defeat of Demetrius, but to recover lost territory, for by this time Parthia had absorbed the kingdom of Bactria and other territory on the east to the border of India, and had robbed Antiochus' kingdom of Babylonia also. Hyrcanus was forced to furnish Jewish soldiers for this expedition and, according to Josephus, accompanied it himself. The campaign of Antiochus was, during the first season, most successful. In Babylonia, Media, and elsewhere the population arose in his favor and welcomed him as a deliverer. The Parthian king was reduced to straits; then winter came on, and Antiochus made the mistake of wintering in the country. It is one thing to welcome an invader as a deliverer, when he is quite unknown, but another to have him quarter soldiers in your home and compel you to feed them all winter. By the next spring Antiochus was as unpopular as he had been popular. The Parthian king, however, not knowing this, gave Demetrius, who had long been held captive for such an opportunity as this, an army and sent him to Syria to recover his throne. This would weaken Antiochus at his home base. Then the Parthian gave Antiochus battle, and easily defeated and killed him. He then regretted having set Demetrius free, but it was too late. Demetrius returned, secured the kingdom in 128 B.C., took back his wife Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy VII, and reigned for three years. Then Cleopatra herself, who had all her life been made a pawn in the political game, took a hand in politics herself. Disliking Demetrius, she placed her minor son on the throne, and, after Demetrius had been eliminated, became regent of the kingdom herself. This son of hers was Antiochus VIII, called "Grypos," or "the hook-nosed." The removal of Antiochus VII left the government of Syria in much weaker hands and gave John his opportunity. At times Grypos and another son of Cleopatra harassed him, but he was always able to maintain himself against them, and resumed his entire independence of Syria.

During this part of his reign John conquered and added to his territory Madeba and other cities east of the Dead Sea, Idumæa, which, it will be remembered, was now southern Judah, and Samaria. He compelled the Idumæans (Edomites) to be circumcised and to accept the Jewish religion on pain of being expelled from the country. He also conquered the territory of Samaria, taking the cities of Samaria and Shechem, though Samaria did not yield to him until after a year's siege. As his father had gained control of Gezer and Joppa and other cities in the Philistine plain, the territory controlled by the Jews was much greater than it had ever been since the Babylonian exile.

By the time of John the strict religionists among the Jews, who in the time of Judas Maccabæus had been called Hasideans, had come to be called Pharisees. How the name originated is in dispute; one theory is that it comes from a root that means "separate," and was adopted because they desired to be different and separate from Gentiles in all their ways. The wealthy and prosperous Jews, who were not averse to being on easy terms with Gentiles, while keeping the essentials of their religion, were called Sadducees. How this name originated is still more in dispute. John Hyrcanus, who was a very religious man, associated himself at first with the Pharisees, but later, when one of the most zealous of them cast suspicions on the honor of the high priest's mother, he was offended and from that time aligned himself with the Sadducees.

ARISTOBULUS I, 105–104 B.C.

John was succeeded by his son Aristobulus, who ruled but a year. He was of a jealous and suspicious disposition. He put his own mother to death, because his father had left her a part in the government, and imprisoned all his brothers, except Antigonus, of whom he was fond, and whom he made commander of the army. Later, however, calumniators so inflamed his jealousy that he had Antigonus put to death. He, first of all the Asmoneans, assumed the title of king. Simon and John Hyrcanus had been content to be called "Prince." In his short reign he won some victories in Ituræa, northeast of the Sea of Galilee, and compelled the people whom he conquered to accept Judaism. After a reign of but a year he sickened and died.

ALEXANDER JANNÆUS, 104–79 B.C.

Salome, the widow of Aristobulus, who also bore the Greek name Alexandra, on the death of her husband released her brothers-in-law from prison, and to Alexander Jannæus, the oldest of them, offered the throne and her hand, both of which he accepted. As soon as he had set in order his government, he set out upon a checkered and stormy career as a warrior. At this period the kingdom of Syria was powerless, being continually distracted by civil wars. There were always two and sometimes three contestants for its throne. Egypt was also torn with strife. While one young Ptolemy was nominally reigning in the valley of the Nile, the government being really in the hands of his mother, still another Cleopatra, another Ptolemy, whom his mother, this same Cleopatra, had driven from Egypt, was ruling in Cyprus and seeking opportunities to regain control of his native land. Across the Jordan the Nabathæan kings, first Aretas and then Orodes, were seeking to gain for themselves every advantage possible.

On Alexander's accession the Jews controlled all the cities along the

Mediterranean coast of Palestine except Ptolemias (Accho), Dor, Strato's Tower (afterward called Cæsarea), and Gaza. Alexander attempted to increase this number by besieging Ptolemias. When Alexander had met with success at Ptolemias, and besieged Gaza, its people appealed to Ptolemy Lathyrus ("the Chick Pea"), who held Cyprus. He came to their aid and not only compelled Alexander to raise the siege, but overran Galilee and even Judea. Alexander was saved from utter humiliation by Cleopatra's jealousy of her son. She made a league with Alexander, and thus strengthened, he returned and captured Gaza. The fear of Ptolemy being thus eliminated, Alexander next led his forces to the country beyond Jordan and east of the Sea of Galilee, and captured Gadara, Raphia, Amathus, and Amedon. This work took time; ten months were consumed in the siege of Gadara.

Meantime Alexander had become very unpopular with the stricter Jews, especially with the Pharisees. Once, when he had returned to Jerusalem and was officiating as high priest at the Feast of Tabernacles, the people pelted him with citrons. It seemed to many of them incongruous that the chief priest of their religion should be a worldly warrior.

The success which Alexander had gained east of the Sea of Galilee was turned a little later into a severe reverse. A brother of Ptolemy Lathyrus, named Demetrius, established himself in Damascus, from which he began to ravage Alexander's territory, won a victory over Alexander at Shechem so disastrous that Alexander fled to hiding. A force of six thousand Jews rallied to their king, but he would have been in an awkward position had Demetrius followed up his victory. Fortunately for him, Demetrius withdrew. This misfortune, in addition to Alexander's unpopularity with the Pharisees, precipitated a rebellion on the part of a portion of his subjects, but the king gradually overcame it, and put the leaders to death.

The troubles of Alexander were, however, not yet over. Demetrius after a little sickened and died, leaving no successor, after which one of the Syrian pretenders, bearing the name Antiochus, gained possession of Damascus and invaded Alexander's territory. Antiochus had beaten Alexander in battle and was haranguing his soldiers, when a chance shot killed him and his army fled. Aretas the Arabian (Nabathæan) king also invaded the Jewish domain and won a victory, but with him Alexander succeeded in making terms and the Arabian retired, after which Alexander proceeded with his subjugation of Dios and other trans-Jordanian towns.

Although the story of Alexander's wars as told by Josephus [24] reads like a series of defeats, yet, when he died, Judea held nearly all the important towns of the maritime plain from Gaza to Mount Carmel, the towns of Galilee, and the country east of the Jordan from Raphia to

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[24] *Antiquities,* XIII, 12–15.

Heshbon and Madeba. He and his father, John Hyrcanus, had once more brought under the sway of a Hebrew scepter nearly all the territory over which King David had ruled.

For three years before he died Alexander was suffering from his last illness, but in the intervals of ague he still led his soldiers. He left the government in the hands of his wife Alexandra.

ALEXANDRA, 79–69 B.C.

Alexander Jannæus had two sons, but, when he died, he advised his wife Alexandra to take the reins of government herself and to make her peace with the Pharisees and be controlled by their advice. He admitted that his opposition to them had been a mistake on his part. This Alexandra did, making her oldest son, John Hyrcanus II, a quiet sort of man who was indisposed to political activity, high priest. The Pharisees were delighted, helped Alexandra to give the body of her husband honorable burial, and told the people what a great king they had lost. The Pharisees wished to compel those who had been Alexander's instruments in punishing Jews who rebelled against him to pay the penalty with their lives, and Alexandra felt herself unable to resist them. This greatly incensed her younger son Aristobulus, who was a man of active, restless disposition, was exceedingly anxious to take a hand in politics, and chafed under the consideration that his father had left the government to a woman, although he had two sons quite able to conduct public affairs. In order to give Aristobulus an outlet for his energy, his mother sent him with an army against one of the Ptolemies who had set himself up in Damascus, but he returned without accomplishing anything.

During Alexandra's reign Tigranes, king of Armenia, taking advantage of the distraction in Syria produced by the rival aspirants to the throne of the Seleucidæ, invaded the country and held Antioch for four years. He besieged Ptolemais and threatened to attack Judea, but, as Ptolemais fell into his hands, news of troubles in Armenia caused him to return home, and Judea escaped.

As Alexandra, a woman now seventy-three years of age, lay ill with what proved to be her last sickness, Aristobulus secretly left Jerusalem and persuaded about half of the fortified cities in the realm to accept him for their leader, so that, when his mother died, the possession of these fortresses and the lack of political ambition on the part of his brother Hyrcanus gave him a controlling position.

JOHN HYRCANUS II AND ARISTOBULUS II, 69–63 B.C.

Many Jews rallied to the standard of Hyrcanus, as the high priest and rightful king, but the forces of Hyrcanus were defeated by those of

Aristobulus, and Hyrcanus took refuge in the temple fortress, where the wife and children of Aristobulus were confined, having been shut up by Alexandra's order before her death. Probably because Hyrcanus had these in his power, he succeeded in making terms with Aristobulus. It was agreed that Aristobulus should be king, and that Hyrcanus should retain the high-priesthood. The pact was ratified in the temple by giving the right hand and embracing in the presence of a vast throng. Aristobulus thereupon moved to the royal palace, and Hyrcanus occupied Aristobulus' former home.

Probably Hyrcanus would have been content to permit affairs to continue in this condition but for an ambitious friend of his named Antipater, an Idumæan. Antipater greatly disliked Aristobulus, and lost no opportunity of telling Hyrcanus of plots which he pretended Aristobulus was forming against him. At last he so worked on the mind of Hyrcanus that he was permitted to go to the court of Aretas, king of the Nabathæans at Petra, and arrange for Hyrcanus to take refuge there. Once there, Antipater worked both on Aretas and on Hyrcanus until he persuaded Aretas to try to place Hyrcanus on the throne of Judea, and Hyrcanus to promise, if he would do so, to restore to him certain cities which earlier Asmoneans had taken from him.

THE COMING OF THE ROMANS

The events which followed cannot be understood apart from a knowledge of certain events in Roman history. Rome's first participation in Asiatic affairs by the defeat of Antiochus III at Magnesia in 190 B.C., was recorded in a previous chapter. At that time Rome formed an alliance with the kings of Pergamos, the hereditary opponent of the Seleucidæ in western Asia Minor. As the kingdom of Syria weakened during the half-century after 190 B.C. the kings of Pergamos extended their territory. When in 133 B.C. Attalus III, the last king of Pergamos, died, he left his kingdom by will to the Roman republic. The Roman senate scarcely knew what to do with it, but, after debating the matter for three years, they finally organized the kingdom into the province of Asia, the first Roman province on Asiatic soil. The possession of this gave Rome an interest in maintaining the peace of the whole peninsula. It happened that in the year 66 B.C. Roman interests had been compromised by Mithridates, king of Pontus, and the Roman senate committed the command of the war that was to bring Mithridates to terms to Pompey, a general who, after many other important services, had, in the previous year, cleared the Mediterranean of pirates. Cicero supported the candidacy of Pompey for this command in an oration which many a schoolboy is compelled to read. Pompey brought Mithridates to terms in the year 66 B.C., and in the next year turned his attention to Syria, long distracted by continual civil strife fomented by rival aspirants for the throne. In the year 65 B.C. he terminated the empire that Seleucus had founded in 312 B.C., and organized its territory (which had dwindled to the country around Antioch) into a Roman province. Compelled the next year to make an expedition against Tigranes of Armenia, he sent Scaurus to take possession of Damascus.

It was just at this juncture that Aretas and Hyrcanus came with fifty thousand Nabathæan soldiers and attacked Aristobulus. They defeated him and besieged him in the temple, where he took refuge. The Nabathæan forces were greatly augmented by Jews who now deserted to the standard of Hyrcanus, but the temple, when its gates were closed, was a strong fortress and the siege was prolonged. At this juncture Scaurus came to Jerusalem to see what was going on, and both parties appealed to him for help, each offering him large sums of money. Aristobulus could offer cash, while Hyrcanus could only offer sums which he hoped to raise, so Scaurus accepted Aristobulus's cash, ordered Aretas to raise the siege, and declared him an enemy of the Romans. Thus relieved, Aristobulus raised an army, gave battle to Aretas, and defeated him.

The next spring Pompey himself came to Damascus and both Aristobulus and Hyrcanus sent ambassadors to him, each seeking to secure Pompey's aid in obtaining the kingdom. Antipater was the ambassador of Hyrcanus. After hearing their arguments, Pompey ordered them both to be quiet until he had made his expedition against the Nabathæans, when he would go to Judea and look into their affairs. As the Roman army started for the Arabian country, however, Aristobulus deserted and went to a fortress called Alexandrium on a hilltop in the Jordan valley about opposite the mouth of the Jabbok. Thereupon Pompey turned his army into Jewish territory, marched to the neighborhood of Alexandrium, and for days heard the arguments and counter-arguments of the representatives of the two brothers. At last, Aristobulus, apparently thinking that the decision would go against him, secretely escaped to Jerusalem and closed its gates. Pompey thereupon marched to Jerusalem and laid siege to it. The siege lasted from July to October, but the inevitable happened. Jerusalem fell into Pompey's hands; Aristobulus was taken to Rome to grace Pompey's triumph; Hyrcanus was confirmed in the high-priesthood; but Jewish independence was lost and has never been regained.

Thus after eighty years the independence won by the Maccabees was lost and Judea passed under the yoke of Rome.

At some time during the Persian or Greek period there grew up among the Jews a third sect of importance called the Essenes. They were even more desirous of keeping themselves holy than the Pharisees. They formed a celibate order and lived in monastic communities. Candidates for their order were compelled to undergo a novitiate. They practised a community of goods, cultivated the land, but would not engage in trade.

They prayed facing the rising sun, which has led to the suspicion that they had been influenced by Zoroastrianism. Some of them prided themselves on their ability to predict future events.

CHRONOLOGY

Simon,	143–135 B.C.	Alexandra,	79–69
John Hyrcanus I,	135–105	John Hyrcanus II	69–63
Aristobulus I,	105–104	Aristobulus II	
Alexander Jannæus,	104–79		

CHAPTER XXIV

ANTIPATER AND HEROD THE GREAT

FOR more than thirty years after Palestine became subject to Rome its fortunes reflected closely the changes in Roman politics. As this was the period of the triumvirates through which the republic was transformed into the empire, there were many changes. After Jerusalem was captured by Pompey, Hyrcanus was restored to the high-priesthood and Antipater became the dominant figure in political affairs. Scaurus was deputed to make war on the Nabathæans and, when provisions were scarce, Antipater supplied him. Finally Antipater, acting as envoy for Scaurus, persuaded Aretas to pay Rome a tribute and secure a cessation of the war.

A little later Alexander, a son of Aristobulus, collected an army and seized several fortified cities of the Jews. Gabinius was sent out by the Roman government, accompanied by Mark Antony. After reducing Alexander to great straits, Gabinius accepted his surrender and sent him to Rome. Gabinius arranged that the Jews should be governed by local councils of their own, of which he organized five: one at Jerusalem, another at Gadara east of the Jordan, a third at Amathus "above the Jordan," a fourth at Jericho, and a fifth at Sepphoris in Galilee. This left Jewish affairs practically in their own hands. A little later Aristobulus himself, escaping from Rome, entered the country again. Many Jews rallied to his standard. Gabinius gave him battle and defeated him, whereupon he fled to Machærus, east of the Dead Sea. Gabinius captured the place after a siege of two days, taking captive Aristobulus, who had received a number of wounds, and sending him to Rome again.

Later Alexander returned and tried a second time to seize the reins of government, and raised an army of thirty thousand men. Gabinius sent Antipater to reason with the rebels and to try peaceably to disperse them. When this proved impossible, he gave battle and crushed the rebels a second time. Gabinius, while in the country, rebuilt a number of cities which had previously been destroyed: Marissa (the Moresheth where the prophet Micah had lived), Samaria, Ashdod, Raphia, and Dor. Thus the years from 63 B.C. to 56 B.C. passed.

Before the date we have reached the First Triumvirate had been formed at Rome, consisting of Julius Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus. Cæsar and Pompey were generals, and Crassus was a millionaire. After a time Crassus insisted that he be given an opportunity to refill his coffers by having control of a part of the subject territory, and so was given control of a part of the East, including Palestine. He visited Jerusalem and stripped the temple of much of its gold. Thinking to play the warrior by invading Parthian territory, he was defeated and lost several Roman standards to the Parthians. He was followed by Cassius, who repelled a Parthian invasion of Syria, and made an expedition to Judea, reducing some seditious Jews in a town called Tarichæa, and selling (Josephus says[1]) thirty thousand of them into slavery.

As the years passed Cæsar and Pompey gradually became estranged. The Roman world was too small for two such men. Cæsar, thinking to weaken Pompey, whose influence was still paramount in the East, set Aristobulus free, gave him two legions of soldiers, and sent him back to become king of Judea. Before he reached it, however, Pompey's friends killed him by poison. Finally in the year 48 B.C. Cæsar destroyed Pompey's army at the battle of Pharsalus in Thessaly and Pompey fled to Egypt, hoping to find a refuge and aid from Ptolemy XIII (Auletes), whom he had formerly helped. Before Pompey reached Alexandria, however, his friend had passed away and his children Ptolemy XIV and Cleopatra (the seventh of the name and the most famous) were on Egypt's throne. Instead of receiving Pompey, they had him put to death.

UNDER JULIUS CÆSAR, 48–44 B.C.

After his victory over Pompey Julius Cæsar came around through Syria, taking possession of the country and proceeding on his way to Egypt. When he was halted at Gaza and delayed by the insufficiency of forces on which he could rely, Antipater joined him with a force of three thousand Jews and a large supply of provisions. He accompanied Cæsar on his Egyptian campaign, and he and his Jewish soldiers rendered his cause signal aid in some crucial battles. As a result Cæsar confirmed Hyrcanus in the high-priesthood and made Antipater procurator of Judea, although Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, did his best to prevent it by making severe accusations to Cæsar against Antipater. Antipater's estates were made free of taxes, he was permitted to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem which Pompey had broken down, and which had been in ruins for fifteen years, and to repair the fortifications of other cities. This Antipater proceeded to do with much energy. Cæsar also made a treaty with the Jews according them certain privileges, among which was freedom from paying tribute to Rome every seventh year—the Sabbatical year, when they did not sow their land.[2] Cæsar recognized in Antipater a man of sagacity on whom he could rely and allowed him a free hand in governing Jewish territory.

After Cæsar's departure, Antipater proceeded to organize his government by making his oldest son Phasælus governor of Jerusalem and the surrounding country and Herod governor of Galilee. Herod, although very young, here obtained his first political experience. The country was infested with robbers. He set himself to subdue and expel them and soon made property safe. He became very popular with his subjects, so many of whom praised him to Hyrcanus that the high priest became jealous of him. Herod became prosperous, and the prosperous are always envied. Jews, jealous of him, accused him to Hyrcanus of exercising royal power without warrant, because he had put criminals to death without the high priest's order. Finally Hyrcanus summoned Herod to Jerusalem for trial before the Sanhedrin. Herod came, but with a military escort—an escort not large enough to justify the suspicion of insubordination, but not so small as to fail to secure for him respectful treatment. Sextus Cæsar, a kinsman of Julius, who had been left in the East with general oversight of affairs, had noted Herod's efficient administration of the government of Galilee, and had become his friend. He sent Hyrcanus a warning that Herod must be acquitted, which was done. Although Herod withdrew, he was angered by the summons, and later came to Jerusalem with a considerable force to take vengeance on Hyrcanus, and was only dissuaded from carrying out his purpose by the persuasions of his father and brother. Before this threatening expedition had been made, Sextus Cæsar had extended Herod's jurisdiction to cover southern Syria and the region east of the Sea of Galilee. In March of the year 44 B.C. Julius Cæsar was assassinated and conditions changed.

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[1] *Wars of the Jews*, 1, 8: 9.

[2] See Josephus, *Antiquities*, XIV, 10.

UNDER CASSIUS, 44–42 B.C.

Upon the assassination of Cæsar there was for a time great confusion in Rome. Meantime those who had conspired to murder him, Brutus and Cassius, took possession of the East, Syria and Palestine falling to the share of Cassius. He came to Syria and took command of the army stationed there and levied heavy taxes in order to supply the sinews of war with the friends of the slain Cæsar—a war which he knew was sure to come. Antipater, knowing that it was politically necessary at all costs to retain the friendship of the Romans, apportioned the levy placed upon Judea, although it was very large, between different districts and cities, and directed that it be raised. Herod promptly raised the share assigned to Galilee—a hundred talents—and thereby won the favor of Cassius.

After Cassius had gone to Asia Minor and was engaged in the siege of Laodicea, Antipater was poisoned by a man named Malichus. Cassius, upon receiving word of this deed from Herod, directed him to put Malichus to death and sent word to Romans who were at Ptolemais to aid Herod in doing this. The murderer soon paid the penalty of his deed. Disorders soon followed in Jerusalem. Hyrcanus, who had no ability for political affairs, was always jealous of Antipater and his sons because of their political aptitude. He often listened to their enemies. Felix, a Roman commander who had been left at Jerusalem, attacked Phasælus, who was for a time in straits. Herod would have come to his aid, but at the moment was ill. Hyrcanus was apparently responsible for the attack. Eventually, however, Phasælus expelled Felix from the city.

To the disorder of this disturbed period another element was added by the return of Antigonus, son of Aristobulus. Antigonus had gained the friendship and help of Fabius, whom Cassius had left in command at Tyre. Herod managed to separate from Antigonus the Roman soldiers with whom Fabius had supplied him, dismissed them with presents, and then gave Antigonus battle and defeated him, expelling him from the country. Herod thereupon went to Jerusalem, where Hyrcanus and the people received him with great enthusiasm. A short time before he had arranged to marry Mariamne, a granddaughter of Hyrcanus; it was apparently, this, quite as much as his services to the state, which prompted the act of Hyrcanus.

Meantime there had been formed in Rome within a few months of the murder of Julius Cæsar the second triumvirate, consisting of Octavius Cæsar (afterward called Augustus), Mark Antony, and Lepidus. In the year 42 B.C. Octavius and Antony overcame Brutus and Cassius at the battle of Philippi, and proceeded to divide the Roman world between them. Octavius took Italy and the West, Antony, the East. In the settlement of affairs Antony went first to Bithynia, whither Jewish embassies went to accuse Herod and Phasælus, and ask their removal. Herod went thither also to answer his accusers and spoke so effectively with the substantial argument of money that Antony became his friend. Later, when Antony had moved southward to Ephesus, he was met by an embassy sent by Hyrcanus, presenting rich gifts and petitioning him to permit the return of those Jews whom Cassius had carried captive—a petition which Antony granted.

When Antony reached Sicily he was met by Cleopatra of Egypt. Six years before she had enmeshed Julius Cæsar in her toils, when he was in Egypt. She had accompanied Cæsar to Rome, and was there when he was murdered. Now she met Antony, who also became her slave. While at Tyre on his way to Egypt, Antony committed the government of Judæa to Herod and Phasælus, giving them, according to Josephus, the rank of tetrarchs. Antony remained in Egypt until about 40 B.C., when public affairs compelled him to return to Rome.

Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, had meantime made his way to Parthia and induced the king of that country to invade Syria and put him on the throne of Judea, promising abundant spoil and five hundred women. Our sources do not reveal the details of the first part of the campaign. When we can begin to discern the course of events, the Parthian army is in possession of Galilee and Herod is in Jerusalem with Phasælus and Hyrcanus. The Parthians sent a persuasive messenger to Jerusalem inviting Hyrcanus, Phasælus, and Herod to come to Galilee for a conference. Herod refused to go and tried to dissuade his brother from doing so, but oaths were sworn that safe conduct would be provided and their liberty guaranteed, and Hyrcanus and Phasælus went. Once there, they found themselves prisoners. Before moving on Jerusalem with their army, the Parthians especially wished to get possession of Herod also, and to that end sent other messengers, making all sorts of persuasive representations and promises. At the same time another messenger conveyed to Herod a message from Phasælus, telling him of the treachery the Parthians had practised on him and Hyrcanus. Having no army on which he could rely, Herod took his wives, mother and sister, Mariamne, whom he was about to marry, and her mother, together with the few armed men that he had, and set out by night to the south toward Idumæa. He was attacked by bands of Jews, but repulsed the attack with slaughter. When he got into Idumæa, many rallied to his standard, and he made his way to Masada, a fortress on an almost inaccessible mountain-top, which rises above the west shore of the Dead Sea. Here he left his wives and the other women with a garrison of eight hundred men to guard them, and he himself made his way to Melek, the Nabathæan king at Petra.

When they found that Herod had escaped them, the Parthians brought Antigonus and their captives to Jerusalem and made Antigonus king and high priest. Hyrcanus and Phasælus were to be tortured. As Hyrcanus was kneeling before his nephew Antigonus, to beseech him for mercy, Antigonus bit off his ears so that he could never again officiate as high priest, since the law forbade the exercise of that office by any one who had any physical defect. Phasælus is said to have committed suicide by butting his head against a wall, but Hyrcanus was carried a captive to Parthian territory. King Phraates afterward released him and he lived for a time among the "captivity" in Babylonia.

Meantime Herod sought aid of the Nabathæan king, whose father had been aided by Antipater, and to whom Antipater had entrusted a large sum of money that had never been repaid. When the Nabathæan refused to help him, he made his way to Egypt by an adventurous journey. At Alexandria, Cleopatra tried to detain him; but he pressed on, although it was autumn and the season for navigating the Mediterranean had nearly closed. Finding a ship bound for Pamphylia, he took passage. The ship was driven out of its course by a storm and wrecked, and Herod found himself cast by a narrow escape on the island of Rhodes. Here he had the good fortune to fall in with two old friends, and after helping the Rhodians in repairing the damage done to their city in the war with Brutus and Cassius, he and his friends built a three-decked vessel and in it succeeded in getting to Brundisium, the modern Brindisi, and made his way to Rome, where he told Antony what had happened in Palestine and implored his aid, asking that a grandson of Hyrcanus and a brother of Mariamne be made king. Octavius and Antony, thinking it better that the king of Judea should be a man who had proved his capacity for public affairs, persuaded the senate to declare Herod himself king. So after a stay of seven days in Rome Herod started back to Palestine a king, but with an enemy sitting on the throne of his country and with no army with which to dislodge him.

While these events had been in progress Antigonus was earnestly striving to reduce Masada by siege. At one time Herod's followers there were reduced to such straits for lack of water that Herod's brother Joseph, who was in command, contemplated trying to get away to Arabia, but a fortunate rain relieved them and they held out. The Romans also sent Ventidius into Palestine to drive out the Parthians and Antigonus, but the wily son of Aristobulus so corrupted Ventidius with money that he only made a feint of warfare against him. The same conditions continued with Silo whom Ventidius left in command when he departed.

Herod sailed from Italy to Ptolemais, went into Galilee, raised an army, and soon overran Galilee and Samaria. For various reasons many flocked to his standard. After taking Joppa, which was hostile to him, he went to Masada and relieved those who were shut up there. Then with the aid of the faithless Silo he besieged Jerusalem. Winter came on and Silo, who was bribed by Antigonus, thwarted all progress. So time dragged on. Antony went to punish the Parthians for their invasion of Roman territory, and after winning a victory, laid siege to the city of Samosata. Herod, placing his family in Samaria, and leaving his brother Joseph in command of his forces in Palestine, went with a strong force to Samosata to help Antony. While he was on this expedition his brother Joseph was killed. On the completion of the Parthian war, in which Herod greatly distinguished himself, Antony assigned two legions to aid Herod in the complete conquest of his kingdom, and when Sosius, a reliable man, had been put in command of these Herod and Sosius laid siege to Jerusalem, following the plan of campaign by which Pompey had reduced it twenty-six years before. While the siege was in progress Herod went to Samaria and consummated his marriage with Mariamne, to whom he had been engaged so long. Finally, after considerable damage had been done to the walls and the city, Jerusalem was captured in 37 B.C., and Antigonus taken prisoner and sent to Antony, whom Herod tried by large gifts to persuade to put him to death.

Thus disappeared the last scion of the Asmoneans to bear rule, and Herod, after many romantic vicissitudes, was seated on his throne.

THE REIGN OF HEROD THE GREAT, 37–34 B.C.

The reign of Herod falls naturally into three periods. The first of these (37–31 B.C.), the period when he was under Antony, was filled with hampering difficulties, owing to the ambitions of Cleopatra and the intrigues of Alexandra, Mariamne's mother. The second of them (30–14 B.C.) was the period of his energetic activity and of his great building enterprises. The third (14–4 B.C.) was the period of domestic tragedies.

UNDER ANTONY

When Herod established himself in Jerusalem he put to death the principal men who had supported Antigonus and placed in positions of power those who had been his partisans. The high-priesthood had to be filled, and the natural heir to it was a boy of fifteen named Aristobulus, brother of Herod's wife Mariamne and grandson of Hyrcanus. He was too young for the office, and for political reasons Herod hesitated to place a descendant of the Asmoneans in the high-priesthood, which was next in importance to the kingship, and which had for a century been combined with the monarchy. He accordingly brought from Babylonia a man of priestly family, who had become a friend of his, named Ananelus (Hananel) and made him high priest. This act greatly incensed Herod's mother-in-law Alexandra, who could not bear to have an obscure priest advanced to the dignity that by right belonged to her son. She accordingly appealed to Cleopatra to persuade Antony to compel Herod to make Aristobulus high priest.

Meantime John Hyrcanus II, who was living in Babylonia, desired to return to Jerusalem. The Babylonian Jews did their best to dissuade him, but Herod encouraged him to come, wishing to have him where he could watch any political intrigues, so he came. He could not hope to be high priest because of the mutilation of his ears; Herod, however, showed him all outward honor, placing him above himself at feasts, and calling him "father."

A messenger, Dellius, soon came into Judea from Antony and mildly expostulated with Herod for not having given the high-priesthood to Aristobulus. Herod justified his course to the satisfaction of Dellius, but, after he had gone, at the solicitation of Mariamne, promised to make Aristobulus high priest—a promise which he carried out after Hananel had held the office for a year. He was deposed and Aristobulus, a boy of sixteen, elevated to the office. He was a fine-looking youth. His mother and sister, Mariamne, were also very beautiful women. When Aristobulus became high priest, Alexandra apologized to Herod for her past conduct and a reconciliation took place. Herod, however, did not trust her, and while, to all outward appearance, he paid her every honor, he surrounded her with servants who were charged to report to him her every act and who practically made her a prisoner.

The deposition of Hananel from the high-priesthood displeased many Jews. They claimed that, until the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, no one who had exercised the office of high priest had been removed from it except by death, and that Herod by this exercise of arbitrary power was following in the footsteps of that wicked king.

Alexandra soon chafed under the conditions of her life. She found herself virtually a prisoner in the palace, so she again complained to Cleopatra, and tried with her son Aristobulus to get away to Egypt. They were to escape from Jerusalem in coffins. Herod caught them in the act, and his trust in them was not increased. The next autumn Aristobulus officiated as high priest at the Feast of Tabernacles, and he was so tall and handsome that the crowd was captivated and loudly acclaimed him. Herod could not forget that he was the heir of the Asmoneans and felt that, as long as he lived, his own throne was insecure. He accordingly arranged that a little later, when Herod and Aristobulus were bathing just at dusk in an artificial pool in the garden of Herod's palace at Jericho, some of the servants should playfully duck Aristobulus under the water and keep up the process until it should appear that he had been drowned by accident; and this was actually done. Herod appeared to be greatly shocked by the occurrence, gave Aristobulus a magnificent funeral, and established a period of mourning; but Alexandra and Mariamne were not deceived. Alexandra wrote an account of it to Cleopatra and besought her aid.

Cleopatra made Alexandra's cause her own and gave Antony no rest. Antony was at the time at Laodicea, and he summoned Herod to appear before him there and give an account of the deed. Herod did not dare to disobey and, although he went laden with valuable gifts for Antony, he fully realized that his own life might be forfeit. He left his uncle Joseph in charge of the government, ordering him, in case Antony should put him (Herod) to death, to put Mariamne also to death. Herod was madly in love with Mariamne, who was very beautiful, but it may be, as Josephus hints, that this order was given in part because Herod knew Antony's weakness and did not wish her to fall into his hands.

Joseph apparently undertook to discharge his duties with discretion. The nature of the charge Herod had laid upon him made it necessary for him frequently to see Mariamne and her mother, and they especially the mother, lost no opportunity to complain bitterly of Herod's treatment. Joseph in his effort to defend Herod and to show them how he loved Mariamne unwisely adduced as proof of Herod's love the order he had left that in case of his own death she was to follow him into the other world. Naturally to the women this seemed a proof of something besides love.

Herod justified his course to Antony, who thought it was hardly just to make a man a king and then punish him for exercising kingly power. He therefore treated Herod with the greatest kindness and sent him home with new honors. Just before the news of his coming reached Jerusalem, there came a rumor that he had been executed by Antony; but before Joseph could carry out the command left with him, or Mariamne and her mother could escape to the Romans, as they had planned, letters came from Herod, conveying the truth.

Upon Herod's return to Jerusalem his sister Salome informed him of the plan of Mariamne and her mother to flee, and also accused Mariamne of criminal intimacy with his uncle Joseph. Herod at once asked Mariamne about it, and she denied it on her oath. Herod was at last convinced and mollified and began protesting his love for her, when she intimated that, if he loved her really, he would not have left the order with his uncle that she should be executed in case of his own death. This threw Herod into a great rage. He declared that the fact of her knowledge of this was evidence that the accusations that she and Joseph had had improper relations were true. It was only his love for her that kept him from ordering her execution at once. He did order Joseph to be put to death without ever seeing him again. The seed of jealousy of Mariamne was thus planted in his mind and later bore sinister fruit.

In addition to difficulties arising from his Asmonean relatives by marriage Herod was confronted with difficulties fomented by Cleopatra. She was queen of Egypt, for while in name either a younger brother of hers or her son by Julius Cæsar was always king, she took care to exercise the actual power herself. She continually besought Antony to attach Judea and Arabia to her kingdom. Although Antony refused to give her Judea, he did grant her the region about Jericho, which yielded a balsam of which she was very fond, and also assigned to her the revenues from the Nabathæan kingdom of Arabia, compelling Herod to collect these for her. The Arabian king paid these promptly for two years, after which Herod was compelled to collect them by force.

When Antony had summoned Herod to Laodicea, he was preparing an expedition against Parthia. Herod had escorted him to the border of that country before returning to Jerusalem. While Antony was in Armenia Cleopatra made a difficult situation more difficult by visiting Judea. Herod met her and paid her every honor. She is said to have tried to enslave him as she had enslaved Julius Cæsar and Antony, but he was too shrewd to be caught. He was obliged to collect her revenues, however, and for that purpose to make war on the king of Arabia, over whom he gained a signal victory. At this juncture the country was visited by a severe earthquake. So affairs went until Octavius, whose sister Antony had divorced to live with Cleopatra, could abide Antony no longer, and a war between them broke out. The decisive conflict was fought at Actium in Cilicia in the year 31 B.C. When Antony and Cleopatra departed for Actium, they left Herod to push the war with the Nabathæans.

UNDER OCTAVIUS

The victory of Octavius at Actium placed Herod in a dangerous position. He had been a loyal supporter of Antony, though he had not actually fought at Actium. He recognized that Octavius had good cause for deposing him and putting him to death. This probability was also recognized by many of his subjects, among whom was Alexandra the mother of Mariamne. She thought the deposition of Herod might provide her family with another opportunity; and she importuned Hyrcanus, her easy-going father, to secure for them an asylum with the Nabathæan king, and an opportunity to fly to Nabathæan territory, so that, in the event of Herod's execution, they might be in a position to make the best use of the opportunity. The Arabian king was ready to help their plan, but the messenger betrayed the whole correspondence to Herod, who thereupon accused Hyrcanus to the Sanhedrin. He was tried, found guilty, and put to death. Herod then placed his mother and sister Salome and most of his family in the fortress of Masada and placed his brother Pheroras in command of it, but, because of the antipathy of his sister Salome to Alexandra and Mariamne he placed them in the fortress of Alexandrium in the Jordan valley and left a man named Sohemus in command of it. He left with Sohemus directions, in case of his death, to put Mariamne also to death, similar to those that he had given on a former occasion to Joseph. He then made his way to Rhodes to meet Octavius.

When he came into Cæsar's presence wearing no crown, he did not cringe like the other Orientals, but, while respectful, stood upright. He informed Cæsar that he had been a loyal friend to Antony, because Antony had been a friend to him; that he regarded such loyalty to benefactors as an obligation; that he made no excuse for it, but, now that Antony was beaten, if Cæsar would trust him, he would find that he would be in like manner loyal to him. The speech pleased Cæsar, who replaced Herod's crown on his head, and confirmed him in his kingdom with evidences of great friendliness.

Upon his return to Judea he hastened to Alexandrium to inform Mariamne of his good fortune, but she—a high-spirited woman—seemed anything but glad. When he again spoke of his great love for her, she asked if it were an evidence of love that he had left orders with Sohemus to put her to death in case he did not return. (She and her mother had persuaded Sohemus to break Herod's confidence in regard to this.) Herod was then furious and declared that Sohemus would never have confided this secret to her, if she had not been criminally intimate with him. As to Mariamne herself, he was so distracted that he could not make up his mind what to do. At one moment he would resolve on her death; at another, his love for her would reverse his decision. In the end, after much self-torture, he spared her for the time.

When he heard that Cæsar had taken Egypt and that Antony and Cleopatra were dead, he went to Egypt carrying rich gifts to Octavius. Cæsar on his part added to Herod's dominions regions over which he had not previously ruled—Hadara, Hippos, and Samaria, as well as the coast towns of Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and Strato's Tower.

Upon Herod's return to Jerusalem, the dissensions in his family increased. The high-tempered Mariamne openly expressed her contempt of his mother and sister, reproaching them with their low birth. One day, when Herod was resting and called for Mariamne, though she came to him, she refused to do his will, and an angry scene followed. While it was in progress and Herod was very angry, his sister Salome sent his cup-bearer in to say that Mariamne had persuaded him to give Herod a love potion, but that he did not know what it contained. Herod was so angry that he had Mariamne accused before the Sanhedrin, which, seeing that the king desired it, condemned her to death. She is said to have been a woman of such spirit that she passed through it all without betraying to the onlookers what she suffered. Too late, Herod repented. All his love for her returned and for a time he was nearly beside himself.

Soon after this the land was visited by an epidemic, of which many died. The king himself became desperately ill. Alexandra, Mariamne's mother, thinking the king would not recover, endeavored to persuade some of Herod's commanders to give her certain fortresses whose possession assured control of the kingdom. They betrayed her to Herod, who recovered and ordered Alexandra to be executed. At the same time the sons of a certain Babas, who had been friendly to Antigonus, and who were continually raising calumnies against Herod and fomenting trouble, were also put to death.

In addition to this, ten citizens of Jerusalem conspired to stir up people against Herod on account of the foreign practices which he had introduced and his non-observance of the Jewish law. Gymnasia and wrestling matches had been introduced, and a theater in which there were carved images. The king succeeded in calming most of these discontented folk by reason. In the same year he began rebuilding Samaria and Strato's Tower in a magnificent manner. At Samaria he built an imposing temple, surrounded the top of the hill with a colonnaded street, repaired the walls, adorning them with beautiful gates, and making it as beautiful as a Hellenic city. Similar works were undertaken at Strato's Tower. It took ten years to complete the work. Both towns were renamed in honor of Cæsar, who had now been granted the title "Augustus" by the Roman senate and had become Imperator, or Emperor. Samaria was named Sebaste (the Greek for "Augusta") and Strato's Tower was named Cæsarea. He also undertook the rebuilding of other cities. One of these was Gaba in Galilee, and another, Hesebonitis in Peræa, as the country east of the Jordan was now called.

He also began building for himself a magnificent palace in Jerusalem, on the site of the so-called "Tower of David" which is still by the Jaffa Gate in Jerusalem. Indeed the "Tower" is but the battered and oft rebuilt remains of the palace. The palace bore three towers, one of which was named for his brother Phasælus and one for the much-loved but ill-fated Mariamne. South of the palace were magnificent gardens.[3]

In Herod's thirteenth year Palestine was afflicted with a severe famine, and Herod took a large amount of treasure, stripping his own palace of ornaments to obtain it, and bought grain from Petronius, the proprætor of Egypt. He also remitted to the people a third of their taxes.

Soon after this there came to Jerusalem from Alexandria a priest of considerable note named Simon, who had a very beautiful daughter named Cleopatra. When Herod saw her, he desired to marry her (for years he had been a polygamist); but he considered it beneath him to marry a girl of so low a station in life. He accordingly removed from the high-priesthood a certain Joshua, who held the office at the time, and made Simon high priest. It was not beneath the dignity of the king to marry the daughter of a high priest, so the wedding was celebrated.

When the wedding was over, Herod built a new palace on a hilltop six or seven miles southeast of Bethlehem, near the spot where he had repulsed an attack made on him when a fugitive in the year 40 B.C. This palace he named the Herodium. The foundations of it remain to this day.

Mariamne had borne Herod five children. Two of these were sons who bore the characteristic Asmonean names of Alexander and Aristobulus. They were not Herod's oldest sons, but at this time he appears to have regarded these as the only ones of kingly rank. Probably this was because of their mother's royal rank. He arranged for them to live at Rome in the house of Pollio, but Augustus also made them welcome to stay in the imperial palace whenever they wished to do so. Augustus at this time granted Herod the privilege of naming as his successor whichever of his sons he should choose.

At this juncture Herod was accused to Cæsar by a certain Zenodorus, who had gained control of a principality to the south of Damascus, and, as its revenues did not satisfy him, he encouraged bands of robbers to plunder neighboring territory and shared their loot. When the plundered people complained to Varro, proconsul of Syria, he asked Herod to restore order in the region and put a stop to the robbery, which he did. When Zenodorus complained to Cæsar that Herod had cut off his revenues, Cæsar added to Herod's dominions Trachonitis, Batanea, and Auranitis.

In the eighteenth year of his reign, the year 20 B.C., Herod began rebuilding the temple. He had rebuilt and beautified cities in many parts of his kingdom; he had in many ways beautified Jerusalem itself, adorning it with his palace and beautiful gardens, but the temple remained as it had been rebuilt in the time of Zerubbabel five hundred years before. As compared with the examples of Hellenic architecture now visible in various parts of the country it was crude, dingy, and unworthy. Herod had difficulty in persuading the Jews to let him rebuild it, but he arranged to have all the materials cut and ready before the old structure was taken down, and trained Levites to ply the trades of masons and carpenters, so that no unconsecrated hand should touch it. On these conditions the people were glad to have it done. When all was in readiness the old building was taken down and the new one erected on the same lines, but with much more magnificence and adornment. The building was ready for occupancy in a year and six months. When it was done there was great rejoicing; the Jews were very proud of it. Work on the colonnades and terraces in the temple area went more slowly. Indeed these were not all completed until eighty years later.[4]

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[3] For a description of this palace, see Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, V, 4:3–4, and for a picture of its present appearance, G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., Fig. 256.

North of the temple on the site of the "Tower of Hananel" which Nehemiah had built, Herod erected a larger fortress which he named Antonia in memory of his friend Mark Antony. A secret passage for the king's use led from this "castle" to the temple.

About this time there was an epidemic of robbery in Jerusalem and Herod decreed that those convicted of house-breaking should be exiled from the country. This greatly incensed the stricter Jews. The Pentateuch, which they regarded as the revealed law of God, had laid down laws for dealing with theft (see *Lev.* 6 : 1 ff.), but nowhere does it expel a man from his country for such a deed. Herod was criticized for daring to set his authority against the law of God.

Soon Herod's sons Alexander and Aristobulus returned from Rome, and were received with honors. Salome and Pheroras, Herod's sister and brother, industriously circulated calumnies against them, saying among other things that they disliked their father's company on account of their mother's death. These slanders did something to poison Herod's mind against his sons, but at the time he provided suitable marriages for them, and outwardly things went on as usual.

The next year Marcus Agrippa, a son-in-law of Augustus and the general who had commanded Augustus's fleet at the battle of Actium, came to the East and Herod gave him an urgent invitation to visit Judea. Agrippa accepted, and Herod, after showing him the cities he was constructing, brought him to Jerusalem, where he entertained him lavishly. Agrippa enjoyed himself so much that he stayed until the approaching close of navigation for the winter compelled him to depart. Herod then accompanied him to the Bosporus, whither he was bound in the service of

[4] For a description of the temple as rebuilt by Herod, see Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, V, 5.

the emperor. In Ionia the Jews resident appealed to Herod to intercede with Agrippa.

The slanders which his relations had directed against the sons of Mariamne had had their effect, and Herod determined to show them that he had other sons who might succeed him. His oldest son, a boy born of a lowly mother before Herod became king, was named Antipater. Herod now brought him to court and let all know that he favored him; then he sent him to Rome to reside awhile as the sons of Mariamne had done. Antipater understood from these facts that there was a possibility that he might succeed his father, and, to make the matter sure, he industriously collected in Rome all the stories against his brothers that he could and sent them to Herod. He also intimated that they were plotting Herod's death, in order that they might seize the kingdom. Herod's suspicions were at last so aroused that he took Alexander and Aristobulus to Rome and accused them to Augustus of plotting his death. There was no real evidence, and the sons denied it. Augustus, who knew them, did not believe it, and he persuaded Herod to be reconciled to them.

In his twenty-eighth year the rebuilding of Cæsarea and Sebaste were completed, and they were dedicated by great festivals, games, single combats, and horse-races. He sent lavish presents to Augustus and Agrippa, and it is said that they declared Herod's dominions too small for his soul, and that he ought to have added to them both Syria and Egypt.

His lavish expenditures had exhausted Herod's funds, and he remembered that Hyrcanus had opened the sepulcher of David and taken from it quantities of silver, and it was rumored that there was much more there. With a few of his friends he had the tomb opened again by night and went into it himself, but found no silver. If there had been any, Hyrcanus had taken it. Herod is said to have found some golden furniture which he removed. As two of the party approached the bodies of David and Solomon they were killed by an explosion of gases. This greatly frightened them all, including Herod himself. The cause of the flames was not understood, and they were regarded as a divine punishment. Herod closed the tomb and set up a white stone at its mouth.

FAMILY TROUBLES

A little after this Antipater returned from Rome and omitted no opportunity to arouse his father's suspicions against the sons of Mariamne. Herod's brother Pheroras and his sister Salome were equally zealous. Bernice, the wife of Aristobulus, was her daughter, and Salome wormed from her every bit of private conversation that she could and turned it into slanders against Alexander and Aristobulus. This part of Josephus's *Antiquities* is filled with unedifying gossip which it would be a waste of time to repeat. Herod was driven almost distracted by it. Some of it incriminated Herod himself, and he was so disgusted by it that he banished both Pheroras and Salome from his court. At last the calumnies so worked upon the distracted man that he had Alexander and Aristobulus seized and bound. Alexander's wife was the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, who hastened to Jerusalem fearing for her safety. Seeing Herod's state of mind, Archelaus sympathized with him instead of reproving him, and at last skilfully reconciled him to his sons.

At this juncture there developed a serious political situation. Trachonitis had been given to Herod, as noted above, so that he might suppress the robbers by which it was infested. Obedas, king of Arabia, was a weak man who had permitted his royal power to be exercised by a certain Sylleus, who a little before had desired to marry Herod's sister Salome. She had scandalized the Jews some years before by divorcing her husband. A man might divorce his wife, but the law did not grant a woman a similar privilege. Herod told Sylleus that he had no objection to the marriage, if Sylleus would adopt the Jewish religion; but this the latter refused to do. Now that he exercised among the Nabathæans the power of the king, Sylleus encouraged robbers to infest Trachonitis and gave them shelter in Nabathæan territory. When Herod demanded that they be given up, he refused. Herod then took an army, marched to the fortress where they were protected, demolished it, and killed the robbers. When attacked by a band of Arabs, he defended himself, but was careful to do no harm in Nabathæan territory. Sylleus sent a distorted account of this to Augustus, accusing Herod of making an unprovoked attack upon Arabian territory. Augustus was angry and simply asked Herod's friends whether such an attack had been made. They could only admit that it had been. Whereupon Augustus wrote to Herod that, "whereas of old he had treated him as a friend, he would now treat him as a servant." When Herod sent letters of explanation, they were sent back unopened. Herod was in great perplexity and sent Nicolaus of Damascus to Rome to try to effect a reconciliation with the emperor.

Just at this juncture Herod's suspicions against the sons of Mariamne were aroused afresh. A former member of the king's body-guard who had fallen into some disfavor and had been removed from immediate attendance on the king's person was sometimes seen in Alexander's company. It was also reported to Herod that his sons were trying to get possession of the fortress of Alexandrium. This guardsman and the commander of Alexandrium were accordingly seized and tortured. At first they professed to know nothing, but when the torture became intense a writing was produced, which was guessed to be in Alexander's hand, and which read: "When we have finished, by God's help, all that we have proposed to do, we will come to you; but do you endeavor, as you have promised, to receive us into your fortress." Alexander denied its author-ship; he said a scribe had imitated his writing and that Antipater was the author of the paper. Herod laid the evidence before the people of Jericho, who clamored for the opportunity to stone Alexander and Aristobulus. Herod, however, restrained them. Then Melas, an ambassador of Archelaus of Cappadocia, arrived and Alexander was questioned before him. He confessed that they had hoped to get away to Archelaus in Cappadocia and by him to be sent to Rome. Herod upon this dispatched other messengers to Rome with letters of accusation against his sons, directing that the letters should be given to Nicolaus of Damascus to be presented to the emperor, if he succeeded in regaining the emperor's favor for Herod in the matter of the invasion of Arabian territory. Fortunately ambassadors were there from Aretas (the fourth of that name), heir to the Arabian throne, accusing Sylleus of usurping the authority of Obedas and of depriving him (Aretas) of his kingdom, Nicolaus shrewdly supported Aretas' cause, bringing in Herod's invasion incidentally as something authorized by the emperor's own officers for the punishment of a wicked man, and Augustus was entirely convinced. Then Nicolaus presented the letters accusing Herod's sons, and the emperor said that if they had conspired against their father they should be punished, and directed Herod to assemble a board of judges at Berytus (the modern Beirut) to try them. He suggested that the judges should be men of rank and that Archelaus of Cappadocia should be one of them.

Herod, when thus granted permission by Cæsar, had the court constituted, but was careful not to invite Archelaus to be a member of the board of judges. Now that he had the emperor's permission, all his former forbearance vanished. He himself appeared before the board and accused his sons so vehemently that the young men were given no hearing and no witnesses in their behalf were called. Alexander and Aristobulus were condemned to die. The whole proceeding shocked public opinion, and one man, Tero by name, expostulated with the king, only to lose his own life. Mariamne's sons were taken to Sebaste and strangled. This occurred in the year 8 B.C., four years before Herod's own death.

After the execution of his sons, Herod endeavored to provide for their children and by his solicitation for them seemed to betray some remorse for having accomplished the ruin of their fathers. He endeavored to arrange marriages for them, when they should come of age, but his plans did not suit Antipater, who induced him to change them.

Herod's last important political act was the founding of a Jewish city in Trachonitis. Hearing that Zamaris, a Babylonian Jew, had come into Syria with a hundred of his kinsfolk and five hundred horsemen, he offered him land in Trachonitis free of taxes, if he would build a city there to be inhabited by Jews and would keep the robbers in order. Zamaris accepted and the city was called Bathyra.

Antipater and Herod's brother Pheroras continued their plotting. They were trying to evolve schemes for accomplishing Herod's death. Salome and others reported the plots to Herod, but he had heard so many calumnies from them that he was skeptical. Antipater, however, took alarm and wrote to his friends in Rome to persuade Cæsar to send for him to come to Rome. This they did, and Herod permitted him to go, sending rich presents to Cæsar and also a copy of his will, in which he left the kingdom to Antipater, and in case of his death before Herod's, to Philip, son of Cleopatra, the daughter of the high priest, Simon.

After Antipater had gone, the wife of Herod's brother Pheroras was accused of attempting to poison her husband. Under torture the fact was disclosed that the poison had been prepared by Antipater for his father. Antipater, not knowing of this, wrote his father that he had completed the business which had called him to Rome and asked permission to come home. This was, of course, granted. When he arrived he was accused by Nicholaus of Damascus of attempting to poison his father, and was condemned to death, not only by Herod, but by Quintilius Varus, who had come out to succeed Saturninus in the proconsulship of Syria and was in Jerusalem. Herod did not, however, dare to carry out the sentence until he had the permission of the emperor. He accordingly sent the whole evidence to Cæsar and asked him to confirm the sentence.

Herod was now attacked by an intestinal disease of which he slowly died. He made a new will, leaving the kingdom to Antipas, one of the sons of his Samaritan wife (Herod had nine wives besides Mariamne). This he did because Antipas had poisoned his mind against Philip and Archelaus. During his prolonged sickness, when it was known that he could not recover, some of the ardent Pharisees, of whom there were about six thousand at the time, stirred up the people, denouncing Herod for introducing customs contrary to the law. Forty young men were so stirred that they cut down a golden eagle with which the temple had been adorned. When brought before Herod and asked by what authority they had done it, they said by the authority of their law. Herod ordered them to be burned alive.

His suffering from his disease was terrible; at one time he tried to take his own life. At last letters came from Cæsar condemning Antipater, and leaving his fate, whether death or banishment, in Herod's hands. At Herod's command he was put to death.

Again Herod altered his will. He left the kingdom to Archelaus, made Antipas tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea, and Philip tetrarch of Gaulonitis, Trachonitis, and Panias. He left a present for each of his officers and soldiers, and, calling to him Salome and her husband (she had now married a certain Alexas) he told them that he knew that he was not liked, but there should be mourning in the kingdom when he died. He then directed them to shut up in the Hippodrome the principal men of every village in the country and order them to be put to death, when he died. He passed away five days after the execution of Antipater. After his death Salome and Alexas released the principal men, saying the king had changed his mind. His death occurred in March of the year 4 B.C.

Thus passed away one of the most enigmatical characters of history—a man of great ability and daring, often noble and generous, but at other times barbarous, cruel, and ruthless in the extreme.

Before he died, probably in the same year that his sons Alexander and Aristobulus suffered their unjust fate,[5] a child was born in Herod's dominions, who is now more widely known, loved, honored, and revered than any other person who has ever lived. But for him, we should not take a tenth of the interest in Herod that we do. The child's name was Jesus; he is the Christ.

During the reign of Herod the Great an important educational step was taken: two schools for the study and interpretation of the law were established in Jerusalem. At the head of one of them was Hillel, a man who had come from Babylonia, where the law was assiduously studied; at the head of the other Shammai. The Pharisees were exceedingly anxious to keep the law, but it was not always easy to know when one was doing it. The law concerning the Sabbath said, "in it thou shalt do no work," but people had to eat and it was impossible to eat without some work. What work, then, could one do on the Sabbath without violating the law? In the schools of Hillel and Shammai these questions were discussed and the opinions of important Jews cited. These opinions were not written down; that would have seemed to put them on an equality with the law; the teacher would repeat them over and over, the pupils saying them after him, until they were memorized. The Hebrew word for "repeat" is *shanah;* the word for "repetition," *mishnah.* Two hundred and fifty years later the body of traditions begun by Hillel and Shammai was written down and constitute the Jewish *Mishna.* In the New Testament these opinions are called "traditions."

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[5] On the evidence for the date, see G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible,* 5th ed., Part II, ch. XXIX.

CHAPTER XXV

TETRARCHS AND PROCURATORS

ARCHELAUS, who had been designated in Herod's will as his successor, took charge of affairs, and gave Herod a magnificent funeral, burying his father's body at Herodium as Herod had directed. Then there followed a period of mourning for seven days. When this was over Archelaus made an address to the people from a throne placed on an elevated dais, in which he promised, if Cæsar confirmed his appointment as king, to give them a just administration and some relief from their burdens.

The friends of those who had been executed for cutting down the golden eagle excited their friends to demand that those who had executed these men should be put to death, and that the special friends of Herod should be similarly punished. This Archelaus naturally refused to do, and the result was a clamoring mob of discontented people. Archelaus dispersed the mob by the use of soldiers, but tried to avoid bloodshed. This did not prove possible, and three thousand fell. He then prepared to go to Rome to ask Augustus to confirm Herod's will and give him the kingdom. He left his family as well as public affairs in charge of his half-brother, Philip. Herod's sister Salome, together with many others, accompanied him to Rome. At the same time his brother Antipas, to whom the kingdom had been given in Herod's second will (the will which left it to Archelaus was the third), also went to Rome to try to persuade Cæsar to give the kingdom to him. At Cæsarea, Archelaus met Sabinus, Cæsar's steward for Syrian affairs, who had come out to look after Rome's financial interests, and Varus, proconsul of Syria. Sabinus was inclined to demand at once a strict accounting, but Varus persuaded him to deal leniently with Archelaus, who went on to Rome. Antipas and Archelaus each employed skilled advocates to press their claims. Archelaus had in his favor the fact that he had been bequeathed the kingdom in Herod's last testament, but among his opponents was his aunt Salome, and such strong reasons against him were presented that Augustus hesitated and deferred his decision.

Meantime Sabinus found himself in difficulties in Jerusalem. At the feast of Pentecost an excited mob made up of all sorts of people, incensed at his conduct, attacked his soldiery, drove them into Herod's palace and besieged it. He appealed to Varus at Antioch for help, but it took two weeks for the help to come and all this time he was shut up in the palace. At the same time disorders broke out in different parts of the country. In Galilee a man named Judas, son of a leader of a band of robbers, attacked the palace at Sepphoris, seized all the treasure and arms he could find, armed his followers, and spread terror through that part of the country. A former slave of Herod named Simon looted and burned down the royal palace at Jericho and set fire to other royal palaces wherever he could. Judæa was also infested with bands of armed robbers. Varus came with an army as soon as he could and quieted the disorders, crucifying two thousand of the most seditious persons. His own army, however, caught the spirit of plunder and he had to send it away.

In consequence of these disorders the Jews sent an embassage to Rome to protest against allowing Archelaus to succed his father. Augustus finally confirmed the will of Herod, assigning to Archelaus, Antipas, and Philip the territories left them by Herod's will, but he refused to give Archelaus the title of king, bestowing on him, as on Antipas and Philip, the rank of tetrarch, with the understanding that his appointment was in the nature of an experiment and might be terminated, if his government was not satisfactory.

Archelaus, upon returning to Judæa, accused the high priest Joazer of participating in the seditions, deposed him, and appointed his brother Eleazar in his place. He rebuilt the palace at Jericho in splendid fashion, and diverted from the village of Nerea half its water to irrigate a palm orchard he had planted. He married Glaphyra, the widow of the ill-fated Alexander—an act which alienated from him the sympathy of many Jews, since it was contrary to the law of *Leviticus* 18:16, a brother's widow counting as a real sister. Archelaus held the government for ten years. As time passed he forgot the conditions which Cæsar had imposed upon him and treated not only his subjects but his own kinsfolk with insolent tyranny. Finally they joined in lodging with Augustus a complaint against him, and Augustus sent Archelaus' own steward, who was at Rome, to Judæa to summon his master to the imperial presence. After hearing the charges and the defense, he banished Archelaus to Vienna in southern Gaul, the modern Vienne, south of Lyons in France. Judea was placed under Roman procurators.

QUIRINIUS AND THE CENSUS OF A.D. 6

Quirinius, a Roman of rank who had been consul, was sent out to Judæa to settle the affairs of Archelaus, restore order in the country, and superintend the census. At the same time Coponius was sent as procurator. Early in his reign (how early is in dispute) Augustus had instituted the taking of a census throughout his empire every fourteen years. It was a statesmanlike measure, the census serving as a basis both for taxation and for drafting recruits into the army. In Judæa the Jews were inclined to resist the taking of the census, but were dissuaded from doing so by

Joazer, who had been high priest. In Gaulonitis, east of the Sea of Galilee, a certain Judas, spurred on by a Pharisee, offered resistance which led to bloodshed. It has been inferred by some scholars from this fact that this was the first census of the Roman government that had ever been taken. The Gospel of *St. Luke,* however (ch. 2:2), refers to the census in connection with the birth of Jesus as the "first enrolment made when Quirinius was governor of Syria," and the discovery in recent years of inscriptions bearing on the matter tends to confirm St. Luke's statement.[1] The first census fell in the year 9–8 B.C., while Herod was at the height of his power, and under his vigorous government it probably passed off peaceably. Probably it was for this reason that Josephus does not mention it. In the year 6 A.D. conditions were different, and the fact that there was resistance then is no proof that no census had been taken before.

The other principal event of the administration of Coponius known to us was the entrance of some Samaritans into the courts of the temple at Jerusalem who scattered the bones of dead men about, thus defiling the place. The result was that thereafter Samaritans were prohibited from entering the place—a ban that had not been previously placed on them.

In 9 A.D. Coponius was replaced by Ambivius, who held office until 11 A.D. While he was procurator Salome, Herod's sister, died and left her estates to Julia, the adopted daughter of Augustus. From 12 to 15 A.D. the procurator was Annius Rufus. In the year 14 A.D. Augustus died after a reign of forty-one years as emperor and after having been a dominating power in Roman affairs for fifty-seven years and six months.

Augustus had allowed his procurators but short terms of office. This Tiberius, the next emperor, changed. The next procurator, Valerius Gratus, held office from 15 to 25 A.D. When he came to Jerusalem Annas was high priest, having been promoted to that office by Quirinius. He is the Annas mentioned in *John* 18:13. Annas was inclined to make all the money he could from his office and was not altogether scrupulous as to how he did it. Gratus deposed him from the priesthood and appointed in his place a certain Ishmael, son of Phabi. A little later he deposed the latter, replacing him by Eleazar son of Annas. In the year 26 A.D. Valerius Gratus was replaced by Pontius Pilate.

ANTIPAS AND PHILIP

The procurators ruled only Judea and Samaria: Antipas and Philip had promptly taken possession of the territories left them by Herod's will, Antipas ruling Galilee and Peræa and Philip Ituræa, Trachonitis, and Panias. Following the example of their father, they engaged in city-building. Antipas rebuilt and fortified Sepphoris, which he made his capital, and a place which Josephus calls Betharamphtha. Antipas changed its name to Julias in honor of the emperor's daughter, Julia. Later in his reign he built a city on the Sea of Galilee, naming it Tiberias. Philip rebuilt and beautified Panias, changing its name to Cæsarea in honor of the emperor. In order to distinguish it from the city so named by Herod on the shore of the Mediterranean (which had formerly been called Strato's Tower), Philip's city was called Cæsarea Philippi (see *Mark* 8:27). He also rebuilt and enlarged Bethsaida, on the Jordan just above the Sea of Galilee—a town mentioned in the Gospels (see, *e.g., Mark* 8:22), and renamed it Julias also, not wishing to be outdone by his brother. Philip had married Herodias, a daughter of their half-brother Aristobulus, one of the sons of Mariamne whom Herod had put to death. Antipas had married a daughter of Aretas, the king of Arabia. This was the fourth Aretas to sit on the throne of the Nabathæans, and the same Aretas who as a very young man had been at Rome in 8 B.C., suing for the kingdom of Arabia when Nicolaus of Damascus had been Herod's ambassador there. Aretas reigned more than fifty years. He had possession of Damascus at the time of St. Paul's conversion (see *2 Cor.* 11:32). Antipas lived with this Arabian wife many years, but once, when at Rome, he and Philip and Herodias lodged at the same place, and Antipas and Herodias became infatuated with each other. Philip agreed to divorce Herodias that she might marry Antipas, but she made it one of the conditions that he should first divorce the daughter of Aretas. Antipas thought the matter secret, but his Arabian wife was somehow informed of his plans and escaped to her father. The marriage with Herodias was contrary to the Levitical law, since she had been his brother's wife. The marriage apparently did not occur until the year 28 A.D., since John the Baptist reproved Herod for it and John began to preach in that year.[2] This reproof won the enmity of Herodias, which in the end cost John his life (see *Mark* 6:14–29). Aretas was very angry at the treatment which his daughter had received and mustered his army to make war on Antipas for it. Antipas in turn raised a force with which to meet the attack. The rulers did not go to the battle in person, but left the conduct of the war to their commanders. Aretas was victorius and the army of Antipas was utterly routed. Antipas then accused Aretas to Cæsar for having attacked him, and the emperor sent Vitellius to punish Aretas and to take him either dead or alive, but, with the whole Arabian desert at his back, Aretas was not taken. People thought the loss of Antipas' army a judgment on him for the death of John the Baptist.[3]

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[1] See G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible,* 5th ed., Part II, ch. XXIX.

PONTIUS PILATE

Four events of importance are known to us which occurred during the ten years of the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate, 26–36 A.D. The first of these occurred during his first winter in Palestine. It was occasioned by the fact that he brought from Cæsarea to Jerusalem a company of Roman soldiers bearing their standards surmounted by the Roman eagle and endeavored to bring them into the city, when they entered to encamp for the winter. The images on these standards were regarded by the strict Jews as a violation of the second commandment, not to make the likeness of anything in heaven above or in the earth beneath. Herod had placed a golden eagle over the temple gate itself, but the zeal with which it was torn down as soon as he was thought to be dying, has already been related. In the years that had elapsed the feeling had grown more intense, and when it was known that the procurator sought to bring the soldiers into the city, his palace was surrounded by a mob which protested against it. Pilate ordered them to disperse, threatening, if they did not, to set the soldiery to butcher them, but they bared their necks and said they would much rather die than have their law violated. Finding that he could do nothing, he sent the soldiers and their standards back to Cæsarea. A little later another disturbance arose in consequence of Pilate's attempt to use some of the funds of the temple to repair an aqueduct which brought water into Jerusalem. About a mile and a half southwest of Bethlehem are some reservoirs called to-day "The Pools of Solomon." These were built by one of the Asmonean kings, probably John Hyrcanus I, who connected them with Jerusalem by an aqueduct which can still be traced, known as the "high level" aqueduct. Later another aqueduct, known now as the "low level" aqueduct was constructed by Herod the Great, who by means of it supplied both Jerusalem and his city Herodium with water. It was one of these, probably Herod's, which Pilate wished to repair. Again the outcry of the Jews against taking temple funds for the purpose was so great that he was compelled to abandon the project.

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[2] See G. A. Barton, *Jesus of Nazareth, a Biography,* New York, 1922, pp. 54–63.
[3] So Josephus, *Antiquities,* XVIII, 5:2.

That Pilate did not always yield, is indicated by the statement in *Luke* 13:1 that Jesus was told "of the Galilæans whose blood Pilate mingled with their sacrifices"—a statement which indicates that for some reason they were put to death at a time when they were performing an act of worship.

The third important event of Pilate's procuratorship was the trial of Jesus in the year 30 A.D., and his indorsement of the popular clamor for Jesus' crucifixion. Crucifixion did not seem to a Roman officer more than an instrument to be employed when necessary—an ugly instrument, to be sure, but still, only an instrument. In consequence of the disorders which occurred after the death of Herod, Varus had crucified two thousand,[4] but the fact is now known to but a few. Only scholars ever heard of Varus. In yielding to popular clamor to crucify Jesus, Pilate did only what any Roman politician, who had a difficult people to govern, would have done; but, unfortunately for him, his victim was the one ideal Man of history.

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[4] Josephus, *Antiquities,* XVII, 10:10.

The fourth incident known to us in which Pilate participated had to do with the Samaritans. A certain Samaritan had collected a mob, promising to show them where, by digging, they could find the sacred vessels that had been placed by Moses under the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim. The crowd collected in a certain village and tried to march on the temple together, but by Pilate's order the Roman soldiery prevented them. Pilate then ordered the ringleaders in the disturbance to be put to death. The Samaritans, however, accused Pilate to Vitellius, the pro-consul of Syria, as the murderer of the men he had executed. They claimed that the mob had not assembled in the village in order to revolt from Rome, but to escape the violence of Pilate. Vitellius accordingly ordered Pilate to go to Rome to answer for the matter to Tiberius. This he did, but before he arrived there Tiberius had died. Vitellius, when Pilate had departed, came to Jerusalem at the time of the Passover, and made himself popular by remitting taxes on fruits, and by restoring to the priests the keeping of the vestments of the high priest, which, since the time of Herod, had been kept in the castle of Antonia.

THE DEATH OF HEROD PHILIP

While these events were in progress Philip, tetrarch of Ituræa and Trachonitis died. His end came in the year 33–34 A.D. As he left no children Tiberius abolished the tetrarchy and attached his territories to the province of Syria.

THE RISE OF HEROD AGRIPPA I

The story of the early life of Agrippa I, son of Aristobulus, one of the ill-fated sons of Mariamne and Herod, is as full of romantic vicissitudes as that of any prince in history. His mother, Bernice, brought him up at Rome, where he formed an intimate friendship with Drusus, the son of the emperor Tiberius. As long as his mother lived he was well supplied with money, but after her death, without an income but with the habits of a prince, he fell deeply into debt. Drusus, the emperor's son, died, and as the emperor could not bear after that to see any of his son's old friends, Agrippa left Rome and wandered. Finally he took up his abode in a castle in Idumæa, where he became so depressed that he contemplated suicide. His wife, Cypros, a granddaughter on her father's side of Herod's brother Phasælus, and on her mother's side, of Herod and Mariamne, was most devoted to him, and, at this juncture, wrote to his sister Herodias, the wife of Antipas, for aid. She interceded with Antipas, who brought him to Galilee, gave him an income, and made him governor of Tiberias. This arrangement did not, however, continue long, as Antipas could not refrain from taunting Agrippa with his poverty and Agrippa was too high-spirited to endure it. He accordingly left and, after various vicissitudes, made his way to Alexandria, where he succeeded in borrowing a large sum of money, and went back to Italy. At Capri he met Tiberius, who at first received him kindly, but, learning of some of Agrippa's financial transactions, was greatly displeased. Fortunately for Agrippa, he now formed a fast friendship with Caius, nicknamed by his soldiers Caligula, who had been designated by Tiberius as his successor. Caius promised Agrippa that, when he became emperor, Agrippa should be king of Judea. Both Caius and Agrippa were impatient that the emperor lived so long and talked imprudently about the matter in the hearing of a coachman who reported the matter so that it reached the emperor. Tiberius was very angry, but Caius managed in some way to free himself from blame, while Agrippa was thrown into prison, where he remained until after Tiberius had passed away.

As soon as he could after Tiberius was buried, Caius released Agrippa and gave him the tetrarchy of his uncle Philip (*i.e.,* Ituræa, Trachonitis, and Panias), to which he added Abilene in the mountains northwest of Damascus, and gave him the rank of king. Agrippa assumed the control of these territories in the year 37 A.D. Caius appointed Marullus procurator of Judæa.

ANTIPAS DEPOSED

The elevation of Agrippa to the kingship produced one natural but unexpected result. His sister Herodias could not bear to have her brother, who had once been a pensioner on her husband's bounty, hold a higher rank than he. She also wished to be called "queen." She so worked upon her rather apathetic husband that he finally got together all the treasure and magnificent equipment that he could and, together with Herodias, went to Rome to persuade the emperor to make him a king also. Agrippa, upon being informed of Antipas' mission, sent a messenger to the emperor to dissuade Caius from granting the request. The messenger bore letters making certain charges against Antipas. Instead of making Antipas king, Caius deposed him and banished him to Gaul. Herodias was given liberty to go where she pleased because she was Agrippa's sister, but she said to Caius: "It is not right that I, who have been a partaker of his prosperity, should forsake him in his misfortunes." So they went together into exile, and the emperor added Galilee and Peræa to Agrippa's kingdom.

CAIUS TRIES TO SET UP HIS STATUE IN THE TEMPLE

The one other event of the reign of Caius which is of interest to our narrative is his effort to have his statue placed in the temple at Jerusalem. The emperor Augustus had been a real statesman. He found himself at the head of an empire composed of many nationalities, who spoke different languages, and who worshiped many different gods. He recognized the importance of the religious sentiment in life, and in order to evoke this sentiment in the interest of the government and direct it to a common object so that it should be a unifying force he directed that temples should be established in every province for the worship of the genius of the emperor. It was a peculiar idea of the Romans that every person had a sort of spiritual double. The double of a man was called his "genius," that of a woman, her "juno." To the Roman mind there was a difference between worshiping the emperor's genius and worshiping the emperor himself. It did not seem to them that Augustus was demanding worship for himself, but among the Orientals, who were accustomed to the claim by living kings of divine prerogatives, the distinction was not appreciated; to them it seemed like worshiping the emperor himself. Augustus and Tiberias had never pressed this emperor worship upon the Jews. They had appreciated the peculiar tenacity with which the Jews clung to all the details of their religion and recognized that it would be impolitic to do so. Caius, however, determined that the Jews must now be treated like all other peoples, and directed that a statue of himself should be erected in the temple at Jerusalem and the usual honors paid to it. This order was given in the year 39 A.D. and caused great consternation among the Jews.

At the same time the large Jewish population of Alexandria was in trouble in consequence of some violent clashes betwen itself and the Greek population. It accordingly sent an embassage to Rome to plead in its behalf, the leader of which was Philo, the first Jew who could really be called a philosopher, and who was then an old man. He was familiar with all the works of the Greek philosophers, and endeavored as a good Jew to combine their thought with the teachings of the Hebrew Scriptures. He influenced some of the writers of the New Testament, but, perhaps because of this, his thought was rejected by later Judaism, which clung rather to the teachings of the rabbis of Babylonia.

The Jews in Palestine were at the same time thrown into such a ferment by the order to place a statue of the emperor in the temple that they stopped work and talked of little else. It was found impossible to proceed, and Caius was very angry. He sent Petronius to the East as proconsul of Syria with a large army with directions to quiet the sedition and erect the statue. Petronius informed Cæsar that he would carry out his commands and came to Ptolemais with his army and went into winter quarters. Delegations of Jews waited upon him there as well as at Tiberias, whither he afterward moved. He first tried to show the Jews the uselessness of resistance and threatened them with dire punishment, if they persisted. Then King Agrippa's brother Aristobulus and other leading Jews pleaded with him and explained to him something of the attachment of the Jewish people to their religion and their constancy. Finally Petronius tried to persuade the Jews to go back to their work, saying that he would himself go to Rome and plead their cause with the emperor. Instead, however, of going to Rome, he wrote Caius a letter, informing him that the Jews were so stirred about the statue that they were ready to revolt, and urging the emperor not to press the matter.

Meantime Agrippa, who was in Rome, made Cauis a great supper, at which the emperor was so pleased that he promised to grant any request that Agrippa might make. Agrippa proffered a skilfully worded request that he would not press the matter of the statue. Caligula granted the request and wrote Petronius that, if he had erected the statue, he should let it remain, but, if he had not yet erected it, he should do nothing further about it. After this letter had been dispatched, the letter of Petronius was received. This threw Caius into such a passion that he sent Petronius another letter, charging him with insolence, declaring that he was under the emperor's displeasure, and hinting that he should commit suicide. Soon after this Caius was murdered, and fortunately for Petronius the ship carrying the news of the emperor's death outsailed the other and arrived first. Thus a Jewish insurrection was for the time averted and the life of Petronius was spared.

This attempt of Caius made a deep impression on the minds both of Jews and of Christians. It seemed to them an act parallel to that of Antiochus Epiphanes in setting up the statue of Zeus in Jerusalem, and the term "abomination that maketh desolation," applied in *Daniel* 9:27 to the act of Antiochus, was applied to the act of Caius. In the opinion of many scholars this attempt of Caius, which so deeply disturbed Palestine for two years, is referred to three times in the New Testament: in *Mark* 13:14; in *2 Thessalonians* 2:3–7; and in *Revelation* 13:3–7.

AGRIPPA KING OF JUDÆA

Claudius succeeded Caius on the imperial throne of Rome in the year 41 A.D. He added Judæa and Samaria to the territories already ruled by Agrippa, so that Agrippa now ruled all the territories over which his grandfather Herod the Great had ruled, and issued an edict granting the Jews religious liberty in all the empire. Agrippa was a man of affable and generous disposition, of whose tact, kindness, and generosity the Jewish historian Josephus records some striking examples. Agrippa, on coming to Jerusalem, scrupulously performed appropriate sacrifices in conformity to the law, made rich presents to the temple, and remitted the house-tax to its citizens. He also made a change in the high-priesthood, deposing one of the sons of Annas and appointing a certain Simon. He then went to Tiberias, where he was visited by a number of neighboring rulers.

During his reign of three years he undertook to strengthen the fortifications of Jerusalem on the north by adding a third wall. Then, as now, there had grown up outside the walls on the north a considerable suburb; this Agrippa undertook to enclose. His work had proceeded a considerable distance, when it was reported to the emperor by some of his enemies that he was fortifying Jerusalem in preparation for a revolution. Claudius accordingly commanded him to stop building this wall, and Agrippa had to obey.

By this time the Christians, who were as yet only a Jewish sect, were much hated by some of the orthodox Jews, and Agrippa, in his effort to please his Jewish subjects, put to death James the son of Zebedee and imprisoned Peter, intending later to execute him also (see *Acts* 12:1).

Both Josephus and the book of the *Acts* of the Apostles (ch. 12:20–23) relate that Agrippa died after a brief illness at Cæsarea at a time when he was entertaining some Phenician envoys and had been acclaimed a god, when he had appeared in the theater brilliantly clad. To one familiar with Palestinian modes of thought and expression it is also clear from the two accounts that he died of appendicitis. His death occurred in 44 A.D. His son Agrippa II, who was then young, went to Rome and resided with Claudius, and the dominions of Agrippa were again placed under procurators.

CUSPIUS FADUS 44–48 (?) A.D.

Claudius in the year Agrippa I died made Cassius Longinus proconsul of Syria and Cuspius Fadus procurator of Judea and of all the territory over which Agrippa had ruled. While Fadus was governor, trouble broke out in Peræa. Jews were living in various villages there, some of whom preyed upon their neighbors of other nationalities. Those of a village called Mia made an attack on some citizens of Philadelphia, and bloodshed ensued. The Philadelphians appealed to Fadus, who not only punished the Jews, but stamped out robbery in all the territory under his control. Fadus also came near to producing a rebellion in Jerusalem by trying to force the high priest to keep his vestments in the castle of Antonia as had been done in the time of Herod. The matter was finally referred to Claudius, who, upon the advice of the young Agrippa who was at his court, allowed the high priest to keep them where he chose. One of the sons of Herod the Great, whose name was also Herod (he was son of Cleopatra and full brother of Philip), had been given by Augustus the little kingdom of Calchis in the Lebanon region. He requested at this time that the appointment of the high priest should be vested in him—a request which Claudius granted.

According to Josephus a certain Theudas, in the procuratorship of Fadus, gave himself out to be a prophet and persuaded a multitude of people to follow him to the river Jordan, which he promised miraculously to divide. Fadus, Josephus says, sent a company of horsemen to disperse them, and the horsemen killed some of them and took many prisoners. In the *Acts* of the Apostles (ch. 5:36) what seems to be the same incident is alluded to, but it is placed earlier than the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate. In *Acts* the number of the followers of Theudas is said to have been about four hundred.

TIBERIUS ALEXANDER 48 (?) to 50 (?) A.D.

Fadus was succeeded by Tiberius Alexander, son of a man who had been ruler of Alexandria. During his procuratorship a severe famine occurred. Indeed it seems to have begun before Fadus was recalled. There was living at Jerusalem at this time a notable woman, Helena queen of Adiabene, a petty kingdom in the territory which once had been Assyria. Some years before, she had become a convert to Judaism and had come to Jerusalem to live. To relieve the famine she bought large quantities of grain in Egypt and distributed it among the people. During the administration of Alexander, James and Simon, sons of the Judas who had stirred up trouble on account of the census of 6 A.D., made themselves obnoxious to the government and were, by Alexander's order, crucified. Herod also, who had been king of Calchis since 4 B. C., died in the year 49 A.D.; although he left several children, Claudius appointed Agrippa II, son of Agrippa I, as his successor.

THE STORMY ADMINISTRATION OF CUMANUS, 50 (?) TO 52 (?) A.D.

The administration of Cumanus was a series of disasters. The first occurred at the first Passover of Cumanus' term of office. Like his predecessors, he stationed a band of soldiers in the outer courts of the temple to prevent any seditious uprising. On the fourth day of this Passover one of the soldiers exposed himself indecently in the sight of a multitude of people. At once a great clamor arose. The Jews regarded it as an insult not only to them but to God. In their excitement some of them went to Cumanus and accused him of having directed the soldier to offer the insult. Cumanus, fearing an uprising, brought his whole army into the castle of Antonia so as to be able to cope with any emergency. When this was reported to the throng in the temple, they feared that the army was to be let loose upon them at once and in their fright endeavored to escape. As the passages leading from the temple area were narrow, the crowd in its flight trod many of its own members to death. Josephus places the number who perished at twenty thousand, but that seems an exaggeration. Their feasting was turned to mourning.

On their way northward some of those returning from this tragic feast fell in with a servant of the emperor named Stephanus and robbed him. When this was reported to Cumanus, he sent soldiery to sieze all the chief men of the villages near where the robbery had occurred and throw them into prison. While this order was being carried out, one of the soldiers found a roll of the Law, which he tore to shreds with many insulting remarks in the presence of a throng of Jews. Upon this, a body of Jews waited upon Cumanus at Cæsarea and implored him to avenge the insult offered to the law of their God. Cumanus, fearing a rebellion if he did nothing, ordered the soldier beheaded.

The next disturbance broke out between some men of Galilee and the Samaritans. These Galileans endeavored to make the journey to Jerusalem to one of their feasts by the direct route through Samaria. At Ginea (the Biblical En-gannim, *Josh.* 19:21; 21:29), they were attacked and many of them killed. The Galileans appealed to Cumanus to avenge them, but the Samaritans bribed him to do nothing. Incensed at this, the more disorderly spirits among the Galileans formed themselves into bands and, gaining the leadership of a noted robber named Eleazar, plundered a number of Samaritan villages. Cumanus then armed the Samaritans and with these and the soldiers that were stationed at Sebaste fell upon the robbers, killing many of them and taking many prisoners. Following this violence, bands of robbers appeared in all parts of the country. The Samaritans then appealed to Quadratus, the proconsul of Syria, who came and investigated the matter, taking evidence at Samaria and afterward giving hearings at Lydda near Joppa (see *Acts* 10:32, 38). Quadratus condemned to death the leaders of the Jewish robber bands, and sent the high priest Ananius and the commander of the temple police, Annus, together with the Samaritan leaders and Cumanus himself to Rome to be judged by the emperor. Fortunately for the Jews, Agrippa II happened to be at Rome at the time, and through his good offices Claudius was persuaded that the Samaritans had begun the trouble. Cumanus was banished and Felix, the brother of Pallias, a Roman millionaire, was sent to be procurator of Judea.

FELIX, 52 (?) TO 60 A.D.

Felix was a freedman. Tacitus says of him that he exercised the power of a king with the disposition of a slave. He caused great scandal by persuading Drusilla, the sister of Agrippa II, to leave her husband, the king of Emesa, and marry him, although Felix did not become a Jew. In the year 53 A.D. Claudius transferred Agrippa II from Calchis to the tetrarchy of Philip, adding some other territories. Later Nero gave him also a part of Galilee.

During the whole of the administration of Felix Judæa was infested by bands of robbers. Some of these Felix succeeded in breaking up, sometimes by treachery. At one time riots occurred between the Jews and non-Jews in the city of Cæsarea and Felix was compelled to restore order by force. The most flagrant of his acts was the instigation of the murder of the high priest Jonathan. Jonathan had been largely responsible in inducing the emperor to appoint Felix to his office, and after Felix came to Palestine, Jonathan frequently admonished him to lead a better life. Felix, becoming weary of this, hired the leader of a band of robbers to set upon Jonathan and kill him. As the crime was never punished robberies in the temple, and even murders, were afterward not infrequent.

During the administration of Felix an Egyptian Jew came to Jerusalem and pretended to be a prophet. He led a large company out to the Mount of Olives and promised to make the walls of Jerusalem fall down by a mere command so that they could walk through them into the city. Felix sent soldiers to disperse the crowd, and about four hundred of them were killed and two hundred taken prisoners. Probably this is the Egyptian referred to in *Acts* 21 : 38.

In the year 58 A.D., St. Paul, having been arrested in Jerusalem to save him from the mob, was sent to Cæsarea to save his life, and was given a hearing by Felix. At that hearing St. Paul, in explaining his conduct, said that he had gone to Jerusalem to bring alms to his nation. The quick ear of Felix caught that word, and he kept St. Paul in prison two years, frequently sending for him in the interval to see if a bribe would not be given to set him at liberty. Finally, when Nero, who had succeeded Claudius in 54 A.D., recalled Felix, he left St. Paul a prisoner in the hope that the accusations which the Jews might send after him to Rome would on that account be a little less grave.

PORCIUS FESTUS, 60–62 A.D.

One of the first acts of Festus was the hearing which he gave St. Paul, when St. Paul appealed to the emporer, to escape being sent back to Jerusalem to certain death (see *Acts* 25 : 12). In consequence of this appeal Festus dispatched St. Paul to Rome.

During the whole of Festus' term of office the country was infested with bands of robbers called Sicarii, from the Latin name of the short swords which they carried. These swords were shaped something like a sickle. The leader of this band was the Egyptian referred to above, who had escaped when so many of his followers fell on the Mount of

Olives. Festus, who was an energetic man, succeeded at last in capturing him.

As the years passed the tension increased. Jewish feeling became more intense, and Jewish sensitiveness more acute. An incident which occurred at this time illustrates it. The Asmonean kings had built their palace on the eastern edge of the western of the two hills on which Jerusalem was built. They were also high priests, and in their days a bridge had led from the palace across the deep Tyropean valley to the temple. This bridge Pompey had broken down in 63 B.C. The western hill is higher than the eastern, and from the palace one could look down into the temple courts. Agrippa II now possessed this palace and had it for his residence when in Jerusalem. He now added to it a large dining-room on the east side of the building, from which he and his guests could look directly into the temple court where the sacrifices were offered in the open air. This greatly displeased the Jews, although Agrippa was a Jew in religion and had succeeded, when he became king of Calchis, to the right of appointing the high priests, formerly vested in his uncle Herod. The Jews therefore built a high wall on the west side of the temple—a wall so high as to cut off the view not only of Agrippa, but of the Roman soldiers stationed in that part of the sacred area. This greatly displeased not only Agrippa, but Festus, who was minded to tear down the wall. At this the Jews were in an uproar, saying that they could not bear to live, if their temple was to be torn down. Finally he was persuaded to refer the matter to the emperor, and the Jews brought sufficient influence to bear upon Nero to obtain his decree that the wall should stand. Festus died in office in the year 62 A.D.

ALBINUS, 62–66 A.D.

Agrippa II was so displeased with the high priest who had shut off his view of the temple by his wall that he deposed him and appointed Annas, son of the Annas who had been high priest many years before. Although Nero had appointed Albinus procurator, communication and travel were slow in those days, and it was three months before the new procurator arrived. In this interval Annas accused a number of Jews to the Sanhedrin, had them condemned, and put to death by stoning. Among them was James, the brother of Jesus Christ. He is the James mentioned in *Acts* 15: 13 and *Galatians* 2: 12.

Some friends of the men who had thus suffered met Albinus as he was coming and reported the matter to him, telling him that Annas and the Sanhedrin had invaded his prerogatives by putting men to death. Albinus was very angry and threatened to bring Annas to punishment. They also complained to King Agrippa, who had been given control of the temple and the appointment of the high priests by Claudius. Agrippa then deposed Annas after he had held office but three months and appointed Jesus (Joshua) son of Damneus.

During the whole of Albinus' term of office the country became more and more unsettled. The Sicarii became more and more numerous and continually bolder in their depredations. Albinus caught and punished many of them, but they only seemed to increase the more. Once after he had imprisoned some of them their friends robbed Ananias, one of the deposed high priests who still had great influence, and captured some of his servants. When he remonstrated with them, they said they would not release his men unless he would persuade Albinus to set their companions free. Ananias succeeded in inducing the procurator to do this, which of course tended to make the robbers bolder. To add to the confusion the deposed high priests, of whom there were now several, began to appropriate the tithes from the threshing-floors before they were divided. Many old priests and Levites were thus deprived of the grain on which they lived and some starved to death. About this time the division of the Levites who constituted the temple choir petitioned King Agrippa to permit them to wear white linen vestments such as the priests wore, and Agrippa granted their request. This was contrary to the Levitical law, and such was the veneration in which the law was held that Josephus attributes some of the later national disasters to this innovation.

To add to the confusion Jesus son of Damneus was deposed from the high priesthood, and Jesus the son of Gamaliel appointed in his place. Each one of these collected a large body of partisans, who not only wrangled with one another orally, but frequently threw stones at one another.

In the year 66 A.D. the last of the colonnades of the temple, the rebuilding of which Herod had begun eighty-six years before, was finished, and this threw all the workmen out of employment. Josephus says there were about eighteen thousand of them. The work had gone on so long that two or three generations of men had gained their living from it and had no other means of subsistence. They petitioned Agrippa to let them tear down one of the colonnades and rebuild it again, but he refused to do it. Finally it was agreed to employ these men in paving the streets of Jerusalem with stone.

Meantime Agrippa II had rebuilt Cæsarea Philippi and named it Neronias in honor of the emperor Nero.

GESSIUS FLORUS AND THE GREAT WAR, 66–70 A.D.

Florus was an unprincipled man of imperious temper, who at once further inflamed Jewish feeling by his rapacity. He was so greedy of money that he permitted robbery, if only the plunderers shared their loot with him. At the time of the Passover Cestius Gallus, then proconsul of Syria, visited Jerusalem, and multitudes of Jews complained of Florus as the bane of their nation. Cestius laughed at their complaints, but before he returned to Antioch cautioned Florus to be more circumspect. Florus received his advice with apparent intent to heed it, but continued in his former course.

In Cæsarea the Jews worshiped in a synagogue owned by a Greek. They had often tried to buy the building, but the owner refused to sell it. As noted above there had long been friction between Jews and Gentiles in Cæsarea, and at this time the Gentiles were encouraged by the fact that Nero had committed the government of the city to them. To annoy the Jews the owner of the synagogue began to build shops on the property. leaving the Jews only a narrow passage to their place of worship. When protests were of no avail, the Jews appealed to Florus, who took from them eight talents as the price for doing what they wished and then went to Sebaste and did nothing. After a time, one Sabbath a Gentile turned an earthen pot upside down over the threshold of their synagogue and sacrificed some birds over it. This was thought by the Jews to defile the place, and there was great excitement. The more sober of them went to Florus at Sebaste and reproached him for taking their money and doing nothing, but he only laughed at them.

The Jews at Jerusalem were greatly displeased at the affair in Cæsarea, but did nothing, except execrate the name of Florus, some clamoring that Nero should recall him. Florus thereupon started for Jerusalem, sending before him Capito, a centurion, with a band of soldiers. The wiser ones of the city, thinking to mollify Florus, went out in a body to welcome him, but he bade the soldiers disperse them roughly and upbraided them with their hypocrisy. The next day Florus sat upon his tribune and demanded that those who had reproached him should be delivered up, but he was told by the Jews that in so large a multitude it was impossible to tell who they were. He thereupon directed the soldiers to plunder the market-place, which they did. More, they plundered many of the adjoining houses, killing large numbers, not only of men, but also of women and children. Many were seized and crucified, and some who had the rights of Roman citizenship were seized and whipped. Florus tried to have his soldiers force their way into the castle of Antonia and the neighboring cloisters of the temple, but the Jews resisted so strenuously that they could not get in, and in the struggle cut down some of the cloisters.

Bernice, the sister of Agrippa II, came to Jerusalem about this time and besought Florus to be merciful, but accomplished nothing. Cestius, the proconsul of Syria, sent Neapolitanus the tribune to look into the condition of Jewish affairs. Just at this juncture King Agrippa II, who had been in Egypt, stopped at Jerusalem on his way back, and exhorted the priests and leaders to be careful and not move forward into a war with Rome. They assented to the wisdom of his advice, and proceeded to rebuild the cloisters that had been demolished.

Nevertheless passions had been aroused that could not easily be calmed. A month or two later a band of Jews captured the fortress of Masada on an inaccessible hill on the west shore of the Dead Sea and destroyed the Roman garrison there. This success inflamed still further the national feeling of the Jews, and even the leaders in Jerusalem were carried away by it. They decreed that hereafter no sacrifice should be offered in the temple at Jerusalem for any foreigner—a decree which made it impossible to sacrifice or pray for the emperor Nero. This was equivalent to a declaration of war.

To follow this war through all its details would prolong this book far beyond its proper limits. Any reader who wishes to become familiar with its many tragic events can satisfy himself by reading the detailed account of Josephus in his *Wars of the Jews*. Josephus participated in the whole of it, first as an officer of the Jewish army, and then as an interpreter for the Romans. Nero sent Vespasian, a Roman general of distinction who had seen long service in Egypt, to put down the Jewish rebellion. Under Vespasian, Titus, his son, commanded a part of the army. They entered Palestine by way of Ptolemais and proceeded to conquer Galilee and Gadara, a fortified city east of the Jordan. At the conclusion of the siege of Jotapata in the summer of the year 67 A.D., Josephus, who had commanded a Jewish regiment there, was captured by the Romans. Somehow, after being a prisoner for more than a year he seems to have persuaded them that he could be of use to them, for they spared his life. Throughout the rest of the war he devoted his knowledge of the Aramaic language and of Jewish affairs to their service.

By the year 68 A.D. Vespasian had taken possession of the rest of the country and was ready to move upon Jerusalem; but, hearing that Nero was dead and that Galba had seized the imperial throne, he deferred his march against Jerusalem and retired to Egypt, where the army proclaimed him emperor. While this was going on, there were fierce factional strifes in Jerusalem itself; but they do not affect the thread of our story, and we will not weary the reader with them. By the year 70 A.D. Galba, Otho, and Vitellius had all been put aside and Vespasian was seated on the imperial throne of Rome. He then sent his son Titus to complete the conquest of Judea. Before his army arrived the Christian church at Jerusalem withdrew in a body from the city and moved to Pella, a city in the Jordan valley. The people of Jerusalem, knowing that they would have to stand a siege, had hastily completed the massive wall on the north of the city, which Agrippa I had begun nearly thirty years before, and did everything they could to strengthen the defenses of the city.

In the spring of the year 70 Titus marched from Egypt across the desert and the maritime plain; reaching the central highlands of Palestine through Samaritan territory, he approached Jerusalem from the north, and encamped at the northeast of the city. During the weeks that followed, the three walls on the north of Jerusalem were taken one after another and the rest of the city was surrounded and began to be starved out. There were the usual awful tragedies of such sieges. As it went on the factions within the city often strove with one another. They were united only in opposing the Romans, and in this they fought so fiercely as often to inflict serious damage. Titus had to win every step by main force. At last he took the castle of Antonia, and from it laid siege to the temple. In order to gain access he set fire to the temple gates, having given strict orders that the temple itself should be spared, but the Jews resisted so desperately that one of the soldiers in his anger seized a firebrand and threw it into the sacred structure, which was soon in flames. Titus, who was in the castle of Antonia at the time, rushed out and tried to stop the fires, but it was too late. In August of the year 70 A.D. the Jewish temple burned; and it has never been rebuilt. (Hadrian sixty years later built a temple to Jupiter on the spot, which was later turned into a Christian church. Still later the Mohammedans rebuilt it as a mosque, which it remains to the present day.) Later Titus captured the fortresses on the western hill, including the palace of Herod with its three towers. These he admired so much that he let them stand. The walls and all the other fortifications of the city he battered down. Thus ended the war. Titus took many prisoners as well as the sacred vessels and treasure of the temple to Rome, where they figured in his triumph. The seven-branched candlestick may still be seen cut in stone on the Arch of Titus at Rome.

The fall of Jerusalem did not end the history of the Jewish people. The adoption of the law of *Deuteronomy* in 621 B.C. and the adoption of the whole law of the Pentateuch later in the time of Ezra had given the Jews a unique religion. Their devotion to this religion made them a church as well as a nation. The worship in the synagogue had given them a cultus independent of the temple. Already for six hundred years thousands of Jews in Babylonia had nurtured their spiritual lives by this synagogal religion, and for hundreds of years the same had been true of Egypt and other countries. They were already widely scattered, and the loss of their country to the Romans but scattered them more widely. As the centuries have passed they have been scattered over the whole world, but their religion has enabled them to keep their identity and avoid being absorbed by other peoples.

We have, however, accomplished our task and traced their history to the year 70 A.D. Those wishing to read the history of this people in later centuries are referred to the *History of the Jewish People* by Max L. Margolis and Alexander Marks (Philadelphia, 1927).

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